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I. 4.

THE GOUERNOUR

VOL. II.

THE BOKE

NAMED THE GOUERNOUR

DEUISED BY SIR THOMAS ELYOT, KNIGHT

EDITED FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF 1531

BY

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BARRISTER-AT-LAW

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1883

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The Table.

THE SECONDE BOKE.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

What thing he that is elected to be a gouernour of a publyke weale ought to premeditate 1

CHAPTER II.

What Maiestie is 12

CHAPTER III.

Of apparaile belongynge to a gouernour or great counsaylour . . 17

CHAPTER IV.

What very nobilitie is 26

CHAPTER V.

Of affabilitie and the utilitie therof 38

CHAPTER VI.

How noble a vertue placabilite is 55

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE
That a gouernoure oughte to be mercyfull and the diuersitie betwene mercy and vayne pitie 73

CHAPTER VIII.

The thre princypall parties of Humanytie 88

CHAPTER IX.

Of what excellence beneuolence is 92

CHAPTER X.

Of beneficence and liberalitie 111

CHAPTER XI.

The true definition of amitie and betwene what persons it hapneth . 119

CHAPTER XII.

The wonderfull historye of Titus and Gisyppus, wherin is the ymage of perfecte amitie 132

CHAPTER XIII.

The dyuision of Ingratitude and the dispraise therof 166

CHAPTER XIV.

The election of frendes and the diuersitie of flaterers . . . 175

The Table.

THE THIRDE BOKE.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Of the most excellent vertue named iustyce 186

CHAPTER II.

The fyrste parte of Justyce dystrybutyfe 189

CHAPTER III.

The thre notable counsailes of Reason, Societie, and knowlege . . 201

CHAPTER IV.

Of Fraude and deceyte, whiche be agayne Justyce 213

CHAPTER V.

That Justyce oughte to be betwene ennemyes 223

CHAPTER VI.

Of faythe called in latyne Fides 225

CHAPTER VII.

Of promise and couenaunt and of what importaunce othes were in olde tyme 246

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE
Of the noble vertue Fortitude, and the two extremityes thereof audacitie and tymerositie 262

CHAPTER IX.

In what actis fortitude is 268

CHAPTER X.

Of paynefulnesse a companion of Fortitude 273

CHAPTER XI.

Of the faire vertue Pacience and the true definition therof . . 277

CHAPTER XII.

Of pacyence in sustaynynge wronges and rebukes 281

CHAPTER XIII.

Of repulse or hynderaunce of promotion 283

CHAPTER XIV.

Of magnanimitie, whiche maye be named valyaunt courage . . 288

CHAPTER XV.

Of obstinacie, a familiare vice folowynge magnanimitie . . . 295

CHAPTER XVI.

Of a perillous vice called ambition 297

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE

The true signification of abstinence and continence 304

CHAPTER XVIII.

Examples of Continence gyuen by noble men 312

CHAPTER XIX.

Of constaunce called also stabilitie 316

CHAPTER XX.

The trewe sygnificacyon of Temperaunce 325

CHAPTER XXI.

Of moderation a spice of Temperaunce 327

CHAPTER XXII.

Of Moderation in diete called sobrietie 335

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of sapience, and the definition therof 350

CHAPTER XXIV.

The trewe signifycation of understandyng 369

CHAPTER XXV.

Of experience precedynge our tyme, with a defence of histories . . 383

CHAPTER XXVI.

PAGE
The experience necessarye for the persone of euery gouernour . . 402

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of detraction and the image therof made by Apelles the noble paintour 417

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of Consultation and Counsayle, and in what forme they ought to be used 427

CHAPTER XXIX.

The principall considerations to be in euery consultation . . . 433

CHAPTER XXX.

The seconde consideration with the conclusion of this warke . . 443

Finis tabule.

THE GOVERNOUR.

The Seconde Boke.

CHAPTER I.

What thynges he that is elected or appointed to be a gouernour of a publike weale ought to premeditate.

IN the boke precedinge I haue (as I truste) sufficiently declared as wel what is to be called a very and righte publike weale, as also that there shulde be therof one prince and soueraigne aboue all other gouernours.[a] And I haue also expressed my conceipte and opinion touching nat only the studies, but also the exercises concernynge the necessary education of noble men and other, called to the gouernance of a publike weale, in suche fourme as, by the noble example of their liues and the frute therof coming, the publike weale, that shal happen to be under their gouernance, shall nat faile to be accounted happy, and the autoritie on them to be emploied well and fortunately. Nowe will I traicte of the preparation of suche personages, whan they firste receyue any great dignitie, charge, or gouernance of the weale publike.

[a] Francesco Patrizi, on whose work, as we have seen, 'The Governour' was modelled, says: 'Hactenus superioribus argumentis et exemplis satis abundè probatum sit, naturale imperium unius esse hominis, et unum longè melius imperare quàm plures: deinceps autem in sequente volumine ostendemus justum imperium unius esse regnum, et Regem bonum justè imperare.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. i. tit. 13. ed. 1582.

Firste, suche persones beinge nowe adulte, that is to saye, passed theyr childehode as well in maners as in yeres, if for their vertues and lernynge they happe to be called to receyue any dignitie, they shulde firste amoue all company from them; and in a secrete oratorie or priuie chambre, by them selfe assemble all the powers of their wittes to remembre these VII articles, whiche I haue nat of myn owne heed deuised, but excerped or gathered as well out of holy scripture as out of the warkes of other excellent writars of famouse memorie, as they shall sone perceiue whiche haue radde and perused good autours in greke and latine.[a]

First, and aboue all thing, let them consider that from god only procedeth all honour,[b] and that neither noble progenie, succession, nor election be of suche force, that by them any astate or dignitie maye be so stablished that god beinge stered to vengeaunce shall nat shortly resume it, and perchance translate it where it shall like hym. And for as moche as examples greatly do profite in the stede of experience, here shall it be necessarye to remembre the historie of Saule, whom god hym selfe elected to be the firste kynge of Israhel;[c] that where god commaunded hym by the mouth of Samuel the prophet, that for as moche as the people called Amalech had resisted the children of Israhel, whan they first departed from Egypt, he shuld therfore distroy al the countray, and slee men, women, and children, all beastis and catell, and that he shulde nothinge saue or kepe therof.[d] But Saul after that he had vainquisshed Amalech, and taken Agag, kynge therof, prisoner, he hauing on hym compas-

Saul and Amalech.

Disobedience.

[a] The following 'articles' are all, with one exception, taken from the *Institutio Principis Christiani*, of which the author had already spoken in terms of the highest approval.—See Vol. i. p. 95 and notes.

[b] This was the starting point so strongly insisted upon by Erasmus. 'Quoties venit in mentem te principem esse, pariter succurrat et illud, te Christianum esse principem. . . Theologia Christianorum tria præcipua quædam in Deo ponit, summam potentiam, summam sapientiam, summam bonitatem. Hunc ternarium pro viribus absolvas oportet.'—*Instit. Principis Christiani*, pp. 26, 32, ed. 1519.

[c] See 1 Sam. ix. 16, 17.

[d] See 1 Sam. xv. 3.

sion saued his life only. Also he preserued the best oxen, catel, and vestures, and all other thing that was fairest and of most estimation, and wolde nat consume it accordyng as god had commaunded him, saying to Samuel that the people kept it to the intent that they wolde make there with to all mightie god a solemne sacrifice. But Samuel, reprouing him, said, Better is obedience than sacrifice, with other wordes that do folowe in the historie.[a] Finally, for that offence onely, al mightie god abiected Saul, that he shulde no more reigne ouer Israhel, and caused Samuel furthe with to enoynte Dauid kynge, the yongest sonne of a poure man of Bethleem, named Isai,[b] whiche was kepyng his father's shepe.[c] Sens for ones neglecting the commandement of god, and that neither natural pitie, nor the intent to do sacrifice with that whiche was saued, mought excuse the transgression of goddes commandement nor mitigate his greuous displesure. Howe vigilant ought a christen man beinge in autoritie—howe vigilant (I say), industrious, and diligent ought he to be in the administration of a publike weale? Dreding alway the wordes that be spoken by eternall sapience to them that be gouernours of publik weales[d]; All powar and vertue is gyuen of the lorde that of al other is highest, who shal examine your dedes, and

Sapientie.

[a] See 1 Sam. xv. 22.

[b] *I.e.* Jesse. Josephus calls him Ἰεσσαῖος, whence Isai.

[c] See 1 Sam. xvi. 11.

[d] 'For the power is gyuen you of the lorde, and the strength from the hyghest, which shall trye your workes and searche out your ymagynacyons.

'Howe that ye, beynge offycers of hys kyngdome, haue not executed trewe iugement, haue not kept the law of rightuousnes, nor walked after his wil.

'Horrybly and that ryght soone shal he apere unto you; for an harde Judgement shall they haue that beare rule.

'Mercy is graunted unto the symple, but they that be in auctorite shall be sore punyshed.

'For God, which is Lorde ouer al, shal excepte no mans person, neyther shal he stande in awe of any mans greatnesse; for he hathe made the smal and great, and careth for all alyke.

'But the myghtie shall haue the sorer punyshment.

'Unto you, therfore (O ye Kynges) do I speake, that ye maye learne wysdome and not go amysse.'—*The Boke of Wysedome*, cap. vi. ed. 1542.

inserch your thoughtes. For whan ye were the ministres of his realme ye iuged nat uprightly, ne obserued the lawe of iustice, nor ye walked nat according to his pleasure. He shall shortly and terribly appiere unto you. For moste harde and greuous iugement shall be on them that haue rule ouer other. To the poure man mercy is graunted, but the great men shall suffre great tourmentes. He that is lorde of all excepteth no persone, ne he shall feare the gretnes of any man; for he made as wel the great as the smal, and careth for euery of them equally. The stronger or of more mighte is the persone, the stronger payne is to hym imminent. Therfore to you gouernours be these my words, that ye may lerne wisedom and fal nat.

This notable sentence is nat only to be imprinted in the hartes of gouernours, but also to be often tymes reuolued and called to remembraunce.

Erasmus.

They shall nat thynke howe moche honour they receiue, but howe moche care and burdene. Ne they shall nat moche esteme their reuenues and treasure, considerynge that it is no buten or praie, but a laboriouse office and trauaile.[a]

Let them thynke the greatter dominion they haue, that therby they sustayne the more care and studie. And that therfore they muste haue the lasse solace and passetyme, and to sensuall pleasures lasse opportunitie.[b]

Also whan they beholde their garmentes and other ornamentes, riche and preciouse, they shall thynke what reproche

[a] 'Cum Principatum suscipis, ne cogita quantum accipias honoris, sed quantum oneris ac sollicitudinis, neque censum ac vectigalium modum expende, sed curam, nec arbitreris tibi prædam obtigisse, sed administrationem.'—*Inst. Prin. Christ.* p. 35, ed. 1519. It is evident that the word in the text is no other than the French *butin*, and we have already seen how fond the author was of introducing French words, ex. gr. esbatement, semblable, &c.; though it is indisputable that a knowledge of French was at this time by no means uncommon, it was quite otherwise with German.

[b] 'Quo ditionem suscipis ampliorem, cave ne hoc tibi videare fortunatior: sed memineris te hoc plus curarum ac sollicitudinum in humeros recipere, ut minus jam indulgendum sit otio, minus dandum voluptatibus.'—*Ibid.* p. 35.

were to them to surmounte in that which be other mennes warkes, and nat theirs, and to be vainquisshed of a poure subiecte in sondry vertues, wherof they them selfes be the artificers.[a]

They that regarde them of whom they haue gouernaunce no more than shall appertaine to their owne priuate commodities, they no better esteme them than other men doth their horsis and mules,[b] to whom they empploye no lasse labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the sely[c] bestis, but to their owne necessities and singuler aduantage.

The most sure fundation of noble renome is a man to be of suche vertues and qualities as he desireth to be openly publisshed.[d] For it is a fainte praise that is goten with feare or by flaterars gyuen. And the fame is but fume[e] whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menacis.

[a] 'Cogita quæso quàm sit absurdum gemmis, auro, purpurâ, satellitio, reliquisque corporis ornamentis, ceris et imaginibus, planèque bonis non tuis, omnes tanto intervallo superare, veris animi bonis multis è mediâ fece plebis inferiorem conspici.' —*Inst. Prin. Christ.* p. 23.

[b] 'Qui suos eatenus curant, quatenus expedit propriis commoditatibus, ii non alio loco cives suos habent, quàm vulgus hominum equos et asinos. Nam hos quoque curant illi, sed omnem curationem suis, non illorum usibus metiuntur.'—*Ibid.* p. 37.

[c] Richardson says that sely or seely = silly, and that it means simple, guileless, innocent. He does not, however, remark that it is an epithet most frequently applied to animals. Thus Harrison says, 'Last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that *seelie* beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters do use.'—*Descript. of England*, p. 226. And again, 'It is said that the sparhawke preieth not upon the foule in the morning that she taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one *seelie* foule, doth let it go to make some shift for it selfe.'—*Ibid.* p. 227.

[d] 'Ut bene audias, id certissimâ consequeris viâ, si qualem te cupis prædicari, talem temet ipsum exhibeas. Non est vera laus quæ extorquetur metu, aut tribuitur ab adulatoribus. Et male agitur cum famâ Principis, si hujus præsidium in silentio minis indicto situm est.'—Erasmus, *ubi supra*, p. 72.

[e] Meaning idle conceit, vain imagination—Sir Francis Bacon uses the word in the same sense. 'It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the *fume* of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in gross.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 188, ed. 1825.

They shal also consider that by their pre-eminence they sitte, as it were on a piller on the toppe of a mountaine, where all the people do beholde them, nat only in their open affaires,[a] but also in their secrete passetimes, priuie daliaunce, or other improfitable or wanton conditions: whiche soone be discouered by the conuersation of their most familiare seruauntes, whiche do alway imbrace that studie wherin their maister delitethe: accordynge to the sayinge of Jesus Sirach, As the iuge of the people is, so be his ministers; and such as be the gouernours of the citie, suche be the people.[b] Whiche sentence is confirmed by sondry histories: for Nero,[c] Caligula,[d] Domi-

[a] 'Tua in conspicuo vita est, latere non potes: aut magno omnium bono, bonus sis necesse est, aut magnâ omnium pernicie malus. Vulgus nihil imitatur lubentiùs, quàm quòd à suo Principe fieri conspexerit. Sub aleatore passim luditur alea, sub bellaci bellaturiunt omnes, sub comessatore luxu diffluunt, sub libidinoso lenocinantur, sub crudeli deferunt et calumniantur. Evolve veterum historias, reperies semper ejusmodi fuisse seculi mores, cujusmodi fuerat Principis vita.'—Erasmus, *ubi supra*, pp. 30, 31. Ovid has a very similar sentiment:

'Non eadem vulgusque decent, et lumina rerum.
Est quod præcipuum debeat ista domus.
Imposuit te alto Fortuna, locumque tueri
Jussit honoratum, Livia: perfer onus.
Ad te oculos, auresque trahis: tua facta notamus.
Nec vox missa potest principis ore tegi.'
Ad Liviam Aug. Consolatio, 347-352.

[b] 'As the iuge of the people is him selfe euen so are his officers; and loke what maner of man the ruler of the citie is, suche are they that dwel therin also.'—Cap. x. v. 2, *Bokes of Salomon*, ed. 1542. So Cicero says, 'Erant præterea hæc animadvertenda in civitate, quæ sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitùs: Quales in republicâ principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives.'—*Epist. ad Div.* lib. i. 9. And Xenophon: ''Οποῖοί τινες γὰρ ἂν οἱ προστάται ὦσι, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνονται.'—*Cyropæd.* lib. viii. cap. 8, § 5.

[c] Merivale says that Nero was 'surrounded on the throne not by generals and statesmen, but by troops of slaves or freedmen, by players and dancers, lost to all sense of decency themselves, and seeking only their advancement at the expense of their master and of mankind; surrendered by loose women to still more despicable minions, and ruled by the most cruel and profligate of ministers.'—*Hist. of Rom. Empire*, vol. vi. p. 317, ed. 1858.

[d] In his expedition against the Germans Caius 'was attended throughout by a rain of players and gladiators, dancers and women, the vile retinue of a Parthian overeign.'—*Ibid.* vol. v. p. 447.

ciane,[a] Lucius Commodus,[b] Varius Heliogabalus,[c] monstruous emperours, norisshed about them ribauldes and other voluptuouse artificers.[d] Maximianus, Dioclesian, Maxencius, and other persecutours of christen men, lacked nat inuentours of cruel and terrible tourmentes.[e] Cuntrary wise reigninge the

[a] 'The mimes found no doubt a protector in the prince of mimes, who had also his personal favourites among this profession, and allowed them easy access to his person.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii, pp. 132, 133.

[b] 'The younger Cæsar,' says Merivale, 'flung himself into the dissipations of his villa on the Clodian Way, and among his boon companions paraded the trophies of his campaigns, his troops of buffoons and players, dancers and conjurors, and all the vilest spawn of the Orontes.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 577.

[c] He was originally called Varius Avitus Bassianus after his father, grandfather, and great grandfather respectively. 'By this emperor a dancer was made præfect of the city, a charioteer præfect of the watch, a barber præfect of the provisions.' —*Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* vol. i. p. 283, note.

[d] So Erasmus says, 'An non hujusmodi quidam orbis malus genius fuit Nero, an non Caligula, an non Heliogabalus? Quorum non solum omnis vita pestis quædam mundi fuit, sed ipsa etiam memoria publicæ mortalium exsecrationi est obnoxia.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 32.

[e] Gibbon says that the 'rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of the persecution the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate their triumph; several oppressive laws appear to have issued from their secret consultations, and the diligence of the magistrates was animated by the presence of their sovereigns.'—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 276. With regard to the invention of torments, Lactantius has many minute details. Schlegel says: 'According with the disposition of the several governors was the execution of their imperial edict. Some only sent the Christians into banishment, when the attempt to make them offer sacrifices failed. Others deprived them of an eye, or lamed one of their feet by burning it, and others exposed them to wild beasts or lacerated their bodies with iron hooks, or with the scourge, and afterwards sprinkled vinegar and salt on the wounds, or dropped melted lead into them.'—Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 284, note, ed. 1845. According to Gibbon, however, Maxentius, who 'oppressed every other class of his subjects, showed himself just, humane, and even partial towards the afflicted Christians;' and he insinuates that it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among the persecutors, because he was vanquished by Constantine.—*Ubi supra.* And even Mr. Milner, who has undertaken to correct the 'perversions' of the great historian, is obliged to admit that 'Maxentius, though a tyrant of the basest character, never seems to have been, strictly speaking, a persecutor of the Christians.'—*Church History*, vol. i. p. 499, ed. 1847. The passage in the text taken in connexion with another in the preceding volume (p. 49), proves conclusively that the author was acquainted with the writings of Lactantius.

noble Augustus,[a] Nerua,[b] Traiane,[c] Hadriane,[d] the two Antonines,[e] and the wonderfull emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called Seuerus,[f] the imperiall palaice was alway replenisshed with eloquent oratours, delectable poetes, wise philosophers, moste cunnynge and experte lawyars, prudent and valiaunt capitaines. Mo semblable examples shall hereof be founden by them which purposely do rede histories, whom of all other I moste desire to be princes and gouernours.[g]

[a] Merivale says: 'The companions of his leisure hours were jurists, grammarians, and physicians, rather than philosophers.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 297, ed. 1856.

[b] 'The name of Nerva has been associated in after ages with the mildness of age, and the charm of paternal government.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 204.

[c] 'Trajan was fond of society, and of educated and even literary society. He was proud of being known to associate with the learned, and felt himself complimented when he bestowed on the rhetorician Dion the compliment of carrying him in his own chariot.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 269.

[d] 'Hadrian was distinguished, even beyond his predecessor, by the geniality of his temperament. Versed in all the knowledge of his era, he placed himself on an intimate footing with the ablest teachers and practitioners, and divided his smiles equally between senators like Fronto, and freedmen such as Favorinus the rhetorician, and the architect Apollodorus.'—*Ibid.* lib. vii. p. 425.

[e] 'The two Antonines governed the Roman world forty-two years with the same invariable spirit of wisdom and virtue. In private life Titus Antoninus Pius was an amiable as well as a good man. The native simplicity of his virtue was a stranger to vanity or affectation. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his fortune and the innocent pleasures of society; and the benevolence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper. The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more laborious kind. It was the well-earned harvest of many a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many a midnight lucubration. His "Meditations," composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy, in a more public manner than was perhaps consistent with the modesty of a sage or the dignity of an emperor.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vol. i. pp. 214, 215, 216.

[f] 'Alexander's table was served with the most frugal simplicity, and whenever he was at liberty to consult his own inclination, the company consisted of a few select friends—men of learning and virtue, amongst whom Ulpian was constantly invited. Their conversation was familiar and instructive; and the pauses were occasionally enlivened by the recital of some pleasing composition, which supplied the place of the dancers, comedians, and even gladiators, so frequently summoned to the tables of the rich and luxurious Romans.'—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 288.

[g] Patrizi says: 'Cognitio historiæ Regibus Ducibus Imperatoribus, et omnibus Principibus perquam necessaria habenda est.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. ii. tit.

These articles wel and substancially grauen in a noble mannes memorie, it shall also be necessary to cause them to be delectably writen and sette in a table within his bedde chamber, addyng to the versis of Claudiane, the noble poet, whiche he wrate to Theodosius and Honorius, emperours of Rome.[a] The versis I haue translated out of latine in to englisshe, nat without great studie and difficultie, nat obseruynge the ordre as they stande, but the sentence belongynge to my purpose.[b]

Claudianus.

Though that thy powar stretcheth bothe ferre and large,
Through Inde the riche, sette at the worlde's ende,
And Mede with Arabi be bothe under thy charge,
And also Seres that silke to us dothe sende,
If feare the trouble, and small thinges the offende,

---

10. King James gave the same advice to his son: 'Next the lawes I would haue you to be well versed in authenticke histories, and in the Chronicles of all nations; but specialle in our owne histories (*ne sis peregrinus domi*), the example whereof most neerely concernes you . . . By reading of authenticke histories and chronicles, yee shall learne experience by theoricke, applying the by-past things to the present estate, *quia nihil novum sub sole.* And likewise, by the knowledge of histories, yee shall knowe howe to behaue your selfe to all Embassadours and strangers, being able to discourse with them upon the estate of their owne countrie.' —Βασίλικον Δῶρον, lib. ii. p. 92. Erasmus recommends the study of history, but with this reservation: 'Jam vero non negaverim, ex historicorum lectione præcipuam colligi prudentiam, verum ex iisdem summam perniciem hauries, nisi et præmunitus et cum delectu legeris.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 84. ed. 1519.

[a] This passage from Claudian is quoted by John of Salisbury in his *Polycraticus*, lib. iv. cap. 4, and lib. v. cap. 8, and it is very probable that Sir Thos. Elyot borrowed it at second hand from this source which had supplied him, as we have already seen, with other illustrations. The last three lines are quoted by King James in the second book of his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, where he impresses upon his son the necessity of setting a good example to his people by his behaviour in his own person and with his servants, 'for people are naturally inclined to counterfaite (like apes) their princes' maners.'—Lib. ii. p. 24, ed. 1603.

[b] 'Tu licet extremos latè dominere per Indos,
Te Medus, te mollis Arabs, te Seres adorent:
Si metuis, si prava cupis, si duceris irâ,
Servitii patiere jugum: tolerabis iniquas
Interius leges. Tunc omnia jure tenebis,
Cum poteris rex esse tui. Proclivior usus
In pejora datur: suadetque licentia luxum,

Corrupte desire thyne harte hath ones embraced,
Thou arte in bondage, thyne honour is defaced.

Thou shalte be demed than worthy for to raigne,
Whan of thy-selfe thou wynnest the maistry.
Euil custome bringeth vertue in disdaine,
Licence superfluous persuadeth moche foly;
In to moche pleasure set nat felicitie,
If luste or anger do thy mynde assaile,
Subdue occasion, and thou shalte sone preuaile.

What thou mayst do delite nat for to knowe,
But rather what thinge wyll become the best;
Embrace thou vertue and kepe thy courage lowe,
And thinke that alway measure is a feste.
Loue well thy people, care also for the leste,
And whan thou studiest for thy commoditie
Make them all partners of thy felicitie.

Be nat moche meued with singuler appetite,
Except it profite unto thy subiectes all;
At thyne example the people wyll delite,
Be it vice or vertue, with the they rise or fall.
No lawes auaile, men tourne as doth a ball;
For where the ruler in liuynge is nat stable,
Bothe lawe and counsaile is tourned in to a fable.

These versis of Claudiane, full of excellent wisedomes, as I haue saide, wolde be in a table, in suche a place as a gouer-

Illecebrisque effræna favet. Tum vivere castè
Asperius, cum prompta Venus: tum durius iræ
Consulitur, cum pœna patet. Sed comprime motus:
Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit,
Occurrat: mentemque domet respectus honesti.
* * * * * *
Tu civem, patremque geras. Tu consule cunctis,
Non tibi: nec tua te moveant, sed publica vota.
In commune jubes si quid, censesve tenendum,
Primus jussa subi: tunc observantior æqui
Fit populus, nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipsum
Auctorem parere sibi. Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum: nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis.
Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

De IV. Cons. Hon. 257–302.

nour ones in a daye maye beholde them,[a] specially as they be expressed in latine by the said poete, unto whose eloquence no translation in englisshe may be equiualent.[b] But yet were it better to can them by harte; ye, and if they were made in the fourme of a ditie to be songen to an instrument, O what a sweete songe wolde it be in the eres of wise men·? For a meane musician mought therof make a righte pleasant harmonie, where almoste euery note shulde expresse a counsayle vertuous or necessary.

Ye haue nowe harde what premeditations be expedient before that a man take on him the gouernaunce of a publike weale. These notable premeditations and remembrances shulde be in his mynde, whiche is in autoritie, often tymes renewed. Than shall he procede further in furnisshyng his persone with honourable maners and qualities, wherof very nobilitie is compacte ;[c] wherby all other shall be induced to honour hym,

[a] Gibbon, speaking of this poem, says that the lessons conveyed in it 'might compose a fine institution for the future prince of a great and free nation.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Empire*, vol. iv. p. 22, note.

[b] Whatever may have been the reason for such neglect, certain it is that no entire translation into English of the works of Claudian appeared until the present century. Cowley translated, or rather imitated, a few of the minor pieces, but it was not until 1817 that the whole appeared in an English dress; and Mr. Hawkins, the translator, in his preface, says: 'It is believed that no general version has ever appeared: no industry, at least on the present occasion, could obtain a sight of any portion beyond a few extracts.' And he adds, in confirmation of our author's experience,' 'In attempting to fill the chasm in British literature, it is vain to speak of the difficulties which presented themselves; these can be best ascertained by such as are the most able to judge of the execution.' Gibbon, weighing the merits and defects of Claudian in an impartial balance, says: 'It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic: to select a verse that melts the heart or enlarges the imagination,' but at the same time admits that 'he was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the meanest, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar topics.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Empire*, vol. iv. p. 65, ed. 1854.

[c] This is perhaps borrowed from the following definition of Erasmus: 'Vera nobilitas est honesta fama virtute parta.'—*Opera*, tom. v. col. 939, ed. 1704. Both Erasmus and our author probably had in their minds the saying of Juvenal: 'Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.'—*Sat.* viii. 20.

loue hym, and feare hym, whiche thinges chiefely do cause perfecte obedience.[a]

Now of these maners will I write in suche ordre as in my conceipt they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man, and soonest in hym noted or espied.

CHAPTER II.

The exposition of maiestie.

In a gouernour or man hauynge in the publyke weale some greatte authoritie, the fountaine of all excellent maners is Maiestie;[b] which is the holle proporcion and figure of noble astate, and is proprelie a beautie or comelynesse in his countenance, langage and gesture apt to his dignite, and accommodate to time, place, and company; whiche, like as the sonne doth his beames, so doth it caste on the beholders and herers a pleasaunt and terrible reuerence. In so moche as the wordes or countenances of a noble man shulde be in the stede of a firme and stable lawe to his inferiours. Yet is nat Maiestie[c] alwaye in haulte or fierce countenaunce, nor in

[a] Tertullian employs the same combination to express the obedience of the early Christians to the temporal power. 'Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris: quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et honoret.'—*Ad Scapulam*, cap. 2. Migne ed. tom. i. col. 700.

[b] 'Quicumque regno præest, ante omnia cogitare debet quibus rebus quibusque studiis regnum conservetur: his meditatis, planèque agnitis, declinare omnia ea debet quæ nocitura sunt quæve *Majestatem* non augent. Qui enim agit quæ fugienda sunt, aut negligit quæ sunt agenda, pariter de Regis dignitate decedit.'—Patrizi, *De Regno et Regis Instit.* lib. iv. tit. 3.

[c] Erasmus warns his ideal prince against alienating the affections of his subjects, and exhorts him to embrace every opportunity of gaining them. 'Sive versetur in publico, semper aliquid agat quod ad rem communem faciat, hoc est nusquam non Principem agat. Quoties autem prodit, advigilet ut ipse vultus, incessus, et præcipue

speche outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobre demeanure, deliberate and graue pronunciation, wordes clene and facile, voide of rudenesse and dishonestie, without vayne or inordinate ianglinge, with suche an excellent temperance, that he, amonge an infinite nombre of other persones, by his maiestie may be espied for a gouernour.[a] Wherof we haue a noble example in Homere of Ulisses, *Ulisses.* that whan his shippe and men were perisshed in the see, and he uneth escaped, and was caste on lande upon a coste where the inhabitantes were called Pheacas, he beinge all naked, sauynge a mantell sente to hym by the kynges doughter, without other apparaile or seruant, represented suche a wonderfull maiestie in his countenance and speche, that the kynge of the countray, named Alcinous, in that extreme calamitie, wisshed that Ulisses wold take his doughter Nausicaa to wyfe, with a greatte parte of his treasure. And declaryng the honour that he bare towarde him, he made for his sake diuers noble esbatements and passetimes. The people also wondringe at his maiestie, honoured hym with sondrye presentes; and at their propre charges and expenses conuaied him in to his owne realme of Ithaca in a shippe of wonderfull beautie, well ordinanced and manned for his defence and saulfe conducte. The wordes of Alcinous, wherby he declareth the maiestie that he noted to be in Ulisses, I haue put in englisshe, nat so wel as I founde them in greke, but as well as my witte and tonge can expresse it.

sermo talis sit, ut populum reddat meliorem, memor, quidquid fecerit aut dixerit, ab omnibus observari cognoscique.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 131.

[a] 'Libertas loquendi Principem commendat, licentia autem vitanda est. Non enim urbanitas aut comitas habetur, sed procacitas potiùs aut scurrilitas. Denique Regis cura in sermone præcipua esse debet, ut sensum animi dilucidè aptèque exprimat: quæ virtus eo major esse apparebit, quo minus cupiditatis ac studii habere videbitur.'—Patrizi, *De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. ii. tit. 12. Erasmus says: 'Ex oratione certius quàm ex amictu Principis animus cognoscitur. Spargitur in vulgus quicquid ab ore Principis fuerit exceptum. Proinde summam oportet esse curam, ut ea quæ loquitur virtutem sapiant, et mentem bono Principe dignam præ se ferant.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 94, ed. 1519.

Alcinous to Ulisses.

Whan I the consider, Ulysses, I perceiue
Thou doest nat dissemble to me in thy speche
As other haue done, whiche craftely can deceiue,
Untruely reportinge where they lyste to preche
Of thinges neuer done; suche falshode they do teche.
But in thy wordes there is a righte good grace,
And that thy mynde is good, it sheweth in thy face.[a]

The estimation of maiestie in countenaunce shall be declared by two examples nowe ensuinge.

To Scipio,[b] beinge in his manour place, caled *Linterium*, came diuers great theues and pirates, only to the intent to se his persone of whose wonderfull prowesse and sondry victories they harde the renome. But he nat knowynge but that they had come to endomage hym, armed hym selfe and suche seruauntes as he than had with hym, and disposed them aboute the imbatilmentes of his house to make defence; whiche the capitaynes of the theues perceiuyng, they despeched the multitude from them, and lainge a parte their harneise and waipons, they called to Scipio with a loude voice, sainge that they came

[a] Ὦ Ὀδυσεῦ, τὸ μὲν οὔτι σ' ἐΐσκομεν εἰσορόωντες,
Ἠεροπῆά τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, οἷά τε πολλοὺς
Βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους,
Ψεύδεά τ' ἀρτύνοντας, ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο·
Σοὶ δ', ἔνι μὲν μορφὴ ἐπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί.
Hom. Od. xi. 362–366.

[b] 'Ad Africanum eundem, in Literninâ villâ se continentem, complures prædonum duces videndum eodem tempore forte confluxerant. Quos cum ad vim faciendam venire existimasset, præsidium domesticorum in tecto collocavit; eratque in his repellendis et animo et apparatu occupatus. Quod ut prædones animadverterunt, dimissis militibus abjectisque armis, januæ appropinquant, et clarâ voce nuntiant Scipioni, "Non vitæ ejus hostes, sed virtutis admiratores venisse: conspectum et congressum tanti viri quasi cæleste aliquod beneficium expetentes: proinde securum se nobis spectandum præbere ne gravetur." Hæc postquam domestici Scipioni retulerunt, fores reserari, eosque intromitti jussit; qui postes januæ, tanquam aliquam religiosissimam aram sanctumque templum, venerati cupidè Scipionis dexteram apprehenderunt; ac diu deosculati, positis ante vestibulum donis, quæ Deorum immortalium numini consecrari solent, læti quod Scipionem vidisse contigisset, ad lares reverterunt.'—*Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. 10, § 2.

nat as enemies, but wondringe at his vertue and prowesse desired only to se hym, whiche if he vouched saufe, they wolde accounte for an heuenly benefite. That beinge showed to Scipio by his seruauntes, he caused the gates to be sette wyde open, and the theues to be suffered to entre, who kyssynge the gates and postes with moche reuerence, as they had bene of a temple or other place dedicate, they humbly approched to Scipio, who, visaged them in suche fourme that they, as subdued with a reuerent drede in beholding his maiestie, at the last ioyfully kyssyng his hande often tymes, whiche he benignely offered to them, made humble reuerence, and so departed, layinge in the porche semblable offrynges as they gaue to their goddes, and furthe with retourned to their owne habitations reioysinge incredibly that they had sene and touched a prince so noble and valiaunt.

It is no litle thynge to meruaile at, the maiestie showed in extreme fortune and misery.

The noble Romane Marius,[a] whan he had bene vii times Consul, beinge vainquisshed by Scilla, after that he had longe hidde him selfe in marises and desarte places, he was finally constrayned by famine to repaire to a towne called Minturne, where he trusted to haue bene soucoured. But the inhabitantes, dredyng the crueltie of Scilla, toke Marius and put him in to a dungeon. And after sente to slee hym their commune hangeman, whiche was borne in Cimbria, a countray some time destroyed by Marius. The hangeman beholding the

[a] 'C. etiam Marius in profundum ultimarum miseriarum abjectus, ex ipso vitæ discrimine, beneficio majestatis emersit. Missus enim ad eum occidendum in privatâ domo Minturnis clausum servus publicus, natione Cimber, et senem, et inermem, et squalore obsitum, strictum gladium tenens, aggredi non sustinuit: sed claritate viri occæcatus, abjecto ferro, attonitus inde ac tremens fugit. Cimbrica nimirum calamitas oculos hominis perstrinxit: devictæque suæ gentis interitus animum comminuit; etiam Diis immortalibus indignum ratis, ab uno ejus nationis interfici Marium, quam totam deleverat. Minturnenses autem majestate illius capti, compressum jam et constrictum dirâ fati necessitate, incolumem præstiterunt: nec fuit his timori asperrima Syllæ victoria, ne in eos conservationem Marii ulcisceretur; cum præsertim ipse Marius eos à conservando Mario absterrere posset.'—*Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. 10, § 6.

honourable porte and maiestie that remayned in Marius, nat withstandynge that he was out of honorable apparaile, and was in garmentes torne and filthie, he thought that in his visage appiered the terrible bataile wherein Marius vainquisshed his countray men; he therfore all tremblyng, as constrayned by feare, dyd lette falle out of his hande the swerde wherewith he shulde haue slayne Marius, and leuyng hym untouched, fledde out of the place. The cause of his feare reported to the people, they meued with reuerence, afterwarde studied and deuised howe they moughte delyuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.

In Augustus, emperour of Rome, was a natiue maiestie. For, as Suetonius writeth, from his eien proceded rayes or beames, whiche perced the eien of the beholders.[a] The same emperour spake seldome openly, but out of a comentarie, that is to say, that he had before prouided and writen, to the intente that he wolde speke no more ne lasse than he had purposed.[b]

More ouer towarde the acquiring of maiestie, thre thinges be required to be in the oration of a man hauyng autoritie; that it be compendious, sententious, and delectable, hauyng also respecte to the tyme whan, the place where, and the persones to whom it is spoken.[c] For the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or tyme of solace, be nat commendable in

[a] 'Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris; gaudebatque, si quis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem Solis, vultum summitteret.'—Suet. *Octavius*, 79.

[b] 'Sermones quoque cum singulis, atque etiam cum Liviâ suâ graviores, nonnisi scriptos, et è libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore.'—*Ibid.* 84.

[c] Patrizi says: 'Regia oratio brevis, dilucida, et jucunda esse debet, cum verborum pondere et sententiarum gravitate.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. ii. tit. 11. And Puttenham, who devotes a whole chapter to this subject, says: 'By reason of the sundry circumstances that man's affaires are, as it were, wrapt in, this decencie, comes to be very much alterable and subject to varietie, in so much as our speach asketh one maner of decencie, in respect of the person who speakes; another of his to whom it is spoken; another of whom we speake; another of what we speake, and in what place and time and to what purpose.'—*Arte of Engl. Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 220, ed. 1811.

tyme of consultation or seruice of god.[a] That langage that in the chambre is tollerable, in place of iugement or great assembly is nothing commendable.[b]

CHAPTER III.

Of apparaile belongynge to a noble man, beinge a gouernour or great counsailour.

APPARAILE may be wel a parte of maiestie. For as ther hath bene euer a discrepance in vesture of youthe and age,[c] men

[a] 'Non enim omnis fortuna, non omnis honos, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis dignitas, nec ætas, nec tempus, nec jocus, nec auditor omnis, eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum, sed semper cogitandum est quid deceat.'—Patrizi, *De Regno et Reg.* lib. ii. tit. 10. Erasmus, in his hints on preaching, says: 'Jam ut magni refert, quas gemmas quo loco inseras, ita plurimum interest quod sententiæ genus ubi intertexas. Vitandum et illud ne præter decorum adhibeantur. Absurdum enim fuerit, si quis adolescentulo aut lenoni graves attribuat sententias, aut in re ludicrâ levique Stoicorum adhibeat paradoxa.'—*Opera*, tom. v. col. 1006, ed. 1704.

[b] Wilson has some amusing illustrations of the neglect of this precaution. 'In waightie causes graue woordes are thought moste nedeful, that the greatnesse of the matter maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewise of other like order must be taken. Albeit some not onely doe not obserue this kind of aptnesse, but also thei doe fall into muche fondnes by usyng wordes out of place, and applying them to diuers matters without all discretion. As thus: an ignorant fellowe comming to a gentleman's place and seyng a great flocke of shepe in his pasture, said to the owner of them, "Nowe by my truth, sir, here is as goodly *an audience* of shepe as euer I sawe in my life." Who will not take this fellowe meeter to talke with shepe then speake among men? An other likewise, seyng an house faire builded, saied to his fellow thus: "Good lord, what a handsome *phrase* of buildyng is this?" There are good wordes euill used when thei are not well applied and spoken to good purpose. Therefore I wishe that suche untowarde speakyng maie giue us a good lesson to use our tongue warely, that our wordes and matter maie still agree together.'—*Arte of Rhet.* p. 168, ed. 1584.

[c] Puttenham must have had this passage in his mind when he wrote 'of Ornament,' for his language is almost identical. 'In the use of apparell there is no litle decency and undecencie to be perceiued, as well for the fashion as the stuffe, for it is comely that euery estate and vocation should be knowen by the differences of their habit: a clarke from a lay man: a gentleman from a yeoman: a souldier

and women, and our lorde god ordayned the apparaile of preestis distincte from seculars, as it appiereth in holy scripture, also the gentiles had of auncient time sondry apparaile to sondry astates, as to the senate, and dignities called magistrates.[a] And what enormitie shulde it nowe be thought, and a thinge to laughe at, to se a iuge or sergeant at the lawe in a shorte cote,[b] garded and pounced after the galyarde

rom a citizen, and the chiefe of euery degree from their inferiours, because in confusion and disorder there is no manner of decencie.—*Arte of Eng. Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 237, ed. 1811.

[a] On comparing this chapter with the 38th chapter of Dugdale's *Origines*, the reader will not fail to observe the great similarity of language. It is probable, indeed, that Dugdale had studied *The Governour*, the work also of a lawyer, and if the following passage be collated with that in the text the probability appears to be reduced almost to a certainty. Dugdale says : 'That peculiar and decent vestments have from great antiquity been used in religious services, we have the authority of God's sacred precept to Moses : *Thou shalt make holy rayments for Aaron and his sons that are to minister unto me, that they may be for glory and beauty.* And reason tells us that in places of Civil judicature it is not only proper that the Magistrate should be distinguished from others, but all possible care used that a venerable respect be had to his person and office. Hence was it that the most civilized people of the world did accordingly make it their practice—the Roman Senators having their vesture much different from that of the Gentry, viz. a garment bestudded with flourishings of purple silk in manner of broad Nayl ; and the Consuls a solemn Robe of purple, by which they were known from other Magistrates and private men, with large embroydered works thereon, called *Trabea*, and in further honour of that their Consular dignity, xii Lictors, who bare their bundles of Rods and Axes before them, as also an Ivory Chair of State which was commonly carryed about for them in a Chariot, all which was done to draw a more awfull reverence to them than ordinary.'—*Origines*, p. 98, ed. 1671.

[b] So Puttenham says : 'There is a decency of apparrel in respect of the place where it is to be used : as in the Court to be richely apparrelled : in the countrey to weare more plain and homely garments. For who would not thinke it a ridiculous thing to see a Lady in her milke-house with a veluet gowne, and at a bridall in her cassock of mockado ; a Gentleman of the Countrey among the bushes and briars goe in a pounced dublet and a paire of embrodered hosen, in the citie to weare a frise jerkin and a paire of leather breeches ?'—*Arte of Engl. Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 238, ed. 1811. This was an age of sumptuary laws, and the Inns of Court made the most stringent regulations for the government of their members in the matter of dress. A few years later, viz. in 1554 the Benchers of the Middle Temple ordered 'that none of this Society should thenceforth wear any great Bryches in their Hoses, made after the Dutch, Spanish, or Almon (*i.e.* German) fashion, or Lawnde upon their Capps, or cut doublets, upon pain of iii*s.* iv*d.* forfaiture for the first default,

facion,[a] or an apprentise of the lawe or pleder come to the barre with a millaine bonet or frenche hatte[b] on his heed, sette

and the second time to be expelled the House.' And in 1557, general orders applying to all the Inns of Court were issued : 'That none of the Companions, except Knights or Benchers, from the last day of September next, wear in their Doublets or Hoses any light colours, except scarlet and crimsons or wear any upper velvet Cap, or any Scarf or wings in their gowns, white Jerkyns, Buskins, or Velvet shoes, Double Cuffs on their shirts, feathers or ribbens on their Caps, upon pain to forfeit for the first default iii*s.* iv*d.*, and the second expulsion without redemption.'—Dugdale, *Origines*, pp. 191, 310.

[a] This probably refers to the style of dress adopted by those who danced the 'gaillarde,' described in the first volume of this work, and which was of a lively character, for we are told : 'Aprez la pauane on dance coustumierement la gaillarde qui est legiere.'—Arbeau, *Orchesographie*, p. 33. In the very next year (1532) after the first appearance of *The Governour*, an Act of Parliament was passed 'for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle,' which enacted that none but the King and members of the Royal Family should wear purple silk or cloth of gold tissue, and that no one who could not 'dispende' £100 per annum might wear any 'satene damaske silke chamlett or taffata in his gowne cote with sleves, or other uttermost apparell or garment, nor any maner of velvett otherwise than in sleveles jakettes, doublettes, coyfes, partelettes or purses, nor any furre wherof the like kynde groweth not within this realme of Englande, excepte foynes genettes, called Grey genettes and Bogye.' But it was expressly provided that the Act should 'not extende nor be hurtfull or prejudiciall to the Justices of the one Benche or the other, the Barons of the Kynges Eschequier, the Maister of the Rolles, Serjauntes at Lawe, the Masters of the Chauncerie, ne to any of the Counseill of the Quene, Prince, or Princesses, Apprentises of the Lawe, Recorders,' &c. ; 'ne to any utter Barrester of any of the Innes of Courte for wearing in any of his appareill suche silke and Furre' as was before limited for them that could dispend £20 per annum. 'Nor to any other student of the Innes of Courte or Chauncerye.' Servants and yeomen who could not 'dispende of freholde' 40 shillings per annum were prohibited from wearing their hoses 'garded or myxed with any other thing that may be sene on or thorough the utter parte of their hosen, but with the self same clothe onely ;' nor 'any shirte or shirte bande, under or upper cappe, coiffe, bonnet or hatte garnysshed, myxte, made or wroughte with silke, gold, or silver.' The Act was to come into operation 'from the feast of the Purification of our Lady (2 Feb.) 1533.'

[b] In the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* there are two or three entries relating to the purchase of 'Myllain bonets,' and the learned editor says : 'What a Milan bonnet was does not exactly appear. In both instances they were bought for the king's fool.' The price charged to the king was eight shillings apiece. It is a curious fact that the tradesman of whom they were purchased is called in one instance Christopher Mylloner ; and Sir Nicholas Nicolas says : 'A milloner of the 16th, was evidently a different sort of tradesman from the milliner of the 19th century,

full of plumes, poudred with spangles. So is there apparaile comely to euery astate and degree, and that whiche excedeth or lackethe, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially. For apparaile simple or scante, reprouethe hym of auarice.[a] If it be alway exceding precious, and often tymes chaunged, as well in to charge as straunge and newe facions, it causeth him to be noted dissolute of maners.[b]

for besides caps, bonnets, and gloves, he then sold knives, sheaths, girdles, jewels, &c.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 337. Is it not possible that the name of Mylloner was derived from the Myllayne bonnets which he sold? or because such trade was exercised specially by the Milanese? The Milan bonnets of the 16th century seems to have enjoyed the same sort of reputation as an article of commerce that those of Leghorn possessed in more modern times.

[a] So Patrizi says: 'Concludamus igitur maximam in Regibus Principibusque virtutem esse magnificentiam, à quâ quicumque abest, vix quippiam dignum laude agere potest, et in avaritiæ crimen facilè incurrit, detrectatoribusque obnoxius redditur.' —*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. vii. tit. 11. Erasmus, however, considers frugality in a prince a sign of self-restraint. 'In aliis frugalitas aut mundicies vel inopiæ tribui potest vel parsimoniæ, si quis iniquius interpretetur. At eadem in Principe nihil aliud esse potest quàm temperantiæ documentum, cum is rebus modicè utitur, cui quantum libet, tantum suppetit.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 23.

[b] 'In vestitu mediocritatem servet, metiaturque se ad mensuram sui censûs. Ut enim turpe est sordidâ atque indecorâ veste uti, ita invidiosum nitidiore atque elegantiore, et præcipuè cum res familiaris minus suppetit, vel ubi æs alienum contractum est. Est etiam considerandum in vestitu, ut cultus concessus sit, et non discedat à consuetudine patriæ. Deceat personam, genus, ætatem, mores. Ut lauta vestis, quoad decet, dignitatem authoritatemque hominibus addit, sic muliebris et luxuriosa non corpus ornat, sed animum detegit.'—Patrizi, *De Instit. Reipub.* lib. v. tit. 10. Those about the Court, as usual, set the fashion and must be held responsible for their example. It was for this they incurred some years later Ascham's displeasure. 'If three or four great ones in court will needs outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours: let the prince proclaim, make laws, order, punish, command every gate in London daily to be watched; let all good men beside do every where what they can; surely the misorder of apparel in mean men abroad shall never be amended, except the greatest in court will order and mend themselves first.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 145, ed. 1864. Montaigne, at a still earlier period, invoked the assistance of Royalty itself to check the prevailing extravagance. 'Combien soubdainement viennent en honneur parmy nos armees les pourpoincts crasseux de chamois et de toile; et la polisseure et richesse des vestements à reproche et à mespris! Que les roys commencent à quitter ces despenses, ce sera faict en un mois, sans edict et sans ordonnance; nous irons touts aprez.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 433, ed. 1854.

The most noble emperours of Rome, Augustus,[a] Traiane,[b] Hadriane,[c] Antonine,[d] Seuerus,[e] and Alexander,[f] whiche were of all other incomparable in honorable lyuynge, used a discrete moderation in their apparaile, all thoughe they were greatte emperours and gentiles. Howe moche more ought than christen men, whose denomination is founded on humilitie, and they that be nat of the astate of princes,[g] to shewe a

[a] 'Veste non temerè aliâ quàm domesticâ usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filiâ neptibusque confectâ: togis, neque restrictis, neque fusis: clavo nec lato nec angusto: calciamentis altiusculis, ut procerior, quàm erat, videretur.'—Sueton. *Oct.* 73.

[b] 'The thick and straight-cut hair, smoothed over the brow without a curl or a parting, marks the simplicity of the man's character, in a voluptuous age which delighted in the culture of flowing or frizzled locks.'—Merivale, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. vii. p. 270.

[c] 'Vestem humillimam frequentur acciperet, sine auro balteum sumeret, sine gemmis fibulas stringeret, capulo vix eburneo spatham clauderet.'—*Aug. Hist.* tom. i. pp. 88, 89, ed. 1671.

[d] 'Visus est sane ab amicis, et cum privatis vestibus, et domestica quædam gerens.'—*Aug. Hist.* tom. i. p. 261.

[e] 'Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix tunica ejus aliquid purpuræ haberet, et cum hirta chlamyde humeros velaret.'—*Aug. Hist.* tom. i. p. 631.

[f] 'Vestes sericas ipse raras habuit: holosericas nunquam induit. Usus est ipse chlamyde de coccinâ sæpe. In urbe tamen semper togatus fuit, et in Italiæ urbibus. Prætextam et pictam togam nunquam nisi consul accepit . . . Braccas albas habuit, non coccineas, ut prius solebant. Gemmarum quod fuit, vendidit, et aurum in ærarium contulit, dicens gemmas viris usui non esse.'—*Ibid.* p. 969–978.

[g] The following is a specimen of the language in which the divines, at the end of the century, inveighed against the extravagant fashions of the day: 'As for priuate subiectes, it is not at any hande lawfull that they should weare silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damaskes, golde, siluer, and what they list (though they be neuer so able to maintaine it), except they being in some kinde of office in the common wealth doe use it for the dignifying and innobling of the same; or at the commandement of the chiefe Magistrate for some speciall consideration or purpose. But now there is suche a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in England, and suche horrible excesse thereof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he listeth himselfe or can get by any meanes. So that it is very hard to knowe who is worshipfull, who is a Gentleman, who is not; for you shall haue those which are neither of the Nobilitie, Gentilitie, nor Yeomanrie—no, nor yet any Magistrate or officer in the common wealth goe daylie in silkes, Veluettes, Satens, Damaskes, Taffaties, and such like, notwithstandyng that they be bothe base by birth, meane by estate, and seruile by calling. And this I accompt a great confusion and a generall disorder in a Christian common wealth.'—Stubbes,

moderation and constance in vesture, that they diminisshe no parte of their maiestie, either with newe fanglenesse or with ouer sumptuous expences? And yet may this last be suffred wher ther is a great assembly of straungers, for than some tyme it is expedient that a nobleman in his apparaile do aduaunte hym selfe to be both riche and honourable.[a] But in this as well as in other partes of maiestie tyme is to be highly considered.

Semblable deckynge oughte to be in the house of a noble man or man of honour.[b] I meane concernynge ornamentes of

Anat. of Abuses, p. 11, ed. 1595. The subject of extravagance in dress is discussed at great length in a treatise, entitled *De l'estat honneste des Chrestiens en leur accoustrement*, printed at Geneva in 1580 by Jean de Laon (Laonius), the author of which was apparently unknown to M. Brunet, and which is entirely ignored by M. Barbier in his *Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes*, but which is attributed by M. Michel Nicolas in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, to Lambert Daneau, a French Protestant, who was professor of theology at Geneva towards the end of the 16th century, and author of various works bearing on the Reformation. Daneau insisted on the importance of each rank of society adhering to its appropriate costume. 'Quant à la qualité il y a aussi distinction. Car les uns sont Princes, les autres suiets, les uns nobles, les autres roturiers, les uns riches, les autres poures. Et telle diuersité n'est point entre les hommes que par la prouidence de Dieu, lequel par une telle difference gouuerne et maintient la societe des hommes selon sa sagesse: ne plus ne moins qu'il entretient en une harmonie et accord admirable tout cest uniuers par la composition d'elemens et qualités si contraires. Et pourtant comme on ne peut corrumpre cest ordre, qu'on ne repugne a Dieu et qu'il ne s'en ensuiue de la confusion: ce seroit faute aussi de vouloir oster les moiens d'une telle distinction entre lesquels a tousiours esté compté l'accoustrement.' And after citing examples from Sacred and Roman History, he continues: 'Tellement que pour toutes ces choses nous concluons que pour garder la bienseance aux accoustremens un chascun doit considerer sa qualité et que la police que nous auons en ce royaume est bien fondée que chascun s'accommode a suiure son rang. Si le marchant ou le laboureur ou aucun des suiets veut auoir l'ornement du prince on le doit reprimer; mais si aussi quelcun debat que l'accoustrement d'un Prince ne doit point estre plus magnifique que celuy d'un vacher ou simple marchant, c'est vouloir mettre trouble et confusion.'—Chap. xvi. p. 82, ed. 1580.

[a] So Peacham says: 'But if to do your Prince honour at a tilting, employed in embassage, comming in of some great stranger, or you are to giue entertainment to Princes or Noble personages at your house, as did *Cosmo de Medici*, or haply ye command in the warres, spare not to be braue with the brauest.'—*Compleat Gentleman*, p. 191, ed. 1622.

[b] Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, says: 'Cloath of gold, Arase, Tapestrie, and suche other riche ornamentes, pendices, and hanginges in a house of estate

halle and chambres, in Arise,[a] painted tables, and images

serue not onely to manual uses and seruile occupations, but also to decore, to beautifie and adorne the house, and to shewe the riche estate and glorie of the owner.' —P. 12, ed. 1595. And Harrison, describing the furniture in use at the time, says, 'Certes in noble men's houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise, in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not *geson* to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie work, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation.' And he goes on to say that even the middle classes in his time used such furniture as their forefathers would have been unable to purchase. 'As herein, all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staied there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen unto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old, and not of their new leases, haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine naperie, whereby the wealthe of our countrie (God be praised, therefore, and giue us grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare.'—*Descript. of England*, p. 188, ed. 1587. The word *geson* is said by Halliwell in his *Dict. of Archaic, &c., Words*, to mean 'rare, scarce;' but oddly enough, although he gives three illustrations of its use, they are all from MSS. and he does not quote the above passage. The word is not mentioned by either Skinner, Somner, or Bosworth, but Cotgrave translates the French *rare*, 'rare, seld, unusuall, geason.'

[a] Arise = Arras, which was the name applied to the cloth or tapestry made at Arras, in France, in the department of the *Pas de Calais*. Arras, then called Nemetacum, was anciently the capital of the Atrebates, a Belgic nation, whose name is still preserved in that of the modern town. These people were celebrated for their manufacture of cloth in the later imperial period. For we are told that the Emperor Gallienus (A.D. 248–268) 'received with a careless smile the repeated intelligence of invasions, defeats, and rebellions; and singling out with affected contempt some particular production of the lost province, he carelessly asked whether Rome must be ruined unless it was supplied with linen from Egypt and Arras cloth from Gaul.' Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Rom. Empire*, vol. i. p. 408, ed. 1854. 'Perditâ Galliâ arrisisse ac dixisse perhibetur, "Non sine Atrebaticis sagis tuta Respublica est?" '—*Hist. August.* tom. i. p. 200, ed. 1671. Again, Vopiscus, in his life of the Emperor Carinus (A.D. 284), mentions Atrebatici birri (*ibid.* p. 861). It seems to have been occasionally used in England for the hangings of beds, which, in the will of one Ralph de Nevill of Westmorland, dated May 4, A.D. 1440, are bequeathed as legacies. 'Item do et lego Johannæ uxori meæ terciam partem bonorum et rerum meorum mobilium, cum optimo cipho meo auri, cum vi chargeours, xxiv discis argenteis, et cum uno lecto

containyng histories,[a] wherin is represented some monument of vertue, moste cunnyngly wroughte, with the circumstance of the mater briefely declared ; wherby other men in beholdynge may be instructed, or at the lest wayes, to vertue persuaded.[b]

de Arras operato cum auro, cum costeris eidem pertinentibus et concordantibus . . Item do et lego Ricardo de Nevill filio meo ii chargeours, xii discos, et i pelvim cum i ewer argenti, et unum lectum de Arras cum costeris, paled de colore rubeo viridi et albo, qui solebant pendere in magnâ camerâ infra Castrum de Sherifhoton.'—Madox, *Formul. Anglicanum*, p. 432, ed. 1702. John Mustyan, of Enguien, is recorded as arras-maker to the King. Walpole's *Anec. of Paint.* vol. i. p. 108.

[a] Mr. Wornum says, '*Tabula picta* (a panel painted) was the common Latin expression for an easel picture among the Romans and in later ages.'—Walpole's *Anec. Paint.* vol. i. p. 63, note. Warton quotes from an Inventory of the Stores of Henry VIII. : 'Two old stayned clothes of the ix worthies for the greate chamber at New Hall in Essex ;' and adds, 'these were pictures.'—*Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 205, note. And Walpole tells us that in an inventory in the Augmentation Office, containing an account of goods, pictures, and furniture in the palace of Westminster, under the care of Sir Anthony Denny, keeper of the wardrobe, 'it appears that they called a picture *a table with a picture* ; prints, *cloths stained with a picture* ; and models and bas-reliefs they termed *pictures of earth.*' From the same authority we learn that 'In a small room, called the confessionary, near the chapel at Hampton Court, Vertue found several *Scripture stories* painted on wainscot, particularly the Passion.'—*Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. pp. 62, 63, ed. 1849. We are also told of pictures representing the Battle of the Spurs, the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the Expedition to Boulogne. By 'images,' the author probably intended what we should call 'stained glass' or 'painted windows,' but he may also allude to sculpture, whether of wood or stone. For both were beginning to be employed for ornamental purposes at this period. Aubrey, in his account of Gorhambury, which was built by Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, mentions the 'stately Gallerie, whose glasse windows are all painted, and every pane with severall figures of beast, bird, or flower.' And he adds, 'Perhaps his Lordship might use them as topiques for locall use.'—*The Oxford Cabinet*, p. 26, ed. 1797. On the other hand, Hentzner, who travelled in England at the end of the century, describing the royal residence of Nonesuch, says, 'Secessus Regius, quem magnificentissimus Rex Henricus VIII. in loco saluberrimo, prius *Cuddington* dicto, deliciis et otio suo destinavit, tantâque magnificentiâ et elegantiâ exstruxit, ut ad ostentationis arcem aspiret et omnem architectonices peritiam in uno hoc opere coacervatam existimes. Tot sunt ubique spirantia signa, tot absolutæ Arcis miracula et Romanæ antiquitatis æmula opera ex gypso affabrè facta, ut optimo jure hoc suum nomen habeat et tueatur, quod Latine ut nonnullis placet *Nulli secunda* sonat.'—*Itinerarium*, p. 153, ed. 1617.

[b] Mr. Wright, who quotes the above passage, but erroneously describes our author as Sir *John* Elyot, says : 'The sixteenth century was especially the age of

In like wise his plate[a] and vessaile wolde be ingraued with

tapestries, and no gentleman could consider his rooms furnished if they wanted these important adjuncts.'—*Homes of other Days*, p. 478, ed. 1871. And it is surprising that Warton's attention was not drawn to this chapter of *The Governour*, for in proof of the reverence in which the fables of chivalry were once held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been regarded by our ancestors, he says : 'These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The stories of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry VIII. are still preserved. In the tapestry of the Tower of London, the original and most ancient seat of our monarchs, there are recited Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologn, the emperor Constantine, Saint George, King Erkenwald, Esther and Ahasuerus, Jupiter and Juno, the ten kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the riche history of King David, the seven deadly sins, the riche history of the Passion, the stem of Jesse, &c. &c. At Durham Place we find the Citie of Ladies, the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son, Esther, and other pieces of Scripture. At Windsor Castle, the siege of Jerusalem, Ahasuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and hawking and hunting. At Nottingham Castle, Amys and Amelion. At Woodstock, the tapestrie of Charlemagne. At Moor Park (formerly Wolsey's palace) in Hertfordshire, King Arthur, Hercules, Astyages and Cyrus. At Richmond, the arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting. Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatlands, Bedington in Surrey, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such.'—*Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 203, 204, ed. 1840.

[a] Although at this time silver plate was in constant use in the houses of the nobility, Harrison tells us that glass was coming into fashion, not, however, for its cheapness. 'It is a world to see,' he says, 'in these our daies, wherein gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein, before time, we haue beene accustomed to drinke . . . the poorest also will haue glasse if they may, but sith the Venecian is somewhat too deere for them, they content themselues with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone.'—*Descript. of England*, p. 167, ed. 1587. And Hentzner tells a characteristic story of the Inns of Court, which shows that students in the 16th were better off, at least in one respect, than in the 19th century, inasmuch as the Benchers seem to have made no charge for 'breakages.' 'In hisce Collegiis (*i.e.*, the Temple, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn) lautè vivunt, et poculis argenteis utuntur, quod cum aliquando illustris quidam vir vidisset, admirans magnum poculorum argenteorum numerum, in hæc verba prorupisse fertur : "Convenire potiùs scholasticis ex testaceis et vitreis quàm argenteis vasculis bibere." Responsum ei *à Collegio*, "Se omnia sua pocula ipsi velle tradere, si conditionem accipiat et vicissim sibi de testaceis et vitreis vasculis sufficienter prospiciat ; frequentissimam enim horum confractionem posse fortassis aliquando longè superare æstimationem argenteorum." '—*Itinerarium*, p. 133, ed. 1617.

histories, fables, or quicke and wise sentences, comprehending good doctrine or counsailes ; wherby one of these commodities may happen, either that they which do eate or drinke, hauyng those wisedomes euer in sighte, shall happen with the meate to receiue some of them, or by purposinge them at the table, may sussitate some disputation or reasonynge ; wherby some parte of tyme shall be saued, whiche els by superfluouse eatyng and drinkyng wolde be idely consumed.

CHAPTER IV.

What very nobilitie is, and wherof it toke firste that denomination.

NOWE it is to be feared that where maiestie approcheth to excesse, and the mynde is obsessed with inordinate glorie, lest pride, of al vices most horrible, shuld sodainely entre and take prisoner the harte of a gentilman called to autoritie. Wherfore in as moche as that pestilence corruptethe all sences,[a] and makethe them incurable by any persuation or doctrine, therfore suche persones from their adolescencie (which is the age nexte to the state of man) oughte to be persuaded and taughte the true knowlege of very nobilitie in fourme folowing or like.[b]

[a] So Clicthoue, a celebrated Flemish theologian, one of the most distinguished controversialists of the 16th century, and one of the first who wrote against Luther, in a tract entitled *De verâ Nobilitate*, published in 1520, says : 'At quoniam generis nobilitas plerosque inflatos opinione sui reddit, fastidiososque, ac aliorum contemptores, extirpandum est in primis animo id superbiæ virus, et facilis in omnes æquabilitas studiosius ei, qui veræ nobilitatis titulo vult insigniri, comparanda.'—Cap. 12. If the reader compares this tract with *The Governour*, he will hardly fail to notice a certain similarity in the treatment of the same subject, which makes it probable that the author of the latter was acquainted with Clicthoue's *opusculum*.

[b] Erasmus warns his Prince that there are three kinds of nobility, but only one of supreme importance: 'Principem summa decet nobilitas. Esto ; verum cum tria sint nobilitatis genera, unum quod ex virtute rectèque factis nascitur, proximum quod ex honestissimarum disciplinarum cognitione proficiscitur, tertium quod natalium picturis et majorum stemmatis æstimatur, aut opibus : cogita quàm non

Fyrst, that in the begynnyng, whan priuate possessions and dignitie were gyuen by the consent of the people, who than had all thinge in commune, and equalitie in degree and condition, undoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to him at whose vertue they meruailed, and by whose labour and industrie they receiued a commune benefite, as of a commune father that with equall affection loued them.[a] And that promptitude or redinesse in employinge that benefite was than named in englisshe gentilnesse, as it was in latine *benignitas*,[b] and in other tonges after a semblable signification, and the persones were called gentilmen,[c] more for the remembraunce of their

conveniat Principem infimo genere nobilitatis intumescere, quod sic infimum est ut nullum omnino sit, nisi ef ipsum à virtute fuerit profectum: summum illud negligere, quod ita summum est, ut solum optimo jure possit haberi.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 24.

[a] Patrizi had pointed this out: 'Regna quidem priscis seculis non posteris eorum qui regnabant tradebantur, sed eis tamen qui per virtutem plurimum de hominum vitâ merebantur.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. viii. tit. 6. And Erasmus also in very similar language, as follows, 'Primitus reges non ob aliud constituti sunt populi consensu, quàm ob eximiam virtutem, quam heroicam vocant, velut divinæ proximam et humanâ majorem.—*Inst. Prin. Christ.* p. 51.

[b] This is one of the five qualities the possession of which Erasmus considers necessary for a Prince, in order to secure the affections of his people: 'Benevolentia multitudinis conciliatur his moribus, ut dicam in genere, qui plurimum absint à tyrannide: clementiâ, comitate, æquitate, civilitate, benignitate. Benignitas exstimulat ad officium, præsertim si conspexerint iis esse præmium apud Principem, qui de Republicâ bene mereantur.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 93. Selden traces the etymology of the word *gentleman* to the Gothic nations of the fifth century, and sees a proof of it in the exemptions and privileges of the German nobility in his own day, 'as if that continuing freedome were also a perpetuall character of the origination of the name *Gentil* in this sense fixed on them; which also together with *Gentilezza* or the like, by reason of the dignitie of them that were stiled by it, and the faire manners which both in armes and peace they affected, or at least pretended, hath denoted, and to this day doth, we see in these tongues *mansuetus*, *comis*, *liberalis*, *perhumanus*, and such more epithets and their abstracts as may expresse a noble spirit.'—*Titles of Honor*, p. 864, ed. 1631.

[c] Ferne defines gentleness or gentility from a herald's point of view as follows: 'First you shall knowe how this word Gentill doth in true speech comprehend all estates and degrees of noblenesse, by the opinion of Budæus. And the greatest nobleman doth commonly use (saith he), nay rather desire, for the better and more solemne contestation of the matter, to protest in these words, that as he is a Gentleman it is thus or thus, then to stand upon the tearme of noble. But by entring

vertue and benefite, than for discrepance of astates. Also it fortuned by the prouidence of god that of those good men were ingendred good children, who beinge brought up in vertue, and perceiuinge the cause of the aduauncement of their progenitours, endeuoured them selfes by imitation of vertue, to be equall to them in honour and autoritie; by good emulation they retained stille the fauour and reuerence of people.[a] And for the goodnesse that proceded of suche gene-

into consideration what the word *Gentilitas* (which is called Gentrie) did amongst the auncients signifie, we shall perceiue what a great perfection both in bloud and continuance of name, in fidelitie to his countrey, in loyaltie to his Soueraigne, and in freedome of estate was alwaies to be seene in this degree of Gentrie. For Tully saith thus: "Gentiles sunt qui inter se eodem nomine sunt qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum majorum nemo servierit, qui capite non sunt diminuti" (*Topica*, cap. vi.) They are Gentlemen (saith he) which within themselues and in their own family haue continued the name of their house, being sprong from an honest and famous stock, whose Auncestors were Frenchmen [*sic in orig. sed quære*] and which for their disloialty haue not susteined any capitall paine . . . For the protection and defence of this Gentil estate (being an excellency and noblenesse arising from the practise of vertues and conioined in one kinred or bloud) many lawes were by our aged forefathers carefully prouided..... Budæus (upon the same place also) noteth, "Gentiles fuerunt hi qui imagines sui generis proferre poterant, et erant Insignia Gentilitium quæ hodie Arma dicuntur." So then the bearing of Armes was always proper and peculiar to the estate of Gentry, as the signe and outward badge of their generous and gentill kind, differing them from churles; whereby it appeareth that no man can be properly called a Gentleman except he be a Gentleman of bloud, possessing vertue; and such a one, that is to say, a gentleman of bloud and coate-armor perfect, might only challenge the benefit and priuiledges of that law called *Jus Gentilitatis*.'—*Blazon of Gentrie*, pp. 85, 86. Selden says: 'Vulgar use now hath so altered the genuine sense of *Generosus*, that it frequently denotes any kind of Gentleman, either by birth or otherwise truly enjoying that name as well as *Nobilis*. But it was long before the constant use of *Generosus* was with us for the title of Gentleman in our Writs, Counts, Pledings, and such like. *Till about Henry VIII.* the very word *Gentilman* was often retained for the addition in the Latin, as we see in the Rolls of the precedent times. But then *Generosus* came to be constantly with us used for a Gentleman of what sort soeuer, if his Title were no greater.'—*Titles of Honor*, p. 858, ed. 1631.

[a] Patrizi says: 'Antiquiore genere qui censentur, si virtute ac moribus præstant, longè tutiùs Reipublicæ curam gerunt, quàm qui novi in Rempublicam acciti sunt. Æquum namque esse videtur, ut qui parentes, avos, majores omnes publicis functionibus honestatos habuerunt, quasi hæreditario quodam jure, Reipublicæ curam accipiant, et in eam amplificandam nervos omnes (ut dicitur) intendant.'—*De Instit. Reipub.* lib. vi. tit. 1, p. 264, ed. 1594.

ration the state of them was called in greke *Eugenia*,[a] whiche signifiethe good kinde or lignage, but in a more briefe maner it was after called nobilitie,[b] and the persones noble, whiche signifieth excellent,[c] and in the analogie or signification it is more ample than gentill, for it containeth as well all that whiche is in gentilnesse, as also the honour or dignitie therefore received, whiche be so annexed the one to the other that they can nat be seperate.[d]

It wold be more ouer declared that where vertue ioyned with great possessions or dignitie hath longe continued in the bloode or house of a gentilman, as it were an inheritaunce, there nobilitie is mooste shewed, and these noble men be most to be honored; for as moche as continuaunce in all thinge that is good hath euer preeminence in praise and comparison. But yet shall it be necessary to aduertise those persones, that do thinke that nobilitie may in no wyse be but onely where men can auaunte them of auncient lignage, an auncient robe, or

[a] Aristotle says that virtue and riches are the origin of nobility. Ἡ γὰρ εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή.—*Pol.* lib. iv. cap. viii. (vi.) And in another place, Εὐγενεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οἷς ὑπάρχει προγόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ πλοῦτος.—*Ibid.* lib. v. cap. i.

[b] Selden speaks of a threefold use of this word, viz., 'that which is Theologicall or Christian, Philosophicall or from manners and vertue, and Politicall or Civill.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 854. To the last of which only he pays any attention, whilst it will be observed that Sir Thomas Elyot treats of the word in the secondary sense above mentioned. Selden had evidently derived his knowledge on this subject from the Civilians, and particularly the famous Bartolus, who in his commentary on the Codex, lib. xii. tit. 1, *De dignitatibus*, says, 'Habemus ponere tres nobilitates. Prima est nobilitas Theologica seu supernaturalis, Secunda est nobilitas naturalis, Tertia est nobilitas politica et civilis.'—*Opera*, tom. iv. lib. xii. Codic. tit. i. § 24, p. 118, ed. 1588, Basle.

[c] Clicthoue says: 'Nobilitatem diffiniunt authores esse generis vel alterius rei excellentiam ac dignitatem.'—*De verâ Nobilitate*, cap. i. ed. 1520.

[d] Ferne, who also gives the etymology of the word, is rather less precise in his definition, but he deduces the origin of nobility from nature herself, or the 'common creation of things,' and thinks that 'some one abounding in many outward graces and partes aboue the rest, and the fame of his worthines spread abroad caused the multitude to yeeld an especiall honor unto him, so that on such a one were the eyes of many fixed, and he, for the vertues and worthy quallities *knowne* to all men to be in him, was chiefely honored, and thus at the first had noblenes her beginning,

great possessions, at this daye very noble men do suppose to be moche errour and folye.[a] Wherof there is a familiare example, whiche we beare euer with us, for the bloode in our bodies beinge in youthe warme, pure, and lustie, it is the occasion of beautie, whiche is euery where commended and loued ; but if in age it be putrified, it leseth his praise. And the goutes, carbuncles, kankers, lepries, and other lyke sores and sickenesses, whiche do procede of bloode corrupted, be to all men detestable.

And this persuasion to any gentilman, in whom is apte disposition to very nobilitie, wyll be sufficient to withdrawe hym from suche vice, wherby he maye empayre his owne estimation, and the good renoume of his auncetours.[b]

which that it is thus, the Etymologie of the word *Nobilitas* will sufficiently approue, which being a word of the Latines, is deriued of the verbe *Nosco*, to knowe, so that then the word *Nobilitas* signifying, in common phrase of speech, both with the Latines, and eeke with us Englishmen, a generosity of blood and degree, is in her owne nature but significant, euen as that barbarous word *Noscibilitas* doth, that is to say, a knowledge of a thing, and therefore saith one *Vir nobilis idem est quod notus ac per omnium ora vulgatus.* A Gentleman or a Nobleman is he (for I do wittingly confound these voices) which is *knowne*, and through the heroycall vertues of his life, talked of in euery man's mouth, and that this word *Nobilis* is properly the same that *Notus*, and doth without violence, yea, of her owne nature, tollerate this construction, it doth appeare, for so much as many reuerend authors (patrones of Latin speech) haue often in their works used the same, as Virgil, Liuie, Martiall, Ouid, Cicero, &c.'—*Blazon of Gentrie*, p. 4, ed. 1586.

[a] This passage very closely resembles the remarks of Erasmus upon the education of a Prince: 'Audiat nobilitatem, imagines, ceras, stemmata, et totam illam caduceatorum pompam, quâ procerum vulgus muliebriter intumescit, nomina esse inania, nisi quidquid est hoc nominis ab honesto fuerit profectum.'—*Instit. Princ. Christ.* p. 21. The argument in the text resembles Ovid's

> 'Si modo nec census, nec clarum nomen avorum,
> Sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit.'
>
> *Epist. ex Ponto*, lib. i. 9, 39.

[b] Patrizi says: 'Primum (ordinem) antiqua generis dignitas commendat, si à majorum virtute ac moribus non aberrat. Ab ingenuis enim parentibus orti, degeneres deterioresque facti, non modo in plebem rejiciendi sunt, verum titulis nominibusque majorum mulctandi.'—*De Instit. Reipub.* lib. vi. tit. 1, p. 260. And it is impossible to avoid thinking that the author must have had in his mind the scathing lines of the Roman satirist:

If he haue an auncient robe lefte by his auncetor, let him consider that if the first owner were of more vertue than he is that succedeth, the robe beinge worne, it minissheth his praise to them whiche knewe or haue herde of the vertue of him that firste owed it.[a] If he that weareth it be viciouse, it more detecteth howe moche he is unworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makynge men to abhorre the reproche gyuen by an iuell successour.[b] If the firste owner

> 'Quod si præcipitem rapit ambitio, atque libido,
> Si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
> Delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures:
> Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
> Nobilitas, claramque facem præferre pudendis.
> Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
> Crimen habet, quanto major, qui peccat, habetur.'
>
> Juv. *Sat.* viii. 135–141.

[a] So Patrizi says: 'Clariores illi qui genere censentur, intelligere debent magnum onus esse majorum famam sustinere. Nam sicut laudem ingentem meretur qui ex infimâ plebe virtute et rerum gloriâ sese effert nobilioribusque adæquandus est: sic qui à majoribus suis degenerat laudemque eorum vitæ turpitudine obscuriorem reddit, non modo nullis honoribus honestandus est, verum ignominiâ quoque et injuriâ afficiendus.'—*De Instit. Reipub.* lib. vi. tit. 1. And Ferne, who was certainly acquainted with the work just quoted, and had probably studied this chapter of *The Governour*, says: 'But as noblenes of bloud is chieflye auaileable to that mind which attendeth vertue and hateth filthines, so if the person discended of noble stock standeth onely upon the vaine ostentation of his auncestours fame, and yet he himself walloweth in filthines, the opiñion of auncient bloud in such a one is a prouocation of many euils, and such men, that vaunt of so friuolous a thing be as bladders of water, than which nothing more vaine or light; or as peacockes, boasting at the glory of their paynted tayles, the filthiest part of the body.'—*Blazon of Gentrie*, p. 27.

[b] Montaigne uses pretty much the same language: 'La noblesse est une belle qualité et introduicte avecques raison; mais d'autant que c'est une qualité despendant d'aultruy, et qui peult tumber en un homme vicieux et de neant, elle est en estimation bien loing au dessoubs de la vertu. C'est une vertu si, ce l'est, artificielle et visible; despendant du temps et de la fortune; diverse en forme, selon les contrees; vivante et mortelle; sans naissance non plus que la riviere du Nil; genealogique et commune de suite et de similitude; tiree par consequence et consequence bien foible. La science, la force, la bonte, la beauté, la richesse, toutes aultres qualitez, tumbent en communication et en commerce; cette cy se consomme en soy de nulle emploite au service d'aultruy.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p.

were nat vertuouse, hit condemneth him that weareth it of moche folisshenesse, to glorie in a thinge of so base estimation, whiche, lacking beautie or glosse, can be none ornament to hym that weareth it, nor honorable remembrance to hym that first owed it.[a]

But nowe to confirme by true histories, that accordynge as I late affirmed, nobilitie is nat onely in dignitie, auncient lignage, nor great reuenues, landes, or possessions.[b] Lete

404. The reader will probably trace in this and other passages of this chapter, the close connection with the ideas expressed in the famous satire of Juvenal:

'Stemmata quid faciunt? Quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censeri, pictosque ostendere vultus
Majorum, et stantes in curribus Æmilianos? . . .
Quis fructus generis tabulâ jactare capaci
Corvinum, posthac multâ contingere virgâ
Fumosos Equitum cum Dictatore magistros,
Si coram Lepidis male vivitur? Effigies quo
Tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
Ante Numantinos? . . .
. . . Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui
Indignus genere, et præclaro nomine tantum
Insignis?' *Sat.* viii. 1–30.

[a] There is a somewhat similar notion in the Reply to Sallust, which has been by some attributed to Cicero. 'Noli mihi antiquos viros objectare. Satius est enim me meis rebus gestis florere, quàm majorum opinione niti; et ita vivere, ut ego sim posteris meis nobilitatis initium, et virtutis exemplum.'—Cicero, *Opera*, vol. vii. p. 3016, Delphin ed. And the following passage in Sir Thomas More's *Life of John Picus, Erle of Mirandula*, bears a very striking resemblance to that in the text. 'Either they (*i.e.*, our ancestors) were themself verteouse or not; if not, then had thei none honour themself; had thei neuer so great possessions, for honour is the reward of vertue. And howe maie they clayme the rewarde that properly longeth to vertue if they lacke the vertue that the rewarde longeth to? Then if themselfe had none honour, how might they leaue to their heires that thing which thei had not themselues? On the other syde, if they be vertuose, and so consequently honorable, yet maye they not leaue theyr honour to us as inheritantes no more than the vertue that themselfe wer honorable for. For neuer the more noble be we for theyr nobleness, if our selfe lacke those things for which they were noble. But rather the more worshipfull that our auncesters wer, the more vyle and shamefull be we, if we declyne from the steppes of theyr woorshipful liuing The cleare beautie of whose vertue maketh the darke spot of our vyce the more euidentlye to appeare, and to be the more marked.—*Works*, vol. i. p. 1. ed. 1557.

[b] To the same effect is the following passage in Seneca:—'Qui imagines in

yonge gentilmen haue often times tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarely spoken) layde in their lappes,[a] how Numa Pompilius was taken from husbandry, whiche he exercised,[b] and was made kynge of Romanes by election of the people. What caused it suppose you but his wisedome and vertue? whiche in hym was very nobilitie, and that nobilitie broughte hym to dignitie. And if that were nat nobilitie, the Romanes were meruailously abused, that after the dethe of Romulus their kynge, they hauynge amonge them a hundred senatours, whom Romulus did sette in autoritie, and also the blode roiall, and olde gentilmen of the Sabynes, who, by the procurement of the wiues of the Romanes, beinge their doughters, inhabited the citie of Rome, they wolde nat of some of them electe a kynge, rather than aduaunce a ploughman and stranger to that autoritie.[c]

Numa, kynge of Romanes.

atrio exponunt, et nomina familiæ suæ longo ordine, ac multis stemmatum illigata flexuris, in parte primâ ædium collocant, noti magis, quàm nobiles sunt.'—*De Beneficiis*, lib. iii. cap. 28.

[a] The word gremium is constantly used by Quintilian, when speaking of pupils of tender age, but by him it is applied to the lap of the *teacher*. Thus 'Ideoque et retro agere expositionem, et à mediâ in utramque partem discurrere sane merito cogantur; sed *ad gremium* præceptoris, et dum aliud non possunt.'—*Instit. Orat.* lib. ii. cap. 4, § 15. And again, 'Non utique hunc laborem docentium postulo, ut *ad gremium* revocatis, cujus quisque eorum velit libri lectione, deserviant.'—*Ibid.* cap. 5, § 5.

[b] Apparently the sole authority for this statement is the speech which Plutarch puts into Numa's own mouth, in which he is made to say, 'Ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος θνητόν ἐστι καὶ τροφὴ καὶ παίδευσις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὧν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε γεγενημένη· τὰ δ' ἐπαινούμενα τοῦ τρόπου βασιλεύειν πόῤῥω μέλλοντος ἀνδρὸς, ἡσυχία τε πολλὴ καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμονας, ὅ τε δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ σύντροφος εἰρήνης ἔρως καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολέμων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν καὶ φιλοφροσύναις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γεωργούντων ἢ νεμόντων.—*Numa*, 5.

[c] But Livy expressly says that the people complained that they had a hundred masters instead of one, and declared that they would not endure any king in whose election they had no choice. 'Fremere deinde plebs; multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos: nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri.'—Lib. i. cap. 17. Whilst Cicero extols the sagacity of the Roman people at this time for perceiving what Lycurgus had not discovered, that an elective is better than a hereditary royalty. 'Nostri illi, etiam tum agrestes, viderunt virtutem et sapientiam regalem, non progeniem, quæri oportere.'—*De Repub.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

Quintius hauyng but xxx acres of lande,[a] and beinge ploughman therof, the Senate and people of Rome sent a messager to shewe him that they had chosen him to be *dictator*, whiche was at that time the highest dignitie amonge the Romanes, and for thre monethes had autoritie roiall. Quintius herynge the message, lette his ploughe stande, and wente in to the citie and prepared his hoste againe the Samnites, and vainquisshed them valiauntly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and beinge discharged of the dignitie, he repaired agayne to his ploughe, and applied it diligently.

Quintius, Dictator.

I wolde demaunde nowe, if nobilitie were only in the dignitie,[b] or in his prowesse, whiche he shewed agayne his

[a] Whence did the author obtain this statement? Livy, Pliny, Eutropius, and Valerius Maximus all give four acres, though the latter adds that he had formerly possessed seven, but had been obliged to mortgage three in order to raise the requisite sum to enable him to become surety for his son Cæso. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the other hand, speaks only of ἄρουράν τινα. For the purpose of comparison, the passages above referred to are here subjoined. 'Spes unica imperii populi Romani L. Quintius, trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quatuor jugerum colebat agrum, quæ prata Quintia vocantur.'—*Liv.* lib. iii. cap. 26. 'Aranti quatuor sua jugera in Vaticano, quæ Prata Quinti appellantur, Cincinnato viator attulit dictaturam, et quidem, ut traditur, nudo, plenoque pulveris etiamnum ore.'—Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xviii. cap. 4. 'L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator est factus: qui agrum quatuor jugerum possidens, manibus suis colebat.'—*Eutrop.* lib. i. cap. 17. 'Æque magna latifundia L. Quintii Cincinnati fuerunt; septem enim jugera agri possedit: ex hisque tria, quæ pro amico ad ærarium obsignaverat, mulctæ nomine amisit. Pœnam quoque pro filio Cæsone, quod ad causam dicendam non occurrisset, hujus agelli reditu solvit. Et tamen e quatuor jugera aranti, non solum dignitas patris familiæ constitit, sed etiam dictatura delata est.'—*Val. Max.* lib. iv. cap. 4, § 7. Sir Geo. Cornewall Lewis says that a jugerum was equal to 28,800 square feet; and therefore the estate of Cincinnatus really contained less than 2½ English acres. See *Credibility of Early Rom. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 176, note.

[b] This has reference, no doubt, to the disputes of the casuists who debated whether nobility was the same as dignity. This subject will be found to have been disputed with great subtlity by the commentators on the Civil Law. Thus, Bartolus says, 'Quæro et revoco in dubium, utrum sit verum, quòd dignitas, prout accipitur, ut separata ab officio vel administratione sit idem quod nobilitas? Respondeo si quidem nobilitas accipitur propriè, prout facit quem differre à plebeiis, et de istâ loquitur hic; et tunc dico quod est idem nobilitas et dignitas. Probo:

enemies? If it were only in his dignitie, it therwith cessed, and he was (as I mought say) eftsones unnoble ;[a] and than was his prowesse unrewarded, whiche was the chiefe and originall cause of that dignitie : whiche were incongruent and without reason. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistynge of valiant courage and martiall policie, if they styll remaine in the persone, he may neuer be without nobilitie,[b] whiche is the commendation, and as it were, the surname of vertue.

The two Romanes called bothe Decii, were of the base

sola dignitas est quæ facit quem differre à plebeiis et quem non esse plebeium. . . . . Concluditur ergo quòd nobilitas, quæ facit quem differre à plebeio, est quædam dignitas. . . . Potest etiam accipi nobilitas multis aliis modis, et tunc non est idem quod dignitas. . . . Præterea nobilitas, quæ habetur ex progenie non durat ultra pronepotem, et sic ille, qui nascitur ex pronepote, nascitur ex nobili, non tamen est nobilis ; et ista est vera, quia proles seu origo non est dignitas, nec dat dignitatem.'—*Ad lib. xii. Codic. tit.* 1, *de Dignitatibus*, §§ 13, 22.—*Opera*, tom. iv. pp. 116, 118.

[a] The privileges of nobility in the middle ages were lost by perjury, false testimony, or crime. Thus, Lucas de Penna says : 'Ultimo nota quod privilegium nobilitatis perditur ex perjurio, falso testimonio, vel delicto.'—*Codic.* lib. xii. *De Dignitatibus*, fo. cclxv. ed. 1509.

[b] This theory took a practical shape in some states in the middle ages : for example, a citizen of Perugia, by becoming a soldier, took rank as a noble. 'Videmus in civitate istâ Perusii, quòd si aliquis plebeius efficiatur miles, habetur pro nobili.'—Bartolus, *ad lib. xii. Codic. de Dignitatibus*, tit. i. § 30. But this usage was by no means universal, for the same authority tells us that at Florence a man of plebeian origin 'Etiam post militiam remanet popularis.'—*Ubi supra.* Segar, who was Norroy king at arms in the reign of Elizabeth, says : 'Men be made noble for their seruice in warre, if therein they haue acquired any charge honorable. For no ordinarie souldier without place of commandement is reputed a Gentleman unlesse he were so borne.'—*Honor*, p. 228, ed. 1602. Segar cites as his authority for this position the Italian lawyer, Lucas de Penna, before mentioned, whom Jöcher and Zedler (*Gelehrten Lexicon*, theil iii. ed. 1751,) mention as a Neapolitan, on the authority of Toppi's *Biblioteca Napoletana* (where his commentary on the three last books of the Code is stated to have been printed at Venice in 1512, but no notice is taken of an earlier edition printed at Paris in 1509, of which a copy is in the Brit. Mus. Library. Maittaire mentions a still earlier edition printed at Paris in 1505, *Index in Ann. Typ.* tom. v. pars ii. p. 36 ;) in the work itself, however, he is styled *Doctor Gallicus.* The passage referred to by Segar is in the rubric on the Code, lib. xii. tit. 1. 'Ex quo patet aperte quòd militia non est dignitas.'—Penna, fo. cclix. ed. 1509.

astate of the people, and nat of the great blode of the Romanes,[a] yet for the preseruation of their countray they auowed to die, as it were in a satisfaction for all their countray. And so with valiant hartes they perced the hoste of their enemies, and valiauntly fightynge, they died there honorably, and by their example gaue suche audacitie and courage to the residue of the Romanes, that they employed so their strengthe agayne their enemies, that with litle more losse they optained victorie.[b] Ought nat these two Romanes, whiche by their deth gaue occasion of victorie, be called noble? I suppose no man that knoweth what reason is will denie it.

Decii, and theyr auowe.

More ouer, we haue in this realme coynes which be called nobles; as longe as they be seene to be golde, they be so called.[c] But if they be counterfaicted, and made in brasse, coper, or other vile metal, who for the print only calleth them nobles?[d] Wherby it appereth that the estimation is in the

[a] 'Plebeiæ Deciorum animæ, plebeia fuerunt
Nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen, et pro
Omnibus auxiliis, atque omni pube Latinâ
Sufficiunt dîs infernis, Terræque parenti.'
Juv. *Sat.* viii. 254–7.

[b] Patrizi cites them as an example: 'Sic etiam Decii, pater, filius et nepos, qui ignobiles erant, pro patriâ se devoverunt, et perpetuæ nobilitatis gloriam assecuti sunt. Quæ quidem persuasio reddit posteros promptiores alacrioresque ad bene de patriâ merendum.'—*De Instit. Reipub.* lib. i. tit. 4.

[c] Gold nobles were first coined in the reign of Edward III., and were then called maille nobles and ferling-nobles. Mr. Ruding says: 'At this period the gold coins of other nations were denominated either from the place of mintage, or from the devices impressed upon them; but these coins seems to have derived their name from the noble nature of the metal of which they were composed.'—*Annals of Coinage*, vol. i. p. 219, ed. 1840. Camden says that these coins of Edward's were 'of noble, fair, and fine gold,' and adds 'the Rose noble was then currant for six shillings eight pence.'—*Remains*, p. 242, ed. 1674. Harrison, however, tells us that in his day 'the angels, rials, and nobles are more plentifullie seene in France, Italie, and Flanders than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in those kinds of our coine.'—*Descript. Eng.* vol. i. p. 218.

[d] It was a very common practice at this time to counterfeit the coin, and one for which the King himself was responsible; for, acording to Mr. Ruding, Henry

metall, and nat in the printe or figure. And in a horse or good grehounde we prayse that we se in them, and nat the beautie or goodnesse of their progenie.[a] Whiche proueth that in estemyng of money and catell we be ladde by wysedome, and in approuynge of man, to whom beastis and money do serue, we be only induced by custome.

Thus I conclude that nobilitie is nat after the vulgare

'stands recorded with infamy as the first of our English sovereigns who debased the sterling fineness of the coins.' And the standard of gold, instead of being as formerly 23 carats, was reduced to 20. 'The reason for this alteration of the standard is fully stated in a proclamation of the 22 August, 1521, from which it appears, that the price of gold in Flanders and France was rated so high, that all the coins of the realm were transported thither by merchants, both denizens and aliens, on account of the great profit to be made thereby.'—Ruding, *ubi supra*, p. 303. The rose noble, or riall, was then valued at 11 shillings, and the noble (angel) at 7*s.* 4*d.* But in November 1526, an additional value was put upon the coin then current, and 'to the intent that there might be a sufficiency of coins for receipts and payments, it was ordained that besides the angel noble then inhanced in value, there should be made another noble, to be called the George-noble, of as fine gold as the angel, but wanting in weight tenpence sterling, to be current at 6*s.* 8*d.*, the old value of the angel.' In 1544 the value of the rose noble was raised to 12*s.* and that of the angel to 8*s.* Harrison says that Henry VIII. first brought the shilling 'to three shillings and foure pence, and afterward our siluer coine unto brasse and copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges which diuerse waies oppressed him.'—*Descript. Eng.* vol. i. p. 218. And Camden asserts that 'so base and corrupted with copper were his moneys, as also of King Edward the Sixth, that some of them, which was then called Testons (= 12*d.*) because the Kings head was thereon figured, contained but twopence farthing in silver; and other fourpence halfpenny.'—*Remains*, p. 246, ed. 1674.

[a] This is evidently copied from Patrizi, who says: 'Venatores et equites non canis aut equi sobolem quærunt, sed canem atque equum celeritate ac ferocitate eximium. Norunt enim prolem facilè mutari et plerumque in deterius ruere.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.*, lib. viii. tit. 6. And this again was, no doubt, suggested by Juvenal's famous lines:

> 'Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
> Quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? Nempe volucrem
> Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
> Fervet, et exultat rauco victoria Circo.
> Nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cujus
> Clara fuga ante alios, et primus in æquore pulvis:
> Sed venale pecus Corythæ, posteritas et
> Hirpini, si rara jugo Victoria sedit.'—*Sat.* viii. 56–63.

opinion of men,[a] but is only the prayse and surname of vertue ;[b] whiche the lenger it continueth in a name or lignage, the more is nobilitie extolled and meruailed at.[c]

CHAPTER V.

Of affabilitie and the utilitie therof in euery astate.

To that whiche I before named gentilnesse, be incident thre speciall qualities, affabilitie,[d] placabilitie, and mercy; of whom I will nowe seperately declare the propre significations.

[a] Selden says, 'That other notion of *Noble* which we use in England when we expresse our Lords by *Noblemen* absolutely is peculiar to us only, and belongs not at all to this place.'—*Titles of Honour*, p. 854. And Albericus Gentilis takes notice of this insular peculiarity while he distinguishes, after the manner of the Civilians, dignity from nobility: 'Cavere nos decet ne dignitatem pro nobilitate accipiamus. Dignitatem enim princeps conferre potest; quisque potest sibi comparare; nobilitatem non item. Nobilitas à parentibus manat. Ecce in Angliâ nobiles censentur, qui vel hodie de plebe sint educti ad dignitates, veluti baronias et comitatus.'—*De Nuptiis*, lib. iv. cap. 13, p. 366, ed. 1614.

[b] Lucas de Penna gives the following definition: 'Nobilitas nihil aliud est quàm habitus operatioque virtutis in homine.'—Lib. xii. *De Dignitatibus*, fo. cclxiv. ed. 1509. Compare the remarks of Seneca. 'Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene à naturâ compositus. Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus . . . Animus facit nobilem: cui ex quâcumque conditione supra fortunam licet surgere.' —*Epistol.* xliv. Osorius, Bishop of Silves, whom Dupin calls the Cicero of Portugal, uses very similar language to that of our author in his treatise *De Nobilitate Civili*. He says, 'Nihil aliud est nobilitas quàm virtutis præstantia in aliquâ gente constituta.'—Lib. i. p. 15, ed. 1552.

[c] Osorius says: 'Jam, quantum fuit in nobis, vim et originem nobilitatis explicavimus, ejus ortum ab illâ naturali indole repetentes maximis animis innatâ quæ quidem, si excitetur et temporis etiam vetustate confirmetur, perficit illum universi generis splendorem et claritatem.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 38. Segar, above quoted, says: 'Some gentlemen doe hold that dignitie by prescription, not hauing other proofe then that they and their ancestors were called Gentlemen time out of minde. And for this reason it seemeth that Nobilitie, the more ancient it is, the more commendable, chiefly if the first of such families were aduanced for vertue. Which nobilitie is that whereof Aristotle meaneth, saying, "Nobilitas est majorum quædam claritas honorabilis progenitorum." Likewise, Boetius de Cons. (lib. iii. 6) saith, "Nobilitas est quædam laus proveniens de merito parentum."'—*Honor*, p. 227.

[d] This word seems to correspond to the Latin facilitas or comitas. Patrizi

Affabilitie is of a wonderfull efficacie or power in procurynge loue.[a] And it is in sondry wise, but moste proprely,

says: 'Facilitas virtus est in Rege omnium gratissima ad ineundam gratiam, benevolentiamque servandum.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. viii. tit. 19. And Erasmus, analysing the character of a Prince, says: 'Civilitas ubique aut amorem gignit, aut certè lenit odium, verùm ea in magno Principe longè gratissima multitudini.'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 93, ed. 1519.

[a] There were at least two notable examples of affability in persons of exalted station at this time, whom the author may have had in his mind—the King, and his Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. There are many independent witnesses to this redeeming feature in the former's character. It has been already observed that Tayler, the Clerk of the Parliament, tells us, in his Diary, how he saw the King measuring his skill with that of his own body guard. And in the Life of More we read that 'the King took such pleasure in his companie, that he would oftentymes, on a suddaine, come to his house at Chelsey, to talke and be merrie with him. Whither on a tyme unlooked for, while Sir Thomas was chancellour of the duchie, he came to dynner to him; and after dinner in a faire garden walked with him by the space of an howre, *holding his arme about his neck.*'—Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 65, ed. 1853. The Venetian ambassador, in his Report in 1519 to the Seignory, describes the King as 'affable and gracious;' and four years earlier, Sagudino, the Ambassador's Secretary, describing his reception at Richmond, says: 'After dinner the King sent for the ambassadors, and addressed them partly in French and partly in Latin, and also in Italian, showing himself very affable.'—*Cal. of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. ii. p. 247. Speaking of the King's fondness for Christmas masquerades, &c., Mr. Brewer says: 'The roughest of the populace were not excluded from their share in the enjoyment. Sometimes, in a boisterous fit of delight, he would allow and even invite the lookers-on to scramble for the rich ornaments of his own dress and those of his courtiers. Unlike his father, he showed himself every where. He entered with ease into the sports of others, and allowed them with equal ease to share in his.'—*Letters and Papers*, preface, vol. i. p. xxv. More's affability, and condescension were notorious; his biographer says: 'He would, before he was chancellour, goe by obscure places and lanes, and give his almes very liberallie, not by the pennie or halfpennie, but sometimes five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty shillings, according to everie ones necessitie. He often invited his poore neighbours to his table, and would be merrie and pleasant with them. But those that were riche and of wealthe seldom were invited. In Chelsey he hired a house for lame, poore, and old men, and kept them at bed and at borde, at his owne cost and charges. Sir Thomas was of a mild, gentle, and patient nature.'—Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 69. And we find foreigners describing him in the same terms. Thus, Gasparo Contarini, writing to the Council of Ten, in his capacity of ambassador at the court of Charles V., says: 'I have been acquainted with Thomas More both in Flanders and in England, and he is in fact learned and amiable (*è in vero docto et gentile*).'—*Cal. St. Papers, Venetian*, vol. iii. p. 394.

where a man is facile or easie to be spoken unto. It is also where a man speakethe courtaisely, with a swete speche or countenance, wherwith the herers (as it were with a delicate odour) be refresshed, and alured to loue hym in whom is this most delectable qualitie. As contrary wise, men vehemently hate them that haue a proude and haulte countenance, be they neuer so highe in astate or degree.[a] Howe often haue I herde people say, whan men in great autoritie haue passed by without makynge gentill

Haulte countenaunce.

[a] There can be very little doubt that the author in this passage alludes to the behaviour of Wolsey, whose arrogance and haughtiness filled all men with disgust. Hall makes constant allusion to the effect produced upon the people by his demeanour. Thus, in the seventh year of the King's reign, he says: 'When he was once a perfite Cardinal, he loked then aboue all estates, so that all men almost hated hym and disdayned hym.' And in 1524, when a deputation waited upon the Cardinal to explain the impossibility of meeting his demand of a grant of 20 per cent., for the service of the King, the Chronicler says: 'All whiche reasons and demonstracions he litle regarded, and then the said persones moste mekely beseched his grace to moue the Kynges highnes to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he currishly answered, that he would rather haue his tongue plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsors then to moue the Kyng to take any lesse some.' In 1526 the king permitted him to reside at Richmond, where he presumed to keep almost regal state. 'When the common people,' we are told, 'and in especiall, suche as had been Kyng Henry the Seuenthes seruauntes sawe the Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, whiche Kyng Henry VII. so highly estemed, it was a maruell to here how thei grudged and saied, "See a Bochers dogge lye in the Manor of Richemond." These with many opprobrious wordes were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothyng regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.'—*Chron.* fol. 143 b. And his example seems to have been followed by his subordinates, for we learn from the same source that 'the authoritie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they disdained all men.' Erasmus, writing in 1530, after Wolsey's death, says of him, 'Planè regnabat verius quàm ipse Rex, metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur à paucis, ne dicam à nemine.'—*Epistola*, 1151. Yet we cannot forget that Erasmus himself had used very different language only a few years before, when Wolsey's 'rara quædam et inaudita comitas,' and 'mira morum facilitas omnibus exposita,' had excited his admiration; but *then* Erasmus had special reasons for complimenting his supposed benefactor, and privately he expresses the opinion that the Cardinal was '*non passim* comis aut facilis.' In contrast to the general opinion entertained of Wolsey's haughtiness, it is interesting to read the following account of his 'urbanity' given by the author of a book called *A Remedy for Sedition*, published in 1536. 'Who was lesse beloued in the northe than my lorde Cardynall, god haue his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better

countenance to those whiche haue done to them reuerence: This man weneth with a loke to subdue all the worlde; nay,

beloued after he had ben there a whyle? We hate oft times whom we haue good cause to loue. It is a wonder to see howe they were turned; howe of utter ennemyes they becam his dere frendes. He gaue byshops a ryght good ensample howe they might wyn mens hartis. There was fewe holy dayes, but he wolde ride v or vi myle from his howse, nowe to this paryshe churche, nowe to that, and ther cause one or other of his doctours, to make a sermone unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before al the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. If our byshops had done so, we shuld haue sene that preachyng of the gospell is not the cause of sedition, but rather lacke of preachyng of it. He broughte his dinner with hym, and had dyuers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge betwene any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the church, and made them at one. Men say wel that do wel.' The authorship of this book is unknown. Mr. Holmes, in his notes to Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, calls it 'a State Book,' apparently for no other reason than that 'it came out from the office of the King's printer in the year 1536' (*Ubi supra*, p. 217, note 12) but as the printer alluded to was Berthelet, who printed all Sir Thomas Elyot's works, besides those of a great many other private individuals no sufficient argument can be deduced from this fact alone, for dignifying it by such a title. Lowndes on the other hand, boldly and somewhat rashly, as it would appear, attributes it to Sir John Cheke, and it must be admitted that the compilers of the Grenville Library Catalogue have adopted this suggestion. Mr. Collier, whose investigations are still more recent, does not even hazard a guess in his notice of the work in the Bibliographical Catalogue, and leaves us as much in the dark as ever. Without presuming to have succeeded in discovering the author, the Editor is yet prepared to suggest reasons for rejecting the authorship put forward by Lowndes. The only ground apparently for assigning it to Sir John Cheke is, that the latter was undoubtedly the author of a book with a somewhat similar title, called *The Hurt of Sedicion: how grievous it is to a Commonwealth*, with an alternative title, *The True subiect to the Rebel*, published in 1549 by John Daye, and reprinted in 1576 and 1641, which is referred to by Strype in his Life of Sir John Cheke, as well as by Holinshed in his Chronicle of the reign of Edw. VI. There are, however, several reasons for concluding that the author of *A Remedy for Sedition* was not the author of *The Hurt of Sedicion*. In the first place the former was published in 1536 when Cheke would have been only twenty-two years of age, and the style of the work is inconsistent with its having been written by so young a man. Secondly, the internal evidence shows, 1st, that the author was probably an Oxford man. 'In Oxford I know the name of the northern and southern proctour hath ben the cause that many men haue ben slayne,' but Cheke was born at Cambridge, and resided there continuously till at least 1534. 2nd, that the author had resided long in Italy, 'I haue ben long amonges them that are in Italy,' and even admitting that Cheke went abroad immediately after taking

nay, mennes hartes be free, and wyll loue whom they lyste. And therto all the other do consente in a murmure, as it were

his degree (in 1534) this statement could hardly be applicable to him; 3rd, that the author was particularly well acquainted with Venice. 'Venys is as bygge, or very lyttel lesse than London with the suburbes, yet is there more fleshe spent in two or three monethes in London, than is there in a yere,' but there is no reason to suppose that at this date (1536) Cheke had visited Venice. 4th, that the author had travelled a great deal abroad, 'I knowe dyuers realmes where pouertie reygneth moche more than in Englande, yet rebels there be none.' This is equally inapplicable to Cheke. 5th, that the author was a native, or at least a citizen, of London. 'You wil thynke I knowe London well that make this offer unto you. Blyndefelde me, carye me after to what place ye woll, I wyl lyttel fayle to tel where ye set me, and before whose doore.' This statement, for the reason given above, is almost conclusive to disprove the assertion that Sir John Cheke was the author. It may be added that Strype, who gives a detailed list of his writings, does not include the *Remedy for Sedition* amongst them. Having shown that the conditions prescribed by the internal evidence, appear to the Editor to exclude the notion of Cheke having been the author—it remains to be considered whether there is any person to whom the authorship could be assigned, with reference specially to those conditions. The evidence tends to show that the author, whoever he was, was an Oxford man, a good classical scholar, intimately acquainted with Venice and Rome, and well disposed to Wolsey. It seems to the Editor that there is one name which would have satisfied these conditions, but for one circumstance; Thomas Lupset was born in 1498, and, therefore, when the *Remedy for Sedition* was printed, would have been thirty-eight years of age; he was the son of a goldsmith and citizen of London, and therefore must have been intimately acquainted with the city; in 1519 he is known to have been at Oxford, where he succeeded John Clement in the place of lecturer in rhetoric, founded by Cardinal Wolsey; in 1522 he went to Italy as secretary to Pace, and he remained at Venice from 1522 to 1525; he was subsequently sent to France by Wolsey, as tutor to his natural son, Thomas Winter. He would, therefore, presumably have been well disposed to the Cardinal, and might almost unhesitatingly have been credited with the authorship of the work in question, but for the fact that he died four years previous to its publication, viz. in 1532. Two other names suggest themselves, those of Elyot and Lily. It must be confessed, that the style of the *Remedy* is not very unlike that of the author of *The Governour*, and there are other reasons which make it not at all impossible that Elyot may have written it. But on considering all the circumstances, it seems more probable that George Lily, the son of the first master of St. Paul's School was the author. He was born in London, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and afterward travelled to Italy, and some time after his return was made Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, and died in 1559. His works were published at Venice, Basle, and Frankfort, and Berthelet appears to have printed a book edited by him in 1540. The reasons for considering him the writer are not so satisfactory as in the case of Lupset, but unless we assume

bees. Lorde god, how they be sore blinded which do wene that haulte countenance is a comelynesse of nobilitie; where undoubted nothing is therto a more greatter blemisshe. As they haue well proued whiche by fortunes mutabilitie haue chaunged their astate, whan they perceiue that the remembrance of their pride withdraweth all pitie, all men reioysing at the chaunge of their fortune.

Dionise, the proude kynge of Sicile, after that for his intollerable pride he was driuen by his people out of his realme, the remembrance of his haulte and stately countenance was to al men so odiouse, that he coulde be in no countray well entertained. In so moche as if he had nat ben releued by lernyng, teachyng a gramer schole in Italy, he, for lacke of frendes, had bene constrayned to begge for his lyuynge.[a]

Semblably, Perses,[b] kyng of Macedonia, and one of the rychest kynges that euer was in Grece, for his execrable pride,[c] was at the last abandoned of all his alies and confederates,[d]

that the publication was posthumous, the pre-decease of the latter must prevent our including him in the category of possible authors. The question of the authorship of this little book is not one of very great importance, but the Editor has not thought it impertinent to draw attention to the claim which has been asserted apparently without sufficient investigation.

[a] Justin says: 'Novissimè ludimagistrum professus, pueros in trivio docebat, ut aut à timentibus semper in publico videretur, aut à non timentibus faciliùs contemneretur.'—*Hist.* lib. xxi. cap. 5. While Cicero merely says: 'Dionysius quidem tyrannus, Syracusis expulsus, Corinthi pueros docebat: usque eo imperio carere non poterat.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iii. cap. 12. Ælian's account is somewhat different: Ὁ δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις χρησάμενος βίου μεταβολαῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀπορίαν, τελευταῖον δὲ μητραγυρτῶν καὶ κρούων τύμπανα καὶ καταυλούμενος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.—*Var. Hist.* lib. ix. cap. 8.; and see Vol. I. p. 34.

[b] *I.e.*, Perseus, who was the last king of Macedonia, and, after being defeated at the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168, surrendered himself a prisoner, with his children, into the hands of the Roman consul. In the following year he was carried to Italy where he was compelled to adorn the splendid triumph of his conqueror, and afterwards cast into prison.

[c] Plutarch, however, says that avarice was his ruling passion, 'ἐν ᾧ παθῶν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἐνόντων ἐπρώτευεν ἡ φιλαργυρία.—*Æmil. Paulus*, 8.

[d] Τῶν δὲ ὁ μέν τις ὑπόδημα προσποιούμενος λελυμένον συνάπτειν, ὁ δὲ ἵππον ἄρδειν, ὁ δὲ ποτοῦ χρῄζειν, ὑπολειπόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεδίδρασκον, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς

by reason wherof he was vainquysshed and taken prysoner by Paulus Emilius, one of the consules of Rome; and nat onely he hym selfe bounden and ledde as a captife, in the triumphe of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pride was so odiouse to people, that his owne sonne, destitute of frendes, was by nede constrayned to worke in a smythes forge, nat fynding any man that of his harde fortune had any compassion.[a]

The pride[b] of Tarquine, the last kyng of Romanes, was more occasion of his exile than the rauysshynge of Lucrecia by his sonne Aruncius,[c] for the malice that the people by his pride had longe gathered, finding valiaunt capitaynes, Brutus, Colatinus, Lucretius, and other nobles of the citie, at the last

πολεμίους, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες. Κεχαραγμένος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν εἰς πάντας ἐζήτει τρέπειν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἥττης.—*Ibid.* 23.

[a] Plutarch, however, implies that his employment was of a superior kind, and that he distinguished himself by his aptitude for acquiring a new language. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ τῶν παιδίων τὰ δύο. Τὸν δὲ τρίτον, Ἀλέξανδρον, εὐφυᾶ μὲν ἐν τῷ τορεύειν καὶ λεπτουργεῖν γενέσθαι φασίν, ἐκμαθόντα δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ὑπογραμματεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδέξιον καὶ χαρίεντα περὶ ταύτην τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξεταζόμενον.—*Ubi supra*, 37.

[b] A modern historian, however, says: 'As to the particular acts of tyranny told of Tarquinius, they are the more suspicious, because, when a man has fallen, vulgar party-spirit esteems it allowable, and sometimes even a duty, to indulge in the utmost exaggeration of his guilt, nay, often in calumnious inventions.'—Niebuhr's *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 514. And one writer even contrives to throw a halo of glory over 'Tarquin the Despot,' who, he says, 'was really a great and powerful monarch, a man of ability and energy, who acknowledged no political rights except those of the King, and who fell in consequence of one of those sudden bursts of passionate indignation, to which all orders of a nation are sometimes roused by contumelious oppression.'—Liddell's *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 88, ed. 1855.

[c] Sir George Cornewall Lewis, than whom there is no higher authority on this period of Roman history, says: 'The story of Lucretia, though it has a romantic cast, might be substantially true; nor would there be any good reason for questioning its reality, if it came to us authenticated by fair contemporary evidence. Even if the rape of Lucretia was not the true cause of the expulsion of the Tarquins, it might, as in the corresponding story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, have been a real event, which was misplaced, and magnified by popular rumour. When, however, we come to examine the details of the story, we find little in its internal contexture to supply the defect of external attestation.'—*Cred. Rom. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 523, 524.

braste out and takynge occasion of the rauisshement,[a] all though the kynge were therto not partie, they utterly expulsed hym for euer out of the citie. These be the frutes of pride, and that men do cal stately countenance.[b]

Whan a noble man passeth by, shewyng to men a gentil and familiare visage, it is a worlde to beholde howe people takethe comforte, howe the blode in their visage quickeneth, howe their flesshe stireth, and harts lepeth for gladnesse. Than they all speke as it were in an harmonie, the one saithe, Who beholding this mans moste gentill countenaunce, wyll nat with all his harte loue hym? Another saith, He is no man, but an aungell; se howe he reioyseth all men that beholde him. Finallye, all do graunt that he is worthye all honour that may be giuen or wisshed him.

But nowe to resorte to that whiche moste proprely (as I haue said) is affabilitie, which is facile or easy to be spoken unto. *Lybertye of speche.*

Marcus Antoninus, emperour of Rome (as Lampridius wryteth) enserched, who were moost homely and playne men within the cite, and secretely sent for them in to his

[a] These are almost the very words of Plutarch, *Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον οὔτε λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνοσίως καί παρανόμως, οὔτε χρώμενον ἀντῇ βασιλικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τυραννοῦντά μισῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ βαρυνόμενος, ἀρχὴν ἀποστάσεως ἔλαβε τὸ Λουκρητίας πάθος, αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ βιασθῆναι διεργασαμένης, Λεύκιος Βροῦτος ἁπτόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἦλθε τὸν Οὐαλλέριον καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ προθυμοτάτῳ συνεξέβαλε τοὺς βασιλεῖς.*—*Poplicola*, 1.

[b] Livy, speaking of the change which took place in the form of government, says, 'Quæ libertas ut lætior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat.'—*Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 1. And Cicero, in his speech against Marcus Antonius, exclaims, 'Atque ille Tarquinius, quem majores nostri non tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus habitus est et dictus: quod nos vitium in privatis sæpe tulimus, id majores nostri ne in rege quidem ferre potuerunt.'—*Philippica*, iii. cap. 4. Niebuhr says, 'It was not the bloodthirstiness, nor the avarice of the tyrants of antiquity, that was the most dreadful evil to their subjects; it was, that whatsoever object excited their fierce passions, whether a wife, a maiden, or a boy, death was the only security from shame. Outrages like that suffered by Lucretia, happened daily; just as the Christians under the Turkish empire are exposed to such without any protection; and always were so, before any one thought on the possibility of breaking the accursed yoke.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 494.

chaumbre, where he diligently enquered of them what the people coniected of his lyuing, commaundyng them upon payne of his hygh indignation to tell hym trouth, and hyde nothynge from hym. And upon their reporte, if he herde any thing worthy neuer so litle dispreise, he furthwith amended hit. And also by suche meanes he corrected them that were about his persone, fyndyng them negligent, dissemblars, and flateras.[a] The noble Traiane, whan his nobles and counsailours noted him to familiar and curtaise, and therfore dyd blame hym, he answered, that he wolde be a like emperour to other men, as if he were a subiect he wolde wysshe to haue ouer hym selfe.[b]

O what domage haue ensued to princes and their realmes where liberte of speche hath ben restrayned? What auayled fortune incomparable to the great kynge Alexander, his won-

[a] The above is an excellent illustration of the way in which history has suffered, and mistakes arise and are perpetuated, through the carelessness of copyists. It is clear that Sir Thomas Elyot has here given us an abridged translation of the following passage, which is to be found in Patrizi's work so often quoted from: 'M. Antoninus cognomento Pius, qui sapientiæ studiis et vitæ innocentiâ Cæsarum omnium optimus habitus est, sæpe sapientes atque optimos viros clam accersiri jubebat, et seorsum remotis arbitris, ab eis sciscitabatur quid de se quisque sentiret, loquereturve, et ea emendabat quæ jure optimo reprehensa esse viderentur, et cautiores melioresque reddebat eos qui ei in consilio aderant; verebatur enim ne ille extra ab aliis quæreret quid facto opus esset, et ipsi haberentur aut minus prudentes negligentesve, aut versuti minus atque infidi sive assentatores adulatoresve qui se putarent obsequium præstare, si consilia ejus probarent, et mores ac vitia imitarentur.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. viii. tit. 19. ed. 1594. But it will be seen that Patrizi himself was mistaken in attributing this behaviour to Antoninu Pius, for the following passage from the life of Alexander Severus by Lampridius is evidently the original authority for the statement which has been misapplied both by Patrizi and by the author. 'Moderationis tantæ fuit ut nemo unquam ab ejus latere submoveretur, ut omnibus se blandum affabilemque præberet, u amicos non solum primi ac secundi loci, sed etiam inferiores ægrotantes viseret, ut sibi ab omnibus liberè quæ sentiebant dici cuperet, et quum dictum esset, audiret, et quum audisset, ita ut res poscebat emendaret atque corrigeret; si minus bene factum esset aliquid, etiam ipse convinceret, idque sine fastu et sine amaritudine animi.'—*Hist. August.* tom. i. p. 910, ed. 1671.

[b] 'Inter alia dicta hoc ipsius fertur egregium. Amicis enim culpantibus, quòd nimis circa omnes communis esset, respondit "Talem se imperatorem esse privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset."'—*Eutropius*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

derfull puissance and hardynes, or his singular doctrine in philosophy, taught hym by Aristotle, in deliuerynge hym from the deth in his yonge and flourisshing age? Where, if he had retained the same affabilitie that was in hym in the begynnynge of his conquest, and had nat put to silence his counsailors whiche before used to speake to hym frankely, he mought haue escaped all violent dethe, and by similitude, have enioyed the hole monarchie of al the worlde. For after that he waxed to be terrible in maners, and prohibited his frendes and discrete seruantes to use their accustomed libertie in speche, he felle in to a hatefull grudge amonge his owne people.[a]

Alexanders cruelties in sleynge his frendes.

But I had almost forgoten Julius Cesar, who, beinge nat able to sustaine the burden of fortune, and enuienge his owne felicitie, abandoned his naturall disposition, and as it were, beinge dronke with ouer moche welth,[b] sought

Julius Cesar.

[a] Apparently the author has adopted the explanation of his death given by Justin, though he has taken his notions of Alexander's behaviour to his friends chiefly from Plutarch. The latter says, Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου, καὶ Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθὺς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, μόνον δὲ ἢ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι, τριῶν δὲ υἱῶν, οὓς ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς δύο μὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ συναναιρεθέντα. Ταῦτα πραχθέντα πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων φοβερὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ.—*Alexander*, 49. Modern historians reject the notion that Alexander's death was the result of poison, and 'this report,' says Thirlwall, 'was undoubtedly invented by Cassander's enemies.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 116. But in the fifteenth century it appears to have been generally credited; thus Patrizi, from whom no doubt Elyot borrowed, as the reader can see for himself, says in the work already quoted, 'Alexander quoque Macedo missum ad se oratorem Phocionem Atheniensem rogavit, quid sibi ut ageret suaderet. Tum ille, "Censeo," inquit, "ut arma atque exercitum dimittas, et securam tranquillamque vitam agas." Alexander risit, nec ullâ ex parte illi auscultavit, sed gloriâ exultans inchoatam militiam exequi destinavit, verum enimvero *quum jam suis etiam formidini atque odio esse cœpisset, veneno ad Babylonem ab Iolâ enectus creditur, in medio victoriarum cursu, quum viridi tunc ætate floreret*, quartum enim et trigesimum agebat annum, et robore corporis et animi virtute plurimum præstabat.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vii. tit. 10, ed. 1582.

[b] Mr. George Long says, 'It is impossible to discover by the aid of compilers of a late period whether success and flattery turned Cæsar's head, or whether he still retained the singular good sense which he showed all through his previous life. It is more consistent to believe that he well understood the character of those

newe wayes howe to be aduaunced aboue the astate of mortall princes.[a] Wherfore litle and litle he withdrewe from men his accustomed gentilnesse, becomyng more sturdy in langage, and straunge in countenance, than euer before had ben his usage. And to declare more plainely his entent, he made an edict or decre, that no man shulde prease[b] to come to hym uncalled,[c] and that they shuld haue good awaite, that they spake not in suche familiar facion to hym as they before had

who were about him, and knew his own dangerous position ; that he cared little or nothing for the honours that he received, except as expressive of the power which he had acquired—a power which he resolved to keep, and to transmit, if he could, to a successor who should bear his own name.'—*Decl. of Rom. Rep.* vol. v. p. 418.

[a] Merivale says : 'The recklessness of his humour betrayed itself in a demeanour more and more haughty and contemptuous. Sulla, he bluntly said, was a fool for resigning the dictatorship. But nothing offended the senators more bitterly than his not rising from his seat to receive them, when they came to communicate to him the honours they had lavished upon him in his absence. It was to the upstart foreigner Balbus that they were willing to attribute this wanton insult ; the Spaniard, it was said, had plucked Cæsar by the sleeve when he was about to rise to his visitors, and bade him remember that he was their master. The Romans, in the progress of refinement among them, were very strict observers of social etiquette. Courteousness in its members one among another is the very essence of an aristocracy. Cæsar had exacted due homage to himself with scrupulous precision.' —*Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 454.

[b] The old form of the word 'press.' So Grafton, in his description of the battle of Poictiers, says, 'There was a great *prease* about the King, for euerye man cryed that he had taken the King, so that the King coulde not go forwarde wyth hys young sonne Philip wyth him for the *prease*.'—*Chronicle*, p. 297, ed. 1569.

[c] This statement is not to be found in the accounts of Cæsar's life given by Plutarch and Suetonius, but Cicero notices, and had suffered from the inconvenience caused by the difficulty of approaching Cæsar. 'Magnis occupationibus ejus, à quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt.'—*Epist. ad Div.* lib. vi. 13. Merivale says, 'Nothing struck the Romans more forcibly with its assumption of regal state than the difficulty of access to the great man. Accustomed as the nobles were to the most perfect external equality, and the easiest intercourse among each other, their indignation rose high when they found their approach to the dictator barred by a crowd of attendants, or impeded by ceremonious formalities. In this, however, there may have been no affectation on his part ; he felt the unpopularity of such a position, and lamented the soreness which it engendered towards him. But the enormous pressure of business, however rapid was his despatch of it, and in this respect he had an extraordinary facility, made it necessary to restrict the times and means of claiming his attention.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 429.

ben accustomed; wherby he so dyd alienate from hym the hartis of his most wise and assured adherentis, that, from that tyme forwarde, his life was to them tedious, and abhorring him as a monstre or commune enemie, they beinge knitte in a confederacy slewe hym sitting in the Senate; of whiche conspiraci was chiefe capitaine, Marcus Brutus, whome of all other he beste loued, for his great wisedome and prowesse. And it is of some writers suspected that he was begoten of Cesar, for as moche as Cesar in his youth loued Seruilia, the mother of Brutus, and, as men supposed, used her more familiarly than honestie required.[a] Thus Cesar, by omittinge his olde affabilitie, dyd incende his next frendes and companions to sle hym.

But nowe take hede what domage insued to hym by his decre, wherin he commanded that no man shuld be so hardy to approche or speke to hym. One whiche knewe of the conspiracie agayne hym, and by al lykelyhode did participate therin, beinge meued either with loue or pitie, or other wise his conscience remording[b] agayne the destruction of so noble a prince, consideringe that by Cesars decre he was prohibited

The intimation of the conspiracie made unto Cesars owne persone.

[a] Plutarch, for instance, says, Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ μὴ κτείνειν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι καὶ παρασχόντα μὲν ἑκουσίως ἄγειν, εἰ δὲ ἀπομάχοιτο πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν, ἐᾶν καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Βρούτου Σερβιλίᾳ χαριζόμενον. Ἐγνώκει γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, νεανίας ὢν ἔτι τὴν Σερβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ· καὶ καθ' οὓς μάλιστα χρόνους ὁ ἔρως ἐπέφλεγε γενόμενον τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπέπειστό πως ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονέναι.—*Brutus*, 5. Suetonius also mentions the amour, but says nothing as to the result of it. 'Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem, Serviliam: cui et proximo suo consulatu sexagies sestertio margaritam mercatus est, et bello civili, super alias donationes, amplissima prædia ex auctionibus hastæ nummo addixit: cum quidem, plerisque vilitatem mirántibus, facetissimè Cicero, "Quo melius," inquit, "emtum sciatis, Tertia deducta est.' Existimabatur enim Servilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Cæsari conciliare.'—*Julius*, 50.

[b] From the Latin *remordere*, through the French *remordre*, lit. to bite again, whence is derived the substantive *remorse*. Skelton, who was Poet Laureat to Henry VIII., uses the word in his poem, *Against the Scots*. 'Unto diuers people that *remord* this ryming againste the Scot Jemmy.

to haue to hym any familiar accesse, so that he might nat plainly detect the conspiraci; he, therto vehemently meued, wrate in a byll all the forme therof, with the meanes howe it myght be espied, and sens he mought fynde none other oportunitie, he delyuered the byll to Cesar the same day that his dethe was prepared, as he wente towarde the place where the Senate was holden.[a] But he beinge radicate in pride, and

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I am now constrayned
With wordes nothynge fayned
This inuectiue to make, for som people sake,
That lyst for to iangell,
And waywardly to wrangell
Againste this my makynge,
Their males thereat shakynge
At it reprehending, and venemously stingyng,
Rebukynge, and *remordyng*,
And nothynge accordynge.'—*Workes*, ed. 1568.

And another poet of the same century, Sir William Alexander, better known as the Earl of Stirling, employs the same phrase in his poem called *Doomesday*.

'When troubled Conscience reades accusing scroules,
Which witness'd are euen by the brest's owne brood,
O what a Terrour wounds *remording* soules,
Who poyson find what seem'd a pleasant food!'
The First Houre, *Stanza* 15, ed. 1614.

Chaucer uses the word in an active sense in his translation of Bœthius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. 'And god geueth and departith to other folk prosperites and aduersites ymedeled to hepe aftir the qualite of hire corages, and *remordith* som folk by aduersites, for thei ne sholden nat wexen proude by longe welefulnesse.'—P. 140, ed. 1868. Early Eng. Text Soc.

[a] 'Tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante, ne frequentes ac jamdudum opperientes destitueret, quintâ ferè horâ progressus est: libellumque insidiarum indicem, ab obvio quodam porrectum, libellis ceteris, quos sinistrâ manu tenebat, quasi mox lecturus, commiscuit.'—Sueton. *Julius*, 81. Plutarch also tells the story with a greater degree of circumstantiality: Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ Κνίδιος τὸ γένος, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστὴς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς ἐνίοις συνήθης τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον, ὥστε καὶ γνῶναι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραττομένων, ἦκε μὲν ἐν βιβλιδίῳ κομίζων ἅπερ ἔμελλε μηνύειν, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν βιβλιδίων ἕκαστον δεχόμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις ἐγγὺς σφόδρα προσελθών, 'Τοῦτο,' ἔφη, 'Καῖσαρ, ἀνάγνωθι μόνος καὶ ταχέως· γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ σοὶ διαφερόντων.' Δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκωλύθη, καίπερ ὁρμήσας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ φυλάττων μόνον ἐκεῖνο παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον. Ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἄλλον ἐπιδοῦναι

neglecting to loke on that bil, not esteminge the persone that deliuered it, whiche perchance was but of a mean hauiour, continued his way to the Senate, where he incontinently was slaine by the said Brutus, and many mo of the Senate for that purpose appoynted.

Who beholdinge the cause of the dethe of this moste noble Cesar, unto whom in eloquence, doctrine, martiall prowesse, and gentilnesse, no prince may be comparid, and the acceleration or haste to his confusion, causid by his owne edict or decre, will nat commende affabilite and extolle libertie of speche? Wherby onely loue is in the hartis of people perfectly kendled, all feare excluded, and consequently realmes, dominions, and all other autorites consolidate and perpetuelly stablisshed. The sufferaunce of noble men to be spoken unto is not onely to them an incomparable suretie, but also a confounder of repentance, enemie to prudence, wherof is ingendred this worde, *Had I wist*, whiche hath ben euer of all wise men reproued.[a]

Jugement suspended through libertie of speche.

Plutarchus.

On a tyme king Philip, fader to the great Alexander, sittinge in iugement, and hauing before him a matter agayne one of his souldiours, being ouercommen with watche fel on a slombre, and sodaynly being awaked, immediatly wolde haue giuen a sentence agayne the poure soldiour. But he, with a great voice and outcrie, said, King Philip, I appele. To whom wylt

τὸ βιβλιδιον τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρον οὐδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκθλιβῆναι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν.—*Cæsar*, 65. It will be seen that neither Plutarch nor Suetonius give the slightest colour for attributing Cæsar's neglect to avail himself of the proffered warning to the cause alleged by Sir Thomas Elyot.

[a] Clement Edmonds, who lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century, has a very similar passage in his *Observations upon Cæsar's Commentaries*. 'This rule of making tryal of the worth of an enemy, hath always been observed by prudent and grave commanders, as the surest principle whereon the true judgment of the event may be grounded. For if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the word *non putabam*, *I wist it not*, was never heard out of a wise man's mouth, hath any place in the course of humane actions, it ought especially to be regarded in managing these main points, whereon the state of kingdoms and empires dependeth.'—P. 30, ed. 1695.

thou appele? said the kynge. To the (said the souldiour) whan thou arte throughly awaked. With whiche answere the kynge suspended his sentence, and more diligently examinyng the mater, founde the souldiour had wronge; whiche beinge sufficiently discussed, he gaue iugement for him, whom before he wolde haue condemned.[a]

Semblably hapned by a poure woman, agayne whom the same kynge had gyuen iugement; but she as desperate, with a loude voice, cried, I appele, I appele. To whom appelist thou? said the kyng. I appele, saide she, from the, nowe beinge dronke, to kynge Philip the sobre.[b] At which words,

[a] Μαχαίτᾳ δέ τινι κρίνων δίκην καὶ ὑπονυστάζων, οὐ πάνυ προσεῖχε τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ κατέκρινε· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀναβοήσαντος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, διοργισθεὶς, Ἐπὶ τινα; εἶπε· καὶ ὁ Μαχαίτας, Ἐπί σε, βασιλεῦ, αὐτὸν, ἂν ἐγρηγόρως καὶ προσέχων ἀκούῃς. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀνέστη· γενόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ γνοὺς ἀδικούμενον τὸν Μαχαίταν, τὴν μὲν κρίσιν οὐκ ἔλυσε, τὸ δὲ τίμημα τῆς δίκης αὐτὸς ἐξέτισεν.'—Plut. *Reg. et Imperat. Apophth.* xxiv. It will be observed that the author was apparently not aware that Machæta was a proper name. It is curious that Doctor Leland, in his *History of Philip* (vol. ii. p. 200), has confused this anecdote with the following one taken from an entirely different source, as will be seen in the next note.

[b] This story affords a curious illustration of the way in which the monkish writers of the middle ages perverted their original authorities to suit the particular object they had in view. The anecdote, as related by Sir Thomas Elyot, has been so often repeated as to have passed into a proverb; and the reader will probably be surprised to learn that, as originally narrated, it imputed no want of *sobriety* to Philip. It is to be found in a fragment of Ælius Serenus, an Athenian grammarian, who wrote Ἀπομνημονεύματα, from which Stobæus makes numerous extracts. and is as follows: Πρεσβύτις δικαζομένη ἐπὶ Φιλίππου, ὡς ἑώρα νυστάζοντα ἔπειτα μέλλοντα ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐφεῖναι. Ὁ δὲ, Ἐπὶ τίνα; εἶπεν. Ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐγρηγορότα.—Stobæus, *Florilegium*, vol. i. p. 325, ed. 1822. This was the story intact, in its original shape. After the lapse of many centuries it reappears in what may be called the modern form at the hands of Humbert, a writer of the 13th century, who was born at Romans in Dauphiné, four leagues from Valence sur l'Isère, about A.D. 1209. He was general of the Order of Saint Dominic, and his writings are voluminous. In a chapter in which he deduces the antiquity of 'appeals,' he has the following remarks: 'Notandum quòd appellatio est res tam universalis, quòd habet locum non solum inter fideles, sed etiam inter infideles. Item est tantæ antiquitatis, quòd non solum præcessit tempora Christianitatis, ut patet per factum prædictum, sed et longè ante præcessit. Unde legitur, quòd quædam vetula cum fuit condemnata à Philippo, patre Alexandri, post prandium,

though they were undiscrete and foolisshe, yet he, nat beinge moued to displesure, but gatherynge to hym his wittes, examyned the mater more seriously; wherby, he findynge the poure woman to sustaine wronges, he reuersed his iugement, and accordynge to truthe and iustice gaue to her that she demaunded. Wherin he is of noble autours commended, and put for an honorable example of affabilitie.

Antonius Philosophus.

The noble emperour Antonine, called the philosopher, was of suche affabilitie, as Herodiane writeth, that to euery man that came to him he gentilly deliuered his hande; and wold nat permitte that his garde shuld prohibite any man to approche hym.[a]

Herodianus.

qui multo tempore fuit ante Cæsarem, appellavit: et cum quæreret Rex, ad quem? quia non erat major eo aliquis, respondit, A Philippo ebrio ad Philippum sobrium. Rex autem deferens appellationi, examinatâ causâ in mane sequenti diligentiùs, absolvit eam.'—La Bigne, *Bibl. Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 520. Two centuries later we find Patrizi telling the same story, but with some slight alterations. 'Philippum oscitantem præ nimiâ quâdam vini cibique crapulâ, peregrina quædam mulier gravibus verbis momordit. Nam quum temerè indictâque causâ eam damnaret, exclamavit illa, et se provocare ait; tunc dicentibus quibusdam, Ad quem provocas? Ad Philippum quidem, inquit, sed quum fuerit sobrius. Tunc Rex ad seipsum rediens causam diligentius inspexit, et revocatâ sententiâ, illam absolvit, liberamque dimisit.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. vi. tit. 26, ed. 1582. As if these emendations were not sufficient, the author of *Polychronicon*, who is now discovered to be Higden, transfers the story bodily to *Alexander*, avowedly on the authority of Trogus, but the character of the Latin is sufficient evidence that this version is very much more recent, and probably was invented by some French writer. 'Alexander ebrietate laborabat, et tunc potissimè in domesticos sæviebat. Unde accidit ut aliquando in quendam *majorem palatii* capitalem ferret sententiam. Ille vero statim in appellationis vocem erupit. Verum quia à minori ad majorem solebat appellari in ampliorem tyrannus stimulante vino versus insaniam, ait, "Sed à quo et ad quem appellas?" Et ille, "Ab Alexandro ebrio ad Alexandrum sobrium." Quâ responsione mitigatus sententiam distulit, et tandem illum plene absolvit.'—*Polychronicon*, vol. iii. p. 442. (The Rolls ed.) The expression 'mayor of the palace' gives some clue to the origin of this version, and we shall probably not be wrong in assuming that it cannot lay claim to any greater antiquity than the ninth century of the Christian era.

[a] 'Παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον βασιλέα, τούς τε προσίοντας δεξιούμενος, κωλύων τε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρους ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας.'—*Herodian.* lib. i. cap. 2, ed. 1826.

Augustus. Suetonius.

The excellent emperour Augustus on a time, in the presence of many men, plaied on cymbales, or a nother like instrument. A poure man, standyng with other and beholdynge the emperour, saide with a loude voice to his felowe, Seest thou nat howe this voluptuouse lechour tempereth al the worlde with his finger? Whiche wordes the emperour so wisely noted, without wrathe or displeasure, that euer after, durynge his lyfe, he refrayned his handes from semblable lightnesse.[a]

Antoninus Pius. Capitolinus.[b]

The good Antonine, emperour of Rome, commyng to supper to a meane gentilman, behelde in the house certaine pillers of a delicate stone, called *porpheri*, asked of the good man, where he had boughte those pillers. Who made to the emperour this answere, Sir, whan ye come in to any other mannes house than your owne, euer be you bothe dome and defe. Whiche liberall taunte that moste gentill emperour toke in so good parte that he often tymes reherced that sentence to other for a wyse and discrete counsaile.

By these examples appereth nowe euidently what good comethe of affabilitie, or sufferaunce of speche, what mooste pernicious daunger alway ensueth to them, that either do refuse counsaile, or prohibite libertie of speche; sens that in libertie (as it hath bene proued) is moste perfecte suertie, ac-

[a] If the reader compares the author's version with the original given below, he will notice a considerable discrepancy, and that the author has not only pointed his moral, but adorned the tale. 'Sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam ejus, et assensu maximo comprobavit versum in scenâ pronuntiatam de Gallo matris Deum tympanizante, "Viden" ut cinædus orbem digito temperat?"'—Sueton. *Octavius*, 68.

[b] The side note in the original has the word 'Lampridius,' but as this is manifestly a mistake, it has been deemed expedient to substitute the name of the writer from whom the quotation is really taken.

[c] 'Inter alia etiam hoc civilitatis ejus præcipuum argumentum est, quòd quum domum Omuli visens, miransque columnas porphyreticas, requisisset unde eas haberet: atque Omulus ei dixisset, *Quum in domum alienam veneris, et mutus et surdus esto*, patienter tulit. Cujus Omuli multa joca semper patienter accepit.'—*Hist. August.* tom. i. p. 277, ed. 1671.

cording as it is remembred by Plutarche of Theopompus, kyng of Lacedemone, who beinge demaunded, howe a realme moughte be best and mooste surely kepte; If (saide he) the prince giue to his frendes libertie to speake to hym thinges that be iuste, and neglecteth nat the wronges that his subiecte sustaineth.[a]

CHAPTER VI.

Howe noble a vertue placabilitie is.

PLACABILITIE is no litle part of Benignitie, and it is proprely where a man is by any occasion meued to be angry, and, nat withstandynge, either by his owne reason ingenerate, or by counsaile persuaded, he omitteth to be reuenged, and often times receiueth the transgressour ones reconsiled in to more fauour; whiche undoubtedly is a vertue wonderfull excellent. For, as Tulli saithe, no thinge is more to be merueiled at, or that more becometh a man noble and honorable, than mercy and placabilitie.[b] The value therof is beste knowen by the contrarye, whiche is ire, called vulgarely wrathe, a vice moste ugly and ferrest from humanitie. For who, beholdynge a man in estimation of nobilitie and wisedome by furie chaunged in to an horrible figure, his face infarced with rancour,[c] his mouthe foule and

Ci. Off. i.

Ire or wrathe.

[a] *Θεόπομπος πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, πῶς ἄν τις ἀσφαλῶς τηροίη τὴν βασιλείαν,* Εἰ *τοῖς μὲν φίλοις, ἔφη, μεταδιδοίη παῤῥησίας δικαίας, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχομένους κατὰ δύναμιν μὴ περιορῴη ἀδικουμένους.*'—*Apophth. Lacon.* 221, E.

[b] 'Nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et præclaro viro dignius, placabilitate atque clementiâ.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 25.

[c] Patrizi devotes a chapter to the definition and description of anger, in which occurs the following passage: 'Imprimis ira, quæ quum ferociùs excanduit, hominem præcipitem rapit, adeo ut ab insano ac furioso paululum quippiam absit. Oculi, color, vultus, gestus, vox, clamor, verba prope furentis atque insanientis hominis esse videntur, qui nisi quamprimùm ad se redeat, ad agnatos omnino atque affines (vecordium furiosorumque more) rejiciendus erit.'—*De Regno et Reg.*, lib. iv. tit. 10.

imbosed,[a] his eien wyde starynge and sparklynge like fire, nat speakyng, but as a wylde bulle, roryng and brayienge out wordes despitefull and venomous; forgetynge his astate or condition, forgeting lernyng, ye forgetynge all reason, wyll nat haue suche a passion in extreme detestation? Shall he nat wisshe to be in suche a man placabilitie? Wherby only he shulde be eftsones restored to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wrathe despoyled, as it is wondersly well described by Ouide in his crafte of loue:

Ouidius de arte amandi.

Man, to thy visage it is conuenient
Beastly fury shortely to asuage.
For peace is beautifull to man only sent,
Wrathe to the beastis cruell and sauage.
For in man the face swelleth whan wrathe is in rage,
The blode becometh wanne, the eien firye bright,
Like Gorgon the monstre appierynge in the nyght.[b]

This Gorgon, that Ouide speaketh of, is supposed of poetes to be a fury or infernall monstre, whose heris were all in the figure of adders, signifieng the abundance of mischiefe that is contained in wrathe.[c]

[a] Cotgrave translates the word *embosser*, 'to swell, or arise in bunches, &c., to grow knotty;' and *emboutir*, 'to retch, extend, stretch out, also to raise, to *imbosse*.' Richardson says, 'According to the old writers on hunting, a deer is said to be *embossed*, when it throws forth *bosses* or round masses, of foam from its mouth, or when it swells at the knees with hard hunting;' he does not, however, quote the passage in the text where it is applied not to animals, but to men, and apparently in the technical sense. Latham suggests that the word is derived from the Spanish *embozar*, 'to cast out of the mouth;' but there is no necessity to seek so far, for this is only one of the numerous instances in which the author has borrowed a French word, in this case a well-known term of venery. Spenser also uses it in the *Faerie Queen*.

[b] 'Pertinet ad faciem rabidos compescere mores.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.
Ora tument irâ; nigrescunt sanguine venæ;
Lumina Gorgoneo sævius igne micant.'
Art. Amator. lib. iii. 501–504.

[c] Ovid, in another place, explains why the hair of the Gorgon was changed into snakes, but assigns a different reason from that given by the author.

'Clarissima formâ,
Multorumque fuit spes invidiosa procorum

Wherwith the great kynge Alexander[a] beinge (as I mought say) obsessed, dyd put to vengeable deth his dere frende Clitus, his moste prudent counsailour Calisthenes, his moste valiant capitayne Philotas, with his father Parmenio, and diuers other. Wherof he so sore after repented, that oppressed with heuines he had slayne hym selfe, had he nat bene lette by his seruauntes.[b] Wherfore his furye and inordinate wrathe is a foule and greuouse blemysshe to his glorie, whiche, without that vice, had incomparably excelled all other princis.[c] *Alexander in furye.*

Who abhorreth or hateth nat the violence or rage that was in Scilla and Marius, noble Romanes, and in their tyme in highest authoritie within the citie, hauyng the gouernance of the more parte of the worlde? *The horrible crueltie of Silla and Marius.*

Illa: nec in totâ conspectior ulla capillis
Pars fuit. Inveni, qui se vidisse referret.
Hanc pelagi rector templo vitiasse Minervæ
Dicitur. Aversa est, et castos ægide vultus
Nata Jovis texit. Neve hoc impune fuisset,
Gorgoneum turpes crinem mutavit in hydros.
Nunc quoque, ut attonitos formidine terreat hostes,
Pectore in adverso, quos fecit, sustinet angues.'

Metamorph. lib. iv. 793–802.

[a] 'Alexandrum iracundia sua propemodum cælo deripuit. Nam quid obstitit, quo minus illuc assurgeret, nisi Lysimachus leoni objectus, et Clytus hastâ trajectus, et Callisthenes mori jussus? quia tres maximas victorias totidem amicorum injustis cædibus victor edidit.'—*Val. Max.* lib. ix. cap 3, § 1, *ext.*

[b] 'Ubi sunt ergo isti, qui iracundiam utilem dicunt? (potest utilis esse insania?) aut naturalem? An quicquam esse potest secundum naturam, quod sit repugnante ratione? Quo modo autem, si naturalis esset ira; aut alius alio magis iracundus esset; aut finem haberet prius, quàm esset ulta ulciscendi libido; aut quenquam pœniteret, quod fecisset per iram? ut Alexandrum regem videmus, qui, cum interemisset Clitum, familiarem suum, vix à se manus abstinuit: tanta vis fuit pœnitendi.'—Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. cap. 37.

[c] A great modern historian says, 'Among the many tragical deeds recounted throughout the course of this history, there is none more revolting than the fate of these two generals (*i. e.* Parmenio and Philotas). Alexander, violent in all his impulses, displayed, on this occasion, a personal rancour worthy of his ferocious mother Olympias, exasperated rather than softened by the magnitude of past services.'—Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 415.

Scilla, for the malignitie that he hadde towarde Marius, caused the heedes of a thousande and seuen hundred of the chiefe citezins of Rome to be striken of, and brought to him fresshe bledyng and quicke, and theron fedde his mooste cruell eien, which to eate his mouth naturally abhorred.[a] Marius with no lasse rancour inflamed, beside a terrible slaughter that he made of noble men leanyng to Scilla, he also caused Caius Cesar (who had bene bothe Consul and Censor, two of the moste honorable dignities in the citie of Rome) to be violently drawen to the sepulture of one Varius, a simple and seditious persone, and there to be dishonestly slayne. With like beastial fury he caused the hed of Marcus Antonius, one of the moste eloquent oratours of all the Romanes, to be broughte unto hym as he sate at dyner, and there toke the heed all blody betwene his handes, and with a malicious countenance reproched hym of his eloquence, wherwith he had nat only defended many an innocent, but also the hole publike weale had ben by his wyse consultations singulerly profited.[b]

O what calamitie hapned to the mooste noble citie of

[a] Sir Thomas Elyot had, no doubt, consulted the following passage, but, as the reader will see, the number is not given accurately. He probably intended to write 'four thousand and seven hundred.' 'Quatuor millia et septingentos diræ proscriptionis edicto jugulatos in tabulas publicas retulit: videlicet ne memoria tam præclaræ rei dilueretur. Nec contentus in eos sævire, qui armis à se dissenserant, etiam quieti animi cives, propter pecuniæ magnitudinem, per nomenclatorem conquisitos, proscriptorum numero adjecit. Adversus mulieres quoque gladios destrinxit: quasi parum cædibus virorum satiatus. Id quoque inexplebilis feritatis indicium est. Abscissa miserorum capita, modo non vultum ac spiritum retinentia, in conspectum suum afferri voluit, ut oculis illa, quia ore nefas erat, manderet.'—*Val. Max.* lib. ix. cap. 2, § 1.

[b] 'Cujus tamen crudelitatis C. Marius invidiam levat: nam et ille nimiâ cupiditate persequendi inimicos, iram suam nefariè destrinxit, L. Cæsaris consularis et censorii nobilissimum corpus ignobili sævitiâ trucidando, et quidem apud seditiosissimi et abjectissimi hominis bustum. Id enim malorum miserrimæ tunc Reipublicæ deerat, ut Vario Cæsar piaculum caderet. Pæne tanti victoriæ ejus non fuerunt: quarum oblitus plus criminis domi quàm laudis in militiâ meruit. Idem caput M. Antonii abscissum lætis manibus inter epulas per summam animi ac verborum insolentiam aliquamdiu tenuit: clarissimique et civis et oratoris sanguine contaminari mensæ sacra passus est.'—*Val. Max.* lib. ix. cap. 2, § 2.

Rome by the implacabilitie or wrath insaciable of these two capitaines, or (as I moughte rather saye) deuils? The nobles betwene them exhaust, the chiualry almost consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lacking but litle that the publike weale had nat ben extincte, and the citie utterly desolate.

The undiscrete hastinesse of the emperour Claudius caused hym to be noted for foolisshe. For meued with wrathe he caused diuers to be slayne, for whom after he demaunded, and wolde sende for to souper.[a] Nat withstandyng that he was right well lerned, and in diuers great affaires appered to be wyse.[b] This discommodities do happen by implacable wrathe, wherof there be examples innumerable

Contrary wise the valiant kynge Pirrhus, herynge that two men at a feste, and in a great assembly and audience, had openly spoken wordes to his reproche, he, meued with displeasure, sente for the persones, and whan they were come, he demaunded where they spake of him any suche wordes. Wherunto one of them answered, If (saide he) the wyne had nat the sooner failed us, all that which was tolde to your highnesse, in comparison of that whiche shulde haue bene spoken, had ben but trifles. The wise prince, with that playne confession was mitigate, and his wrathe conuerted to laughynge.[c] *Pyrrhus.*

[a] 'Καὶ πολλάκις γε ἐξαπιναίως ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ κελεύσας τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς ἀπολέσθαι, ἔπειτ' ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἀναφρονήσας ἐπεζήτει τε αὐτόν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλυπεῖτό τε καὶ μετεγίνωσκεν.'—*Dion Cassius*, tom. ii. p. 207, ed. 1849. 'Multos ex iis, quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die et in convivium, et ad aleæ lusum admoneri jussit: et quasi morarentur, ut somniculosos per nuntium increpuit.'—Sueton. *Claudius*, 39.

[b] Suetonius asserts that he was 'neque infacundus, neque indoctus, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis deditus.'—*Claudius*, 40. Merivale says that 'Claudius secured respect for letters, in an age of show and sensuality, by his personal devotion to them.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. v. p. 597.

[c] Æquè mitis animus Pyrrhi regis. Audierat quosdam Tarentinorum in convivio parum honoratum de se sermonem habuisse, arcessitos, qui ei interfuerant, percontabatur "An ea, quæ ad aures ejus pervenerant, dixissent." Tum ex his unus, "Nisi," inquit, "vinum nobis defecisset, ista, quæ tibi relata sunt, præ iis, quæ de te locuturi eramus, lusus ac jocus fuissent." Tam urbana crapulæ excusatio,

Julius Cesar, after his victorie agayne the great Pompei, who had maried his doughter, sittynge in open iugement, one Sergius Galba, one of the nobles of Rome, a frende unto Pompei, saide unto hym, I was bounden for thy sonne in lawe, Pompei, in a great some, whan he was consul the thirde time, wherfore I am now sued, what shall I do? shall I my selfe pay it? By which wordes he moughte seme to reproche Cesar of the sellyng of Pompeis goodes, in defraudynge his creditours. But Cesar, than hauyng a gentill harte and a pacient, was meued with no displeasure towarde Galba, but caused Pompeis detts to be discharged.[a]

We lacke nat of this vertue domisticall examples, I meane of our owne kynges of Englande; but moste specially one, whiche, in myne oppinion, is to be compared with any that euer was written of in any region or countray.[b]

tamque simplex veritatis confessio, iram regis convertit in risum.'—*Val. Max.* lib. v. cap. 1, § 3, *ext.*

[a] Jam Ser. Galbæ temeritatis plena postulatio, qui Divum Julium consummatis victoriis, in foro jus dicentem, in hunc modum interpellare sustinuit; "C. Juli Cæsar, pro Cn. Pompeio Magno, quondam genero tuo, in tertio ejus consulatû pecuniam spopondi, quo nomine nunc appellor: Quid agam? dependam?" Palam atque apertè ei bonorum Pompeii venditionem exprobrando, ut à Tribunali summoveretur, meruerat: sed illud ipsâ mansuetudine mitius pectus, æs alienum Pompeii ex suo fisco solvi jussit.'—*Val. Max.* lib. vi. cap. 2, § 11.

[b] Probably few Englishmen are aware upon how slight a thread hangs the story which follows, familiar to them from their childhood, and generally believed by them to be thoroughly well authenticated as an historical incident. Sir Thomas Elyot, however, has long been admitted to be the *original* authority for the popular form of the story which is now indissolubly connected with Shakespeare's Play of King Henry IV. Mr. Luders, who wrote an elaborate essay at the beginning of the present century to vindicate the character of Henry V. from the charge of giving way to dissolute habits in his youth, and who investigated minutely the grounds for the assertion, says, 'I cannot trace the story higher than this book,' *i.e. The Governour*, which he says, on the authority of Oldys, was first printed in 1534, a mistake which has been repeated by Lord Campbell and Mr. Tyler; none of these writers being apparently aware of the fact that Sir Thomas Elyot's work was published for the first time in 1531. Mr. Tyler says: 'In examining the alleged fact of Henry's violence and insults exhibited in a court of justice, there is much greater difficulty than may generally be supposed, in consequence of the entire silence of all contemporary annalists and chroniclers. Not one word occurs asserting it; no allusion to the circumstance whatever is found previously to the

The moste renomed prince, kynge Henry the fifte, late kynge of Englande, durynge the life of his father was noted

reign of Henry VIII., nearly *a century and a half* after Henry V.'s accession.' Mr. Tyler's computation is remarkable, for, taking Henry V.'s accession as our *terminus à quo*, the period which elapsed between that date and the first publication of *The Governour* will be found to be only 118 years. Now, considering that the first book ever printed in England was not published till 1477, the time during which this so-called historical incident could be given to the world in a *printed* form may be compressed into a period of little more than half a century. Moreover, even this intervening space might be still further abridged, for Hallam tells us that 'the reign of Edward IV. may be reckoned one of the lowest points in our literary annals;' and he asserts that the whole number of books printed in England down to the year A.D. 1500 was only 141. Now, if in addition to this, we consider the difficulties of locomotion in the 15th century and the absence of newsletters, we can easily see that, assuming the story to be founded upon an actual historical fact, the chance of its being communicated to the country at large must have been exceedingly small. According to Mr. Foss, the number of counsel practising in Westminster Hall in the reign of Henry IV. was less than fifty, and though probably many more students frequented the Courts in those days than at present, there is no reason to suppose that the general public attracted by mere curiosity to hear the proceedings, which, be it remembered, were in an unknown tongue, was more largely represented, speaking relatively, than it is now. It is probable, therefore, that the acts of contempt and the committal, if they occurred, could only have been *witnessed* by a small number of spectators. Now the persons who would be most likely to report such an unusual proceeding would be the lawyers who were present at the time, but there is no mention of it in the Year Book of this reign, which unfortunately has come down to us in an incomplete form, as we learn from Mr. Foss that 'though there are some reports of every *year*, no less than twenty out of the forty-four *terms* of which it consisted are entirely omitted. The only other reports in print of the same period are those of Jenkins, and even those were not printed till long afterwards. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, there does not seem to be much force in Mr. Tyler's argument founded on the silence of *contemporary writers;* and believing in the possibility of some entry yet existing which might corroborate the story, the Editor has caused the Controlment Rolls of the reign of Henry IV. still existing in the Public Record Office to be searched, but with little hope of any such investigation proving successful. It is certain, however, from the previous condition of these Rolls that no writer in the present century has hitherto ventured upon such a method of verification. (The result of the inquiries instituted by the Editor at the Public Record Office, will be communicated in a note at the end of the present volume.) Admitting then at the outset that the silence of contemporary writers does not present such a formidable obstacle to our belief in the truth of the story as Mr. Tyler supposes, it remains to be seen whether there are not other reasons for distrusting the story which had not presented themselves to the mind of that gentle-

to be fierce and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his seruantes whom he well fauored, for felony by hym committed,

man. And here it may be remarked that Mr. Tyler, in dealing with this subject, displays a want of accuracy which ought to put the reader on his guard in estimating the value of his arguments. He quotes the passage from *The Governour* apparently at second-hand, and on the authority of Sir John Hawkins, whom, from the marginal reference, he evidently believes to have been the author of the *Pleas of the Crown*, and that the passage in question is cited in that work. (See Tyler's *Life of Henry V.*, vol. i. p. 363.) The fact being that Sir John Hawkins, a literary man, but not a lawyer at all, wrote a note which will be found in Reed's ed. of *Shakespeare*, vol. xii. p. 224, in which he quotes the passage from Elyot, and asserts that Gascoigne was the judge alluded to. This note Mr. Tyler had doubtless read and supposed that it represented an extract from the celebrated work on criminal law. The contemporary historians who could have recorded the fact of the prince's committal, but have not done so, are, with one exception, monks. They are Thomas of Walsingham, Thomas of Elmham, Thomas Otterbourne, Titus Livius, John Capgrave, and John Hardyng, the last only being a layman, and his chronicle was the only one which was *printed* in the 16th century. Now amongst these writers there is a remarkable *consensus* of opinion that Henry V., at his succession, 'put on the new man.' But this agreement is so complete that the probability that some of them, at least, merely copied the others is reduced to a certainty. For instance, Walsingham, speaking of Henry at his coronation A.D. 1413, says, 'Qui revera, mox ut initiatus est regni infulis, repente mutatus est in virum alterum, honestati, modestiæ, ac gravitati studens, nullum virtutum genus omittens, quod non cuperet exercere. Cujus mores et gestus omni conditioni, tam religiosorum quàm laicorum, in exempla fuere.'—*Hist. Angl.* vol. ii. p. 290. (The Rolls ed.) That Otterbourne's account cannot be considered an independent one is manifest from the fact that he, also speaking of the same event, says, 'Qui vero mox ut initiatus est regni infulis, repente mutatus est in virum alterum, honestati, modestiæ, et gravitati studens, nullum virtutis genus pertransiens, quod non cuperet in se transferri. Cujus mores et gestus omni conditione servire videbantur ad apprehendendas virtutes, sicque felices reputabant, quibus imitari dabantur vestigia regis.'—Vol. i. p. 273, ed. 1732. The above passages it will be seen are as nearly as possible identical. Now let us turn to Hardyng's Chronicle; there we read that Henry,

> 'The houre he was crowned and anoynt,
> He chaunged was of all his olde condicyon;
> Full vertuous he was fro poynt to poynt,
> Grounded all newe in good opinyon;
> For passyngly without comparyson,
> Then set upon all ryght and conscyence
> *A newe man made by all good regimence.*'—P. 372, ed. 1812.

It must be confessed that this smacks highly of a mere metrical version of the monastic chronicle. 'Elmham's book,' says Mr. Luders, 'seems to have been the

was arrayned at the kynges benche ; wherof he being aduertised, and incensed by light persones aboute hym, in furious

foundation on which Walsingham rested as well as T. Livius.'—P. 32. And again there is a marked resemblance between Livius and Elmham ; the latter says that on the death of Henry IV. 'lacrimosus princeps, noctis opacitate captatâ quendam reclusum perfectæ vitæ virum apud Westmonasterium secreto adiit, eique totius vitæ suæ occultata denudans, veræ pœnitentiæ ablutus lavacro, contra virus præassumptum absolutionis recepit antidotum, et exutus vitiorum diploide, virtutum clamide redit decenter ornatus.'—*Vita Hen. V.*, p. 15, ed. 1727. Livius, who, according to Mr. Benjamin Williams, (See Pref. to *Hen. V. Gesta.*) 'although an Italian, wrote, probably with the aid of his patron Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, a far better life of Henry than that by the Prior of Lenton,' must yet have borrowed from him, for he uses almost precisely the same language. 'Qui dum morereţur Henricus princeps, ut qui ad regnum deventurus erat, ad se vocato sacerdote honestissimæ vitæ quodam monacho, præteritos errores confessus, vitam et mores penitus emendavit, ita ut post patris obitum nullus lasciviæ locus in eo unquam fuerit inventus.'—*Vita Hen. V.*, p. 5, ed. 1716. The passages above quoted evince such a strong family likeness that we shall hardly be wrong in describing the biographies of Henry V. as all emanating from the same source, the Abbey of St. Albans, though written by different hands. Now the propinquity of St. Albans to the metropolis renders it probable that the members of that great foundation would have become acquainted with such an unusual circumstance as the committal of the Prince, because we find them recording such occurrences as the removal of the Court of King's Bench from London to York, and sometimes, as in Whethamstede's Register, we find even the pleadings in an action at law carefully transcribed. But there is no reference to any such scene as that described by Sir Thomas Elyot in what we may style, for the sake of brevity, the St. Albans biography of the Prince. Notwithstanding this omission by the writers, whose works have been already published, there are reasons for thinking it not unlikely that the story may have its real origin in the partiality and inaccuracy of some monkish chronicler, whose name is unknown, and whose writings yet remain to be deciphered. The only chronicles which were actually *in print* when Elyot wrote were Caxton's and Fabyan's, which were published in 1516. Now Fabyan says, 'This man (*i.e.* Hen. V.), before the death of his father, applyed him unto all vyce and insolency, and drewe unto him all riottours and wildly disposed persons. But after he was admitted to the rule of the lande, *anon and sodainely he became a newe man*, and turned all that rage and wildenesse into sobernesse and wise sadnesse, and the vice into constant vertue. And, for he would continewe that vertue, and not to be reduced therunto by the familiaritie of his old nise company, he therfore, after rewardes to them geuen, charged them, upon paine of their liues, that none of them were so hardy to come within x mile of suche place as he were lodged in, after a day by him assigned.'—*Chron.* p. 389, ed. 1559. This fact, the removal of his former boon companions, is not related by any of the writers before mentioned, and consequently we must

rage came hastily to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to be ungyued and sette at

suppose it to have been a story which had been handed down to Fabyan's time by oral tradition, or that Fabyan himself copied from some chronicler whose writings have not come down to us, or which at present remain in the obscurity of unpublished MS. May not the same line of argument be applied to the story related for the first time (so far, that is to say, as modern historians have been able to discover) by Sir Thomas Elyot? The reader will by this time have been able to form his own opinion as to the character of the latter for accuracy, and to verify for himself the authorities quoted; he will have seen that it is the exception, rather than the rule, with the author to give the exact reference to the passage translated; but that fact notwithstanding, he will admit that in no single instance can the author of *The Governour* be charged with inventing an anecdote or forging an illustration, in order to suit the object he may have in view. It is true that in more than one instance the Editor has had occasion to point out an apparent exaggeration, or, at least, a variation from the original text; but these errors must be allowed to be comparatively unimportant—not amounting to gross misstatements, and may even be explained by the author's misapprehension of the original documents, or be charged to the original documents themselves, which, no doubt, in many instances were unprinted. Taking this view of the character of Sir Thomas Elyot, the reader will probably agree with the Editor in thinking it reasonable to suppose, that the story narrated in the text was transcribed from the MS. of some unknown chronicler. We know from Ascham that it was the author's habit to consult 'very old chronicles.' In this case of course the chronicle would not be very old, but the style of the narrative, and more particularly the conclusion, bears on the face of it all the appearance of being a transcript from some other document, and probably a translation from a Latin original. That Henry V., as a sovereign, was held in high estimation by the monks of St. Albans, whatever opinion they may have had of him previous to his accession, is evident from the language of panegyric which they themselves employed when speaking of him after his death. And the secret of this admiration is not far to seek; to quote Walsingham's own words, he was 'in eleemosynis largus, Deo devotus, et Ecclesiæ prælatos et ministros promovens et honorans.'—*Hist. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 344. One of his first acts after assuming the crown had already endeared him in their eyes. 'Ædificari mandavit ædem binam super Thamisiam flumen, unam Cartusiensibus viris religiosis quam Bethleem nominavit, alteram sacris mulieribus beatæ Brigidæ quæ Syon nominata est. His et ambabus à summo pontifice Indulgentias impetravit, et hæc templa proventibus immunitatibusque pluribus ditavit.'—T. Livius, *Vita Hen. V.*, p. 5, ed. 1716. It may be considered equally certain that Gascoigne was also high in favour with the clergy on account of his refusal to execute the commands of Henry IV., who had ordered him to pass sentence of death upon Scrope, the Archbishop of York, for his share in the insurrection of 1405. This appears from the language of the writer (Clement Maydestone) to whom we are indebted for a report of the Chief Justice's manly reply to

libertie, where at all men were abasshed, reserued the chiefe iustice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that

Henry. In the history of the 'martydom' of Scrope, we read that 'Henricus quartus Rex Angliæ in camerâ Manerii dicti Archiepiscopi, quod vocatur Bishopsthorp juxta Eboracum, mandavit Willelmo Gascoyne Armigero, ad tunc Justiciario principali Angliæ, ut sententiam mortis de præfato Archiepiscopo proferret tanquam de proditore Regis; qui hoc recusavit, et sic sibi respondit. "Nec vos, Domine mi Rex, nec aliquis nomine vestro vester ligeus, potestis licitè secundum jura Regni, aliquem Episcopum ad mortem judicare." Unde præfatum Archiepiscopum judicare omnino renuit. Quare idem Rex irâ vehementi exarsit versus eundem Judicem, *cujus memoria sit in benedictionem in sæcula sæculi.*'—Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, pars ii. p. 369, ed. 1691. The Editor is disposed to think that in this pious ejaculation, coupled with a circumstance to be shortly mentioned, may possibly be found an explanation of the tradition which connects the name of Henry V. with the heroic Chief Justice. When Henry IV. assumed the crown, barely a century had elapsed since a Prince of Wales had been guilty of an act of contempt to one of the King's ministers, for which he had been expelled his father's court for the space of half a year, and of this fact there is undoubted evidence remaining on record *at the present day*, and which the reader, if he please, may see with his own eyes amongst the archives of the Public Record Office. In 1305 one William de Brewes was indicted 'coram ipso Domino Rege et ejus consilio' (*i.e.* in the King's Bench) for using contumelious and reproachful words to one of the King's Justices, Roger de Hegham, because he had given judgment against him; and it is stated that the said William 'post pronunciacionem judicii prædicti contemptabiliter barram ascendit et ab ipso Rogero peciit verbis grossis et contemptibilibus, si judicium illud advocare vellet.' Whereupon he was arraigned, tried, and sentenced; and on the face of the same record in which these proceedings may still be read, appears the following memorandum: 'Quæ quidem, viz. contemptus et inobediencia, tam ministris ipsius Domini Regis quàm sibi ipsi aut curiæ suæ facta, ipsi Regi valde sunt odiosa, et hoc expressè nuper apparuit idem Dominus Rex filium suum primogenitum et carissimum Edwardum principem Walliæ pro eo quòd quædam verba grossa et acerba cuidam ministro suo dixerat, ab hospicio suo ferè per dimidium anni amovit, nec ipsum filium suum in conspectu suo venire permisit quousque dicto ministro de prædictâ transgressione satisfecerat.'—33 & 34 Ed. I. Rot. 75. *Abbrev. Placit.* p. 257. This record is quoted by Coke in his *Third Institute* at p. 142. Now, considering the veneration in which Gascoigne must have been held by the clergy for his conduct in the matter of the Archbishop of York, it does not seem at all improbable that they should have attributed to him (as we know the monastic chroniclers were accustomed to do) the credit of an act which was not really his due. The records in that illiterate age would be intelligible only to those who were either lawyers or ecclesiastics, and hence some enthusiastic admirer of Gascoigne, in searching the records, may have come upon the entry of the insult to Roger de Hegham, and, presuming upon the ignorance of laymen, may have concocted from the record itself a story which

his seruaunt mought be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme, or if he wolde haue hym saued from the

should redound in after ages to the fame of one who had shown himself so staunch a supporter of the Church. Mr. Luders has already thrown considerable doubt upon Hall's statement that Henry was 'of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte,' a statement which has been adopted by all subsequent historians, but for which there seemed no adequate authority. If, however, we suppose the record mentioned above to have supplied the materials for a story which should do honour to the Judge, we see at once that the story of Henry's removal from the Council may have had its origin in the account of the second Edward's expulsion from his father's Court, which the admirer of Gascoigne would find conveniently ready to be appropriated. It may be observed here that a MS. has lately been published, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, which to some extent confirms the idea now suggested. This is Robert Redmayne's *Historia Henrici V.*, which forms part of the Gale collection of MSS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and which, in the opinion of the editor (Mr. C. A. Cole), was composed between 1536 and 1544. (See Preface, p. x.) If this view be correct it must have been written by a contemporary of Sir Thomas Elyot. Mr. Cole says that the author 'does not, from the absence by him of any allusion to the circumstance, seem to have been aware of a fact so honourable to his name, that there was a Redman present in Henry's expedition against France, and concerned in the military preparations for that enterprise.' But, considering the prominent position which Sir Richard Redman occupied under Henry IV. and Henry V., it is only reasonable to suppose that the writer of the Gale MS. was a relative and that he derived his information from family sources. Though, inasmuch as Mr. Cole himself admits that 'so far as positive certainty is concerned, nothing is known of the writer,' it is not impossible that he may even have been in personal communication with Sir Richard. Now it is a fact (not mentioned by Mr. Cole) that Richard Redman was joined in the same commission with Sir William Gascoigne and certain others who were appointed A.D. 1405 to receive the fines of those who were concerned in the Earl of Northumberland's insurrection. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pt. 1, p. 80. Hague ed.) And we find the insult offered to the Chief Justice, which Mr. Cole calls the author's 'first historical fact,' alluded to by Robert Redman; though, as 'a sore point in Henry's early career,' it 'is but lightly touched upon.' The passage is as follows: 'Senatu movebatur, nec in curiam aditus ei patebat; et illius fama hæsit ad metas, quòd summum judicem, litibus dirimendis et causarum cognitionibus præpositum, manu percuteret, cum is unum in custodiam tradidisset ex cujus familiaritate voluptatem mirificam Henricus perciperet. Eam dignitatem, quam is amisit, Thomas illius frater, dux Clarensis, est consecutus.'—P. 11. Upon this the following observations may be made: assuming the writer to have been a relative of Richard Redman, whom we know to have been associated on one occasion with the Chief Justice, it is, to say the least, curious that he should have omitted to mention the name of the Judge, and that he should have dismissed the subject so cursorily. On the other

rigour of the lawes, that he shuld optaine, if he moughte, of the kynge, his father, his gracious pardone; wherby no lawe

hand, the fact that the writer has not adopted Elyot's version of the story, but that which has been handed down by Hall and Holinshed, points to one of two things; either the writer composed his work after the publication of the former's chronicle, *i.e.* not earlier than 1548, or he followed some still earlier authority which supplied Hall with those details which were not mentioned by Elyot, and which up to the present time remains undiscovered. There is, however, still another alternative; Hall may himself have consulted the Gale MS., but this view would of course necessitate an earlier date for Redman's composition than that assigned to it by Mr. Cole. After what has been stated it will perhaps not surprise the reader to learn that there are only two *law* books in which reference is made to the Prince's committal. Sir Edward Coke, in his *Third Institute*, at p. 225, in commenting upon the Statute 11 Hen. IV., concerning attornies, says, 'This was that Prince Henry who, keeping ill company and led by ill counsell, about this time assaulted (*some say*) and stroke Gascoign, Chief Justice, sitting in the King's Bench, for that the Prince endeavouring with strong hand to rescue a prisoner, one of his *unthrifty minions*,' &c.; and for this statement he quotes as his authority, in the margin, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour* and Holinshed's *Chronicle*. It is evident, however, that Coke must have read not only these, but Hall's *Chronicle*, for it is the latter, and not Holinshed, who uses the expression, 'wanton mates and unthriftie plaisaiers,' for which, as the reader will see, there is no warrant in the original version. That Coke and, at a still later period, Lord Campbell were prepared to give credit to the story in all its details affords no ground for strengthening our belief in it, because both display a not unnatural desire to magnify the importance of the exalted seat which both occupied at different periods, and which was the same that had been undoubtedly filled by Gascoigne. Lord Campbell's 'anxiety to establish the fact which has been taken for true by *so many* chroniclers, historians, moralists, and poets' is easily explained, but when he tells us that 'everything conspires to enhance the self-devotion and elevation of sentiment which dictated this illustrious act of an English Judge,' and that 'the noble independence which has marked many of his successors may, in no small degree, be ascribed to it,' though we may sympathise with the writer's feeling of enthusiasm, we must not allow it to interfere with a critical analysis of the evidence, upon which alone we can form any opinion as to the existence of a state of facts which has so long passed for an historical incident, and has commended itself as such to the discriminating mind of one who was himself 'the first Criminal Judge.' It may be as well, however, to see whether Lord Campbell himself has contributed to elucidate, or obscure, the mystery which attaches to the career of his illustrious predecessor. To give weight to his argument in favour of the occurrence he calls 'as witnesses two lawyers, very dull, but very cautious, men, Sir Robert Catlyne, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir John Whiddin, a Puisne Judge of that Court, who, sticking to the Year books, probably had never read either Elyot or Hall, and who knew nothing of Gascoigne except by the sure traditions of Westminster Hall. Cromp-

or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, en-

ton, an accurate judicial writer, who then published a book, entitled *Authoritie et Jurisdiction des Courts*, in reporting a decision of the Court of King's Bench, says, "Whidden cites a case in the time of Gascoigne, Chief Justice of England, who committed the Prince to prison because he would have taken a prisoner from the bar of the King's Bench, and he, very submissively obeying him, went thither according to order : at which the King was highly rejoiced in that he had a Judge who dared to minister justice upon his son, the Prince, and that he had a son who obeyed him." *Catlyne, C. J., is then represented as assenting and rejoicing in the praises of his predecessor.'—Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129. Let the reader mark well the concluding paragraph of the above quotation, for it affords an interesting illustration of the way in which even a Lord Chief Justice can manipulate facts and invest them with historical dignity. If the reader will turn to the book quoted by Lord Campbell he will find that the passage, of which the above words in italics are intended as an abridgement, runs as follows : 'Et Catlin dit in cel case, que ils ne usont de monstre in le breve pur que ils met pur home mes ceo nous reseruomus in nostre pectus, car poit estre pur treason ou grand conspiracie.' P. 79, ed. 1594. It should be premised that Crompton in discussing the authority of the Court of King's Bench mentions at some length a case, which the Editor finds, on reference to the Rolls, arose in the 6th Eliz., *i.e.* in 1564–5, in which the Court of Queen's Bench ordered a writ of attachment to go against Thomas Young, the Archbishop of York and President of the Council of the North, and also against the Sheriff of the county, for disobedience in not executing a writ of *habeas corpus*. The Judges before whom the rule was argued were Catlin, L C. J., and Justices Whidden, Corbet, and Southcote. And after the statement of Justice Whidden, the Lord Chief Justice Catlin, according to the report in Crompton's book, took occasion to explain the reason why in the case *sub judice* the grounds for the attachment were not to be set out in the writ which was then ordered to issue. Not a word, it will be seen, is said in the report to justify Lord Campbell's assertion that the Chief of the Court 'assented and rejoiced in the praises of his predecessor.' What then becomes of the *two* witnesses? And what opinion can we form of Lord Campbell's own 'caution' and 'accuracy' as an historical writer? So far from coinciding with the suggestion that these judges in the reign of Elizabeth 'had probably never read either Elyot or Hall,' the Editor ventures to think, with all due deference to the opinion of Lord Campbell, that they were much more likely to have done so than Coke, who we know by his own showing had read *The Governour*. For in the reign of Elizabeth there was probably no book which was so much read or which had passed through more editions than this popular work. Indeed there is no antecedent improbability in supposing that the story as narrated by Sir Thomas Elyot really suggested to Shakspeare the idea of exhibiting two of the principal characters in his play of Henry IV. under the conditions which Sir Thomas Elyot's work had already prescribed for them. Mr. Foss has taken the trouble to ascertain the exact date of Gascoigne's death,

deuored hym selfe to take away his seruaunt. The iuge consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that

which he shows on evidence which must be considered unimpeachable, to have been the 17th Dec., 1419; a result which proves the error of previous biographers, including Fuller, who had fixed his death to have taken place on Dec. 17, 1412. We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Foss that it is necessary to convict Shakspeare 'of falsifying history in his desire to enhance the character of his hero,' *i.e.* by representing Hen. V. as reappointing Gascoigne, because a certain poetical licence has been permitted to and assumed by poets in all ages, and moreover it must always be remembered that Shakspeare nowhere speaks of the Chief Justice by name, a fact not unfrequently forgotten, but which may be considered an additional argument for supposing that he took the idea from the pages of *The Governour*. The biographer, however, stands in a very different position from the poet, and Mr. Foss is no doubt justified in saying that he 'cannot acquit Lord Campbell of a similar charge, when he asserts that he can prove to demonstration that Sir William Gascoigne actually filled the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Henry V.;' the result being that Mr. Foss is able to produce evidence which shows that in the very first year of the latter's reign 'Gascoigne is called '*late* Chief Justice of the Bench of Lord Henry, *father of the present King*.' —*Judges of England*, vol. iv. p. 169. In the view that the Editor takes of the story, the subsidiary question whether it was not Gascoigne who committed the Prince to prison, but some other Judge, Hankford, Hody, or Markham, becomes totally unimportant. Either the story is true, and then undoubtedly Gascoigne must have been the Judge, or it is untrue altogether, and then as regards names *cadit quæstio*. It may be as well, therefore, briefly to recapitulate the reasons which seem to point to the latter conclusion. 1. It is admitted that Elyot's version is the *earliest* authority for the story with which we are acquainted. 2. The internal evidence makes it probable that Elyot derived the story from some *written* source. This appears from the following circumstances: (*a*) He introduces it as an example of what he calls 'the virtue of placability' in company with other illustrations, each of which he derived from a classical authority which was capable of verification, and which has actually been verified. (*b*) The style of the narrative points to its being a *translation* from some (probably Latin) original; this is shown by such peculiarities as the use of the ablative absolute, 'reserved the Chief Justice' (*i.e.* reservato = excepto summo judice), &c., and the report of the King's speech which is quite in character with the monastic compositions of the 15th century. (*c*) Elyot himself in introducing the story says, 'it may be compared with any that was ever *written*.' (*d*) With very few exceptions, all the *narratives* in *The Governour* employed as illustrations of virtues, moral qualities, &c., are taken from classical sources which have been identified. (*e*) Other illustrations from English history, &c., *e.g.* of Henry I. and Robert Curthose have been verified by reference to earlier documents, and it has been shown for instance that Elyot must have derived some of his information from the writings of Knyghton, who was a canon of Leicester, *temp.* Hen. IV. 3. The source from which Elyot

moughte therby ensue, with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leue the prisoner

derived the story must have been either legal or clerical. If the former, the proceedings were of such an unusual character that it is in the highest degree improbable that they should not be entered on the Records, as was actually done in a very similar case in which a Prince of Wales was implicated, at a still earlier period of English history, and the record of which remains to this day. It may therefore be assumed from the absence of any such entry, or any allusion to the circumstance in the Year Book of the reign or in any of the earliest printed legal text books, that Elyot's authority for the story was *not* a *legal* one. 4. It must therefore have been a clerical, and probably a monastic, story. It has already been shown that the clergy were prepared to extol the merits of Gascoigne on account of his refusal to take a part in the so-called 'martydom' of Archbishop Scrope; and Caxton tells us in his *Polychronicon* that 'God showed and wrought many *miracles* for this worthy clerk,' *i.e.* Scrope. It is not at all improbable, therefore, that similar wonderful stories should have been fabricated by the clergy with regard to Gascoigne, whose name would be inevitably connected with that of the 'martyr.' 5. Although Elyot was nominally a lawyer he was essentially a man of letters, and for the times in which he lived was a voracious reader; he is constantly recommending the perusal of 'old chronicles.' 6. When as in the case of his reference to the legend of Bevis and his horse, he introduces topics of at least doubtful authenticity, he does not seem to have taken much trouble to *verify* such stories. The conclusion, therefore, to which the foregoing considerations lead us is, that Elyot's story of the Prince and the Judge is a translation of some earlier composition in Latin, probably by a monastic chronicler of the 15th century, with which we are unacquainted. It is only fair, however, to state the facts which seem at first sight to be opposed to this conclusion. 1. The story was also narrated, and apparently in good faith, by Hall and Holinshed, the historians. 2. It was dramatised and therefore popularised by the great poet; and 3. It was referred to incidentally by a Judge on the Bench in the reign of Elizabeth. But when we come to examine carefully into the circumstances of each of these cases we shall find that not one of them, taken separately, is inconsistent with the view of the origin of the story suggested above, and collectively they add no real weight to the argument against it. 1. Hall, for instance, who was the contemporary of Elyot, tells substantially the same story, but with greater brevity and with the addition of various details, all intended to disparage the Prince's character, and some of which have been already disproved. Holinshed merely copied from Hall, and his testimony is therefore entitled to no greater weight. 2. Shakspeare was professedly a poet and not a historian, and must be allowed the usual poetic licence. He probably borrowed the idea from Elyot's book, and in common with Elyot, Hall and Holinshed abstains from identifying the Judge *by name*, though no reason can be suggested for this omission, as the other characters in the play have real names assigned to them. On the supposition, however, that he borrowed the story from the pages of *The Governour*, the suppression of the

and departe his waye. With whiche commandment the prince, being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of iugement—men thinkyng that he wolde haue slayne the iuge, or haue done to hym some damage; but the iuge sittyng styll, without mouynge, declarynge the maiestie of the kynges place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng: Sir, remembre your selfe; I kepe here the place of the king, your soueraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe double obedience, wherfore, eftsones in his name, I charge you desiste of your wilfulnes and unlaufull entreprise, and from hensforth gyue good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre subiectes. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the kynges benche, where unto I committe you; and remayne ye there prisoner

name explains itself. 3. Crompton represents Mr. Justice Whidden to have mentioned from the Bench the fact of the Prince's committal and coupled Gascoigne's name with the proceeding. The occasion, however, on which Whidden is alleged to have done this was at the hearing of a case decided in 1565, a century and a half after Gascoigne's death, and more than thirty years after the publication of *The Governour*, a book with which every man having the least pretensions to be considered a man of education must have been acquainted, and particularly a Judge, as it was written by the son of a distinguished Judge. It is therefore at least as probable that Whidden was quoting from his recollection of the story as told by Elyot or Hall, as from some independent authority. If Coke could refer to *The Governour* as his authority, why not Whidden, who lived still nearer to the time when *The Governour* was first published? The inference, therefore, in favour of the authenticity of the story drawn from the united testimony of two chroniclers, the great dramatist, and a single Judge of the 16th century, ceases to be conclusive when that testimony is submitted to the only test which can now be applied, and it is shown that the evidence of these witnesses, when critically examined, proves not to be intrinsically and independently valuable. At the risk, therefore, of being charged with exhibiting what Lord Campbell has styled 'a reckless spirit of questioning what has long been taken for implicit truth,' the Editor feels bound to express the opinion that the story, which during several centuries has been allowed to pass, not indeed unchallenged, but with the advantage of appealing directly to the national sympathy with the characters personified, and with the prestige derived from the support of great names, must at length be deposed from its pedestal as the monument of a strictly historical fact, and be henceforth regarded only as a peculiarly interesting specimen of monastic legend.

untill the pleasure of the kyng, your father, be further knowen. With whiche wordes beinge abasshed, and also wondrynge at the meruailous grauitie of that worshipful Justice, the noble prince, layinge his waipon aparte, doinge reuerence, departed and wente to the kynges benche as he was commaunded. Wherat his seruants disdainyng, came and shewed to the kynge all the hole affaire. Wherat he a whiles studienge, after as a man all rauisshed with gladness, holdyng his eien and handes up towarde heuen, abrayded, sayinge with a loude voice, O mercifull god, howe moche am I, aboue all other men, bounde to your infinite goodnes; specially for that ye haue gyuen me a iuge, who feareth nat to ministre iustice, and also a sonne who can suffre semblably and obey iustice?

Nowe here a man may beholde thre persones worthye excellent memorie. Firste, a iuge, who beinge a subiecte, feared nat to execute iustice on the eldest sonne of his soueraigne lorde, and by the ordre of nature his successour. Also a prince and sonne and heire of the kynge, in the middes of his furye, more considered his iuell example, and the iuges constance in iustice, than his owne astate or wylfull appetite. Thirdly, a noble kynge and wyse father, who contrary to the custome of parentes, reioyced to se his sonne and the heire of his crowne, to be for his disobedience by his subiecte corrected.

Wherfore I conclude that nothing is more honorable, or to be desired in a prince or noble man, than placabilitie. As contrary wyse, nothing is so detestable, or to be feared in suche one, as wrathe and cruell malignitie.

CHAPTER VII.

That a gouernour ought to be mercifull and the diuersitie of mercye and vayne pitie.

MERCYE is and hath ben euer of suche estimation with mankynde, that nat onely reason persuadeth, but also experience proueth, that in whome mercye lacketh and is nat founden, in hym all other vertues be drowned and lose their iuste commendation.

The vice called crueltie, whiche is contrary to mercye, is by good reason most odyous of all other vices, in as moche as, lyke a poyson or continual pestilence, it destroyeth the generation of man. Also the vertues beynge in a cruell persone be nat only obfuscate or hyd, but also lyke wyse as norysshynge meates and drynkes in a sycke body do lose their bountie and augmente the malady, semblably diuers vertues in a persone malicious do minystre occasion and assistence to crueltie. *Crueltie.*

But nowe to speke of the inestimable price and value of mercy. Let gouernours, whiche knowe that they haue resceyued theyr powar from aboue, reuolue in their myndes in what peryll they them selfes be in dayly if in god were nat habundaunce of mercy, but that as sone as they offende him greuously, he shulde immediatly strike them with his moste terrible darte of vengeaunce. All be it uneth any houre passeth that men deserue nat some punysshement.

The mooste noble emperours, whiche for their merites resceyued of the gentyles diuyne honours, vainquisshed the greate hartes of their mortall enemyes, in shewynge mercy aboue mennes expectacion.

Julius Cesar, whiche in policie, eloquence, celeritie, and prowesse, excelled all other capitaynes, in mercye onely[a] he

[a] 'Moderationem vero clementiamque, cum in administratione, tum in victoriâ belli civilis, admirabilem exhibuit. Denuntiante Pompeio, pro hostibus se habiturum, qui Reipublicæ defuissent; ipse, medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi

surmounted hym selfe; that is to say, contrary to his owne affectes and determinate purposes, he nat onely spared, but also resceyued into tendre familyaritie his sworne enemyes. Wherfore, if the disdayne of his owne blode and alyaunce had nat traytourously slayne him, he had raigned longe and prosperously.

But amonge many other examples of mercy, wherof the histories of Rome do abounde, there is one remembred by Seneca, whiche may be in the stede of a great nombre. It was reported to the noble emperour Octauius Augustus, that Lucius Cinna, which was susters sonne to the great Pompei, had imagined his dethe.[a] Also that Cinna was appointed to execute his feate whyles the emperour was doinge his sacrifice. This reporte was made by one of the conspiratours, and therwith diuers other thinges agreed: the old hostilite betwene the houses of Pompei and Cesar, the wilde and sedicious

Seneca de Clementiâ.

Mercye shewed bi Augustus untill his enemye.

numero futuros, pronuntiavit. Quibus autem ex commendatione Pompeii ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. Motis apud Ilerdam deditionis conditionibus, cum, assiduo inter utrasque partes usu atque commercio, Afranius ac Petreius deprehensos intra castra Julianos subitâ pœnitentiâ interfecisserent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari. Acie Pharsalicâ proclamavit, "ut civibus parceretur:" deincepsque nemini non suorum, quem vellet, unum partis adversæ servare, concessit: nec ulli perisse nisi in prælio reperiuntur, exceptis duntaxat Afranio et Fausto et L. Cæsare juvene; ac ne hos quidem voluntate ipsius interemtos putant: quorum tamen et priores post impetratam veniam rebellaverant, et Cæsar, libertis servisque ejus ferro et igni crudelem in modum enectis, bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidaverat. Denique tempore extremo etiam, quibus nondum ignoverat, cunctis in Italiam redire permisit, magistratusque et imperia capere. Sed et statuas L. Syllæ atque Pompeii, à plebe disjectas, reposuit. Ac, si qua posthac aut cogitarentur gravius adversus se, aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quàm vindicare. Itaque et detectas conjurationes conventusque nocturnos non ultrà arguit, quàm ut edicto ostenderet, esse sibi notas: et acerbè loquentibus satis habuit pro concione denuntiare, ne perseverarent; Aulique Cæcinæ criminosissimo libro et Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit.'—Sueton. *Julius*, cap. 75.

[a] Delatum est ad eum indicium, L. Cinnam, stolidi ingenii virum, insidias ei struere. Dictum est et ubi, et quando, et quemadmodum aggredi vellet: unus ex consciis deferebat. Constituit se ab eo vindicare, consilium amicorum advocari

witte of Cinna, with the place and tyme, where and whan the emperour should be disfurnisshed of seruauntes. No wonder though the emperours mynde were inquiete, beinge in so perilous a conflicte, consideryng on the one parte, that if he shulde put to dethe Cinna, whiche came of one of the moste noble and auncient houses of Rome, he shulde euer lyue in daunger, onlas he shulde destroye all that noble familie, and cause the memorie of them to be utterly exterminate; whiche mought nat be brought to passe without effusion of the bloode of persones innumerable, and also perile of the subuercion of the empire late pacified. On the other parte, he considered the imminent daunger that his persone was in, wherfore nature stered hym to prouide for his suretie, wherto he thought than to be none other remedy but the deth of his aduersarie. To hym beinge thus perplexed came his wife Liuia, the empresse, who said unto him, Pleaseth it you, sir, to here a womans aduise. Do you as phisitians be wonte to do, where their accustumed remedies preue nat, they do assaye the contrarye. By seueritie ye haue hitherto nothing profited, proue therfore nowe what mercy may aduaile you. Forgiue Cinna; he is taken with the maynure, and may nat nowe indomage you, profite he may moche to the

jussit. Nox illi inquieta erat, quum cogitaret adolescentem nobilem, hoc detracto, integrum, Cn. Pompeii nepotem damnandum. Jam unum hominem occidere non poterat: cum M. Antonio proscriptionis edictum inter cœnam dictarat. Gemens subinde voces emittebat varias, et inter se contrarias. 'Quid ergo? ego percussorem mecum securum ambulare patiar, me sollicito? Ergo non dabit pœnas, qui tot civilibus bellis frustra petitum caput, tot navalibus, tot pedestribus prœliis incolume, postquam terrâ marique pax parta est, non occidere constituit, sed immolare?' Nam sacrificantem placuerat adoriri. Rursus silentio interposito, majore multo voce sibi, quàm Cinnæ irascebatur. 'Quid vivis, si perire te tam multorum interest? Quis finis erit suppliciorum? Quis sanguinis? Ego sum nobilibus adolescentulis expositum caput, in quod mucrones acuant. Non est tanti vita, si, ut ego non peream, tam multa perdenda sunt.' Interpellavit tandem illum Livia uxor, et 'Admittis,' inquit, 'muliebre consilium? Fac quod medici solent: qui ubi usitata remedia non procedunt, tentant contraria. Severitate nihil adhuc profecisti: Salvidienum Lepidus secutus est, Lepidum Muræna, Murænam Cæpio, Cæpionem Egnatius, ut alios taceam, quos tantum ausos pudet: nunc tenta, quomodo tibi cedat clementia. Ignosce L. Cinnæ. Deprehensus est: jam nocere

increase of your renome and perpetuell glorie. The emperour reioysed to hym selfe that Cinna had founde suche an aduocatrice, and gyuynge her thankes he caused his counsailours, whiche he had sente for, to be countermaunded, and callyng to hym Cinna only, he commaunded the chambre to be auoyded, and an other chaire to be sette for Cinna; and that done he saide in this maner to hym: I desire of the this one thynge, that whiles I speke, thou wylt nat let or disturbe me, or in the middes of my wordes make any exclamation. What tyme, Cinna, I founde the in the hoste of myne enemyes, all thoughe thou were nat by any occasion made myne enemie, but by succession from thine auncetours borne myne enemie, I nat only saued the, but also gaue unto the all thyne inheritaunce; and at this day thou arte so prosperous and riche, that they, whiche had with me victorie, do enuie the that were vainquisshed. Thou askiddist of me a spirituall promocion, and furthwith I gaue it the bifore many other, whose parentes had serued me in warres. And for that I haue done so moche for the, thou nowe hast purposed to slee me. At that worde whan Cinna cryed out, sayenge that suche madnes was farre from his mynde, Cinna, (said the emperour,) thou kepist nat promise; it was couenaunted that thou shuldest nat interrupt me. I saye thou preparest to kyll me. And thereto the Emperour named his companions, the place, tyme, and ordre of all the conspiracie, and also to

tibi non potest, prodesse famæ tuæ potest.' Gavisus, sibi quod advocatum invenerat, uxori quidem gratias egit: renuntiari autem extemplo amicis, quos in consilium rogaverat, imperavit, et Cinnam unum ad se arcessit; dimissisque omnibus è cubiculo, quum alteram Cinnæ poni cathedram jussisset; 'Hoc,' inquit, 'primum à te peto, ne me loquentem interpelles, ne medio sermone meo proclames: dabitur tibi loquendi liberum tempus. Ego te, Cinna, quum in hostium castris invenissem, non factum tantum mihi inimicum, sed natum, servavi, patrimonium tibi omne concessi. Hodie tàm felix es, et tàm dives, ut victo victores invideant. Sacerdotium tibi petenti, præteritis compluribus, quorum parentes mecum militaverant, dedi. Quum sic de te meruerim, occidere me constituisti.' Quum ad hanc vocem exclamasset, procul hanc ab se abesse dementiam: 'Non præstas,' inquit, 'fidem, Cinna: convenerat, ne interloquereris. Occidere, inquam, me paras.' Adjecit locum, socios, diem, ordinem insidiarum, cui commissum esset ferrum. Et quum

whom the sworde was committed. And whan he perceyued hym astonied, holdyng than his peace, nat for by cause that he so promised, but that his conscience him meued; For what intent dyddest thou thus? (said Augustus) Bicause thou woldest be emperour? In good faithe the publike weale is in an euyll astate, if nothing letteth the to raygne, but I onely; thou canste nat maintayne or defende thine owne house. It is nat longe sence that thou in a priuate iugement were ouer commen of a poore man but late infraunchised; therfore thou mayste nothinge do lightlyer than plede agayne the emperour. Say nowe, do I alone let the of thy purpose? Supposest thou that Paule, Fabius Maximus, the Cosses, and Seruiliis, auncient houses of Rome, and suche a sorte of noble men (nat they which haue vayne and glorious names, but suche as for their merites be adorned with their propre images) will suffre the? Finally, said the emperour, (after that he had talked with hym by the space of two houres), I gyue to the thy lyfe, Cinna, the seconde time—fyrst beinge myne enemie, nowe a traytour and murdrer of thy soueraygne lorde, whom thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Nowe from this day let amytie betwene us two begynne; and let us bothe contende whether I with a better harte haue gyuen to the thy lyfe, or that thou canste more gentilly recompence my kyndnes. Sone after Augustus gaue to Cinna the dignitie of Consull undesired, blamyng him that he darste nat aske it; wherby he

defixum videret, nec ex conventione jam, sed ex conscientiâ tacentem: 'Quo,' inquit, 'hoc animo facis? Ut ipse sis princeps? malè meherculè cum populo Romano agitur, si tibi ad imperandum nihil præter me obstat. Domum tueri tuam non potes; nuper libertini hominis gratiâ in privato judicio superatus es. Adeo nihil facilius potes, quàm contra Cæsarem advocare? Cedo, si spes tuas solus impedio, Paullusne te, et Fabius Maximus, et Cossi, et Servilii ferent, tantumque agmen nobilium, non inania nomina præferentium, sed eorum qui imaginibus suis decori sunt?' Ne totam ejus orationem repetendo, magnam partem voluminis occupem (diutius enim quàm duabus horis locutum esse constat), quum hanc pœnam, quâ solâ erat contentus futurus, extenderet: 'Vitam tibi,' inquit Cinna, 'iterum do, prius hosti, nunc insidiatori ac parricidæ. Ex hodierno die inter nos amicitia incipiat; contendamus, utrum ego meliore fide vitam tibi dederim, an tu debeas.' Post hæc detulit ultro consulatum, questus quod non

had him moste assured and loyall. And Cinna afterwarde dienge, gaue to the emperour all his goodes and possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treason. O what sufficient prayse may be gyuen to this moste noble and prudent emperour, that in a chambre alone, without men, ordenaunce, or waipon, and perchaunce without harnes, within the space of ii houres, with wordes well couched, tempered with maiestie, nat onely vainquisshed and subdued one mortall enemie, whiche by a malignitie, engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined to slee him, but by the same feate excluded out of the hole citye of Rome all displeasure and rancour towarde hym, so that there was nat lefte any occasion wherof mought procede any lytell suspicion of treason, whiche other wyse coulde nat haue hapned without slaughter of people innumerable.

Also the empresse Liuia may nat of righte be forgoten, whiche ministred to her lorde that noble counsayle in suche a perplexitie; wherby he saued bothe him selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome and counsaylours of the emperour, which were lytell fewer than a thousande, coulde haue better aduised hym? This historie therfore is no lasse to be remembred of women than of princes, takynge therby comforte to persuade swetely their husbandes to mercy and pacience;[a] to whiche counsayle onely they shulde be

auderet petere; amicissimum fidelissimumque habuit; hæres solus fuit illi; nullis amplius insidiis ab ullo petitus est.'—*De Clementiâ*, lib. i. cap. 9.

[a] 'Men,' says Mr. Lecky, in reviewing the difference between the sexes, 'lean most to justice and women to mercy.'—*Hist. of Europ. Mor.* vol. ii. p. 381. Ludovicus Vives, in his *Instruction to a Christian Woman*, says: 'Tenebit prudens mulier fabulas, et historias, et narratiunculas, ut jucundas ita etiam puras ac honestas, quibus fessum maritum aut ægrum reficiat ac recreet, tum præcepto sapientiæ quibus vel adhortetur ad virtutem vel retrahat à vitiis. Aliqua etiam graviter dicta contra impetus assultusque utriusque fortunæ, quibus virum seu elatum secundis rebus sensim demittat in planum, seu abjectum prostratumque adversis erigat, utrinque aut ad mediocritatem reducat, si qui in eo affectus tumultuantur et sæviunt, muliebribus castis prudentibusque lenimentis tempestatem illam mitiget et sedet. Sic Placidia Theodosii filia, Athaulphum Gothorum regem maritum suum, Romanum nomen delere molientem, à tam immani cogitatione

admitted and haue free libertie.[a] But I shal forbere to speke more of Liuia nowe, for as moche as I purpose to make a boke onely for ladyes ; where in her laude shall be more amplie expressed.[b] But to resorte nowe to mercy.

Suerly nothinge more entierly and fastly ioyneth the hartes of subiectes to their prince or soueraygne than mercy[c]

dulcedine orationis ac morum suorum leniorem commodioremque factum ad sanitatem humanitatemque revocavit. . . . . Multosque testimonii gratiâ possem adferre, ex immitibus uxorum operâ mansuefactos.'—*Opera*, tom. ii. p. 717.

[a] The view that women should not intermeddle in political matters is thus expressed by another writer contemporary with Sir T. Elyot : 'Therfore you women that wyll medle with comon matters of realmes and cities, and wene to gouerne people and nations with the braydes of your stomakes, you go about to hurle downe townes afore you, and you lyght upon an harde rocke ; where upon thoughe you brouse and shake countreys very sore, yet they scape and you perysshe. For you knowe neyther measure nor order, and yet, whiche is the worst poynt of al, you wene you knowe veray well, and wyll be ruled in nothynge after them that be experte. But you attempte to drawe all thynge after your fantasy without discretion. Wene you it was for nothynge that wyse men forbad you rule and gouernance of countreys? and that Saynte Paule byddeth you shall nat speke in congregation and gatherynge of people? All this same meaneth that you shall nat meddle with matters of realmes or cyties ; your owne house is a citie great inoughe for you ; as for forthe abrode, neyther knowe you, nor be you knowen.'—*The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, fo. 100 b. It should be mentioned that though this book purports to be a translation of the work of Ludovicus Vives, the above passage is not to be found in the original edition printed at Basle.

[b] The author fulfilled the purpose here expressed by publishing in 1540 *The Defence of Good Women*, in the shape of a dialogue between two imaginary interlocutors, named respectively Caninius and Candidus, by whom the merits of various women are discussed ; but it does not appear that any further allusion is made to Livia in the later work.

[c] Montesquieu calls the royal prerogative of pardon 'le plus bel attribut de la souveraineté.'—*Esprit des Lois*, livre vi. chap. 5. It may be observed that it was in this reign an act was passed, stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 24, by which it is declared that no other person hath power to pardon or remit any treasons, murders, or felonies whatsoever, but that the King hath the whole and sole power therof united and knit to the Imperial Crown of this Realme. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke says, 'Though Laws are not to be framed on principles of Compassion to Guilt, yet Justice, by the constitution of England, is administered in Mercy. It is the great duty required from the King by his Coronation Oath and that act of his government which is most intirely his own and personal. According to the expression of the celebrated Lord Strafford, "The King condemns no man—the great operation of his sceptre is Mercy." And in an old Record it is said that "his Mercy

and gentilnes. For Seneca saith, a temperate drede represseth hygh and sturdy myndes; feare frequent and sharpe, set forth with extremitie, stereth men to presumption and hardines, and constrayneth them to experiment all thinges.[a] He that hastily punissheth, ofte tymes sone repenteth. And who that ouer moche correcteth, obserueth none equitie.[b] And if ye aske me what mercye is, it is a temperaunce of the mynde of hym that hath powar to be auenged, and it is called in latine *Clementia*, and is alway ioyned with reason.[c] For

is appropriate to himself above all the other States of his Regality."'—*Some Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture*, p. 99, ed. 1748.

[a] 'Temperatus enim timor cohibet animos; assiduus vero et acer, et extrema admovens, in audaciam jacentes excitat, et omnia experiri suadet.'—*De Clementiâ*, lib. i. cap. 12.

[b] This too was the opinion of Montaigne, who, as Bentham says, was far in advance of the age in which he lived. 'Tout ce qui est au delà de la mort simple me semble pure cruauté. Nostre iustice ne peult esperer que celuy que la crainte de mourir, et d'estre descapité, ou pendu, ne gardera de faillir en soit empesché par l'imagination d'un feu languissant, ou des tenailles, ou de la roue.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 156, ed. 1854. The effect of the excessive severity of the punishments awarded by English law is thus described by Blackstone in the middle of the 18th century: 'It is a melancholy truth, that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than an hundred and sixty have been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death. So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured, through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offence; and judges, through compassion, will respite one-half of the convicts and recommend them to the royal mercy.'—*Comment.* vol. iv. p. 18, 9th ed.

[c] In the passage which follows the author seems really to have anticipated the views of which Bentham was the energetic exponent three centuries later. 'Rightly understood, all mercy supposes tyranny. Every claim to the praise of mercy is a confession of tyranny; take away tyranny, that which is called mercy is, if beneficially exercised, nothing more than justice.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 619. 'In one word, mercy and justice are incompatible. In a government where there is room for mercy, it is because justice is overruled by cruelty. As mercy is a subject of praise, the more cruel the tyranny, the greater is the room made for praise. In England while men are condemned to death by hundreds, death is inflicted on them by units. In England, it may therefore admit of debate, whether the legislature has done most evil by appointing so many capital punishments, or the sovereign, by exercising his power of remitting them.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 521, and vol. ix. p. 37, ed. 1843.

he that for euery litle occasion is meued with compasion, and beholdynge a man punisshed condignely for his offence lamenteth or wailethe, is called piteous, whiche is a sickenesse of the mynde,[a] where with at this daye the more parte of men be disseased.[b] And yet is the sikenesse moche wars by addyng to one worde, callyng it vaine pitie.[c] *Vayne pitie.*

Some man perchaunce wyll demaunde of me what is vaine pitie? To that I wyll answere in a description of dailye experience. Beholde what an infinite nombre of englisshe men and women at this present time wander in all places throughout this realme, as bestis brute and sauage, abandonyng all occupation, seruice, and honestie.[d] Howe many

[a] This expression seems to have been suggested to the author by Cicero's definition: 'Misericordia est *ægritudo* ex miseriâ alterius, injuriâ laborantis.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

[b] Occasioned, no doubt, by the same cause which Blackstone has exposed in the passage quoted in the note on the preceding page, viz. the outrageous severity of the criminal law, so that to break down the mound of a fish-pond or to cut down a cherry-tree in an orchard were as much capital offences as wilful murder. 'L'atrocité des lois,' says Montesquieu, 'en empêche donc l'execution. Lorsque la peine est sans mesure, on est souvent obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.'—*Esprit des Lois*, liv. vi. chap. 13.

[c] What would now probably be called 'mistaken kindness.'

[d] As has been truly said by Mr. Froude, 'At the opening of the sixteenth century, before the suppression of the monasteries had suggested itself in a practical form, pauperism was a State question of great difficulty?' Thus he naturally gives due prominence to the Act 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12, 'concernyng punysshement of Beggers and Vacabundes,' which has been already alluded to in the preceding volume, and which possesses special interest in connexion with the present chapter inasmuch as it was passed contemporaneously with the first publication of *The Governour*. We may, indeed, easily conceive that Elyot was particularly well qualified to express an opinion upon a subject, which, at the time when he wrote, must have forced itself upon the minds of all thinking men in a painfully obtrusive manner, and which we know from the Statute Book occupied a large share of the attention of the Legislature. It may well be doubted, however, whether Mr. Froude's view of the state of England at this period that 'the body of the people were prosperous, well fed, loyal, and contented,' that 'wages were high and work constant,' and that the cause of the decay of towns was 'because the country had become secure' is not too highly coloured. In the other side of the balance must surely be placed as a counterpoise the variety of penal laws

semely personagis, by outrage in riotte, gamynge, and excesse of apparaile, be induced to thefte and robry, and some tyme

which, according to another writer, 'shows a want of temper in the legislature which is hardly to be paralleled,' and a parliament 'ordaining for law the strangest inventions that ever were thought worthy to become the objects of penal jurisprudence.' As opposed to the view taken by Mr. Froude, we may properly refer to the pages of the Statute Book itself, where we shall find, in the preambles of sundry Acts of Parliament, allegations, the truth of which cannot now be contested, but which sufficiently indicate the existence of many causes operating to diminish that 'comparative prosperity of labour' which Mr. Froude supposes to have prevailed at this period. It will also appear from the same source that 'the abominable sin of idleness,' which Mr. Froude regards as being essentially an object of *national* hatred, which the State made it its business to put down at all costs, was to a great extent the result of well-ascertained causes. But as it is almost invariably mentioned as incidental to a state of things which demanded, for a variety of reasons, remedial legislation, it has been perhaps rather hastily assumed, that the State was actually engaged in a crusade against the besetting sin of idleness itself, which was 'justly looked upon as a high offence and misdemeanour,' and that this crusade was undertaken in pursuance of an 'educative theory.' Any such generalisation however must be accepted with some reserve. To illustrate this, the Editor would refer the reader to a variety of statutes, *e.g.* 6 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, the *object* of which is the re-edification of towns, and the restoration of pasture lands to tillage. In the preamble of this Act 'the increase of idleness' is alleged as *one* of the evils arising from the present condition of things, which is also the cause of a diminution of population, of cattle, the destruction of churches, and consequent loss of divine service, and injury done to patrons and curates of livings, decay of husbandry, and impairment of the defensive forces of the realm. Similar allegations occur in 7 Hen. VIII. cap 1. Again, the *object* of 14 Hen. VIII. cap 1, is to prohibit the sale of woollen cloth to foreign merchants, and the preamble asserts that *one* of the consequences of the existing state of things is 'to bring the King's natural subjects from occupation to idleness,' but other consequential evils are the non-payment of the cloth-makers, the impoverishing of the kingdom, and enriching of foreigners. Again, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 16 is directed against alien artificers, and it is alleged that the number of the latter is excessive, their behaviour unreasonable, and that they also give cause for complaint 'by occasion that divers of our own natural subjects for lack of occupation fall into idleness,' but 'the reformation of sundry deceits and falsehoods practised by the said strangers artificers' is equally desired. Again, 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 1 has for its object the prevention of mal-practices with regard to regrating of wools, and the preamble states that 'broggers and gatherours' put such prices on the wools, that clothmakers 'cannot drape such multitude of woollen cloths as they have been accustomed to do in times past,' and also that 'many of the King's subjects, which lived by drapery, for lack of work be brought to idleness.' Again, the 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 9, for the protection of pewterers, asserts that artificers apprenticed in England have gone

to murdre, to the inquietation of good men, and finally to their owne destruction ?

abroad and taught the art to strangers, and that the sale of tin ware is diminished, and consequently the King's Customs also, and further that 'a great multitude of the King's natural subjects thereby fall into idleness.' Now in each and all of these cases it will be observed that the 'idleness' of the King's lieges is *one* of the evils sought to be remedied by legislation, but it is not the only, or even the principal one. Again with respect to the decay of towns, which Mr. Froude regards as a sign of the increasing security of the country, the protection afforded by their walls being no longer required, let us see what the real state of the case was as it appears by the Statute Book. 6 Hen. VIII. cap. 5 shows, for instance, that the desolation was not confined merely to walled towns, but extended to 'villages, boroughs, hamlets, tything houses, and other inhabitations, and parishes,' which are accordingly 'to be re-edified and made again meet and convenient for people to dwell and inhabit in the same.' The preamble of 6 Hen. VIII. cap. 17 alleges that the city of Canterbury 'is now of late in great ruin and decay,' which cannot be reformed nor amended unless the river be deepened and enlarged and mills, dams, and other nuisances abated. Here then is a case of desolation arising from purely natural causes. 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 12 recites a petition of the burgesses of Bridport for legislation with respect to the manufacture of cables, which they assert were formerly made there for the use of the Royal Navy, 'by reason wherof your said town was well maintained and inhabited,' but by reason of the trade being now carried on by divers evil-disposed persons for their private lucre and advantage, and the cables being 'slightly and deceivably made,' not only buyers are deceived, but prices greatly enhanced, and 'your said Town or Borough by means therof is like utterly to be decayed, ruined, and dissoluted.' In this case it was the loss of a monopoly which threatened ruin. 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 18 recites that the town of Newcastle, which 'as well in time of war as in peace is the chief key, relief, and defence of all the parts of the realm adjoining,' was formerly 'well replenisshed and maintained' by means of port dues, but is now 'likely to come to utter decay and ruin 'because divers great personages as well spiritual as temporal' load and unload their ships and merchandise 'not paying therefor any customs or other duties,' by reason whereof 'the inhabitants refuse and relinquish the said town, and repair and resort to other places.' Here then is an instance of a walled town neglected, not because its fortifications were no longer needed, but because the inhabitants were driven away by loss of custom. The same complaint is made with regard to Southampton in 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, while in 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 8 we are informed that the towns of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Falmouth, Fowey, and Teignmouth are all in manner utterly decayed and destroyed by means of certain tin works, called Streme works, used by certain persons within the said counties, 'which persons, more regarding their own private lucre than the common wealth and surety of this realm, have by working of the said Streme works, digging, searching, and washing of the same, conveyed a marvellous great quantity of sand, gravel, stone, &c. into the said ports and havens, and have so filled and choked

Nowe consider semblably what noble statutes, ordinances, and actis of counsaile from time to time haue bene excogitate, and by graue studie and mature consultation enacted and decreed, as wel for the due punisshement of the saide idle

the same that where before this time a ship of 800 tons might have easily entered at low water, now a ship of 100 tons can scantly enter at the half flood, to the decay and utter destruction of the said havens and ports, and also *to the ruin and utter undoing of all the good towns within the said Counties of Devonshire and Cornwall.*' Thus from one end of the kingdom to the other we hear complaints raised of the decay of towns, arising from various causes, but not 'because one of their purposes (*i.e.* the protection afforded by their fortifications) was no longer required' nor yet 'because the country had become secure.' The true reason of the decay must be sought for in those natural or accidental causes mentioned above ; but in addition there was another potent engine in operation to effect the same purpose, viz. the gradual absorption of the land by wealthy proprietors, who carved out large estates for themselves, and, turning the arable land into pasture, not only deprived husbandmen of their occupation, but enhanced the prices of all commodities. The preamble of 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 13, alleges that 'divers and sundry of the King's subjects to whom God of his goodness hath disposed great plenty and abundance of movable substance, now of late within few years have daily studied, practised, and invented ways and means how they might accumulate and gather together into few hands as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such lands as they can get to pasture and not to tillage, *whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns* and enhanced the old rates of the rents of the possessions of this Realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it, but also have raised and enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, and such other, almost double above the prices which hath been accustomed ; by reason wherof a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this Realm be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives, and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconvenience, or pitifully die for hunger and cold.' Here then we have independent evidence of the best kind to the truth of that which Sir Thomas Elyot declares to be a 'description of daily experience,' viz. that an infinite number of men and women were at this time wandering in all places throughout this realm 'as beasts, brute and savage, abandoning all occupation, service, and honesty.' But in the face of these facts it is difficult to accept Mr. Froude's unqualified assertion that 'the working classes in this country remained in a condition more than prosperous,' and that 'they enjoyed an abundance far beyond what in general falls to the lot of that order in long-settled countries.' Still less that 'in such frank style the people lived, hating three things with all their hearts—idleness, want, and cowardice—and for the rest carrying their hearts high, and having their hands full.'

persones and vacabundes, as also for the suppression of unlaufull games and reducinge apparaile to conuenient moderation and temperance. Howe many proclamations therof haue ben diuulgate and nat obayed?[a] Howe many commissions directed and nat executed? (Marke well here, that disobedient subiectes and negligent gouernours do frustrate good lawes.) A man herynge that his neighbour is slayne or robbed, furthe with hateth the offendour and abhorrethe his enormitie, thinkynge hym worthy to be punisshed accordyng to the lawes; yet whan he beholdeth the transgressour, a semely personage, also to be his seruant, acquaintance, or a gentilman borne, (I omitte nowe to speke of any other corruption), he furthe with chaungeth his opinion, and preferreth the offendours condition or personage before the example of iustice, condempnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to excuse an offence pernicious and damnable; ye and this is nat only done by the vulgare or commune people, but moche rather by them whiche haue autoritie to them committed concernyng the effectuell execution of lawes.[b] They beholde at their eie the continuell

[a] This disobedience grew to such a pitch that in 1539 an Act was passed to enable the Royal Proclamations to have the same force and effect as Acts of Parliament. The preamble of the statute 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 8, recites that the King 'for divers considerations by the advise of his Council hath heretofore set forth divers and sundry his Grace's Proclamations as well for and concerning divers and sundry articles of Christ's religion, as for an unity and concord to be had amongst his loving and obedient subjects, and also concerning the advancement of the common wealth and good quiet of his people, *which, nevertheless, divers and many froward, wilful, and obstinate persons have wilfully contemned and broken*, not considering what a King by his royal power may do, and for lack of a direct statute and law, to compell offenders to obey the said Proclamations which, being still suffred, should not only encourage offenders to the disobedience of the precepts and laws of Almighty God, but also sin too much, to the great dishonour of the King's most royal Majesty, who may full ill bear it, and also give too great heart and boldness to all malefactors and offenders.' It was therefore enacted that the King, with the advice of his Council, might set forth Proclamations with pains and penalties which were to be obeyed as if made by Act of Parliament.

[b] Mr. Froude describes the measures taken by Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who held the office of Lord Warden of the Welsh Marches, to cope with the lawlessness of the district committed to his charge, and contrasts with his vigorous policy the laxity of the magistrates in the south west parts of

encrease of vacabundes in to infinite nombres, the obstinate resistence of them that dailye do transgresse the lawes made againe games and apparaile, which be the streight pathes to robry and semblable mischiefe ; yet if any one commissioner, meued with zele to his countray, accordyng to his duetie do execute duely and frequently the lawe or good ordinaunce, wherein is any sharpe punisshement, some of his companyons therat reboyleth,[a] infamynge hym to be a man without cha-

England. 'Although order could be enforced where an active resolute man had been chosen to supersede the inefficiency of the local authorities, in other parts of England, in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall especially, there was no slight necessity still remaining for discipline of a similar kind ; the magistrates had been exhorted again and again in royal proclamations to discharge their duty more efficiently.' And he gives at length from an unpublished MS. in the Rolls House a circular addressed by royal command to the justices of the peace, in which occurs the following passage, fully bearing out Sir T. Elyot's observations in the text, and in the composition of which indeed it is not impossible that he may have assisted. 'You shall have special regard that all sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars may be punished according to the statute made for that purpose. *Your default in the execution whereof, proceeding upon an inconsiderate pity to one evil person, without respect to the great multitude that live in honest and lawful sort, hath bred no small inconvenience in our commonwealth.* And you shall also have special regard that no man be suffered to use any unlawful games, but that every man may be encouraged to use the long bow, as the law requireth. Furthermore, our pleasure and most dread commandment is, that all respects set apart, you shall bend yourselves to the advancement of even justice between party and party, both that our good subjects may have the benefit of our laws sincerely administered unto them, and that evil-doers may be punished as the same doth prescribe and limit. To which points, if you shall upon this monition and advertisement give such diligent regard as you may satisfy your duty in the same, leaving and eschewing from henceforth all disguised corruption, we shall be content the more easily to put in oblivion all your former remissness and negligence.' —*Hist. of Eng.* vol. iii. pp. 419–422, ed. 1858. Special commissions were issued into various counties, and in one county, Hampshire, Sir Thomas Wriothesley thus explained their object to the assembled gentry. 'The king, he told the magistrates, desired most of all things that indifferent justice should be ministered to the poor and rich, which he regretted to say was imperfectly done.'—*Ibid.* p. 424.

[a] From the French *rebouiller*, which again is itself derived from the Low Latin *rebullire*. Du Cange translates the latter 'recandescere, redintegrari, per metaphoram.' And he cites a passage from a bull of Pope Clement V. *circa* 1305, which very well illustrates the metaphorical sense in which it is employed by Sir Thos. Elyot. 'Nos attendentes, quòd nisi ante prædictum festum . . . futuris de prædictâ turbatione periculis occurratur, dissentionum hujusmodi flamma *rebulliret*.' A substan-

ritie, callyng hym secretely a pike thanke,[a] or ambicious of glorie, and by suche maner of obloquie they seeke meanes to bringe hym in to the haterede of people. And this may well be called vayne pitie; wherin is contayned neither iustice nor yet commendable charitie, but rather therby ensueth negligence, contempte, dissobedience, and finally all mischiefe and incurable misery.

If this sickenesse had reigned amonge the old Romanes, suppose ye that the astate of their publike weale had sixe

tival form of the word is employed by Sir Henry Wotton, who says, 'We are sorry to hear that the Scotish gentlemen, who have been lately sent to that King, found (as they say) but a brusk welcome; which makes all fear that there may be a *rebullition* in that business.'—*Reliquiæ Wotton.* p. 582, ed. 1685. This passage is erroneously attributed by Richardson in his Dictionary to the author of *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ.*

[a] Gascoigne uses the very same phrase in one of his sonnets:

'Then Craft the Cryer calde a quest,
Of whom was falshoode formost feere;
A packe of *pickthankes* were the rest,
Whiche came false witnes for to beare.
The Jury such, the iudge uniust,
Sentence was sayd I should be trust.'

Flowers, p. 2, ed. 1587.

And so does Daniel in his poem on the Wars of the Roses.

'There he beheld how humbly diligent
New adulation was to be at hand,
How ready Falsehood stept, how nimbly went
Base *pickthanke* Flattery and preuents command.'

The 2nd Book, stanza 57, ed. 1595.

An instance of an exactly opposite expression occurs in Hyrde's translation of a work of Ludovicus Vives, published about 1541. 'There be some, whiche whan they thynke them selfe they haue done all theyr owne busynes, than without shame they medle with other folkes busines, and gyue counsayle, as though they were great sages, and exhort and giue preceptes, rebuke and correcte, *pyke fautes*, and be wondrous quycke of syghte from home, and at home blynde inough.' *The instruction of a Christen Woman*, fo. 138 b. ed. 1541. An analogous phrase is employed by Tyndall in his *Practise of Popishe Prelates*. 'This Pope Clemens calleth the Duke of Guelder the eldest sonne of that holy sea of Rome, for no other vertue nor propertie that any man can know, saue that hee hath bene all his lyfe a *picke quarell*, and a cruell and an unrighteous bloudshedder, as his father that sitteth in that holy sea is.'—*Works*, p. 349, ed. 1573.

hundred yeres encreased, and two hundred yeres continued in one excellent astate and wonderfull maiestie?[a] Or thinke ye that the same Romanes mought so haue ordred many great countrayes, with fewer ministers of iustice than be nowe in one shire of Englande?[b] But of that mater, and also of rigour and equalite of punishement, I wyll traicte more amply in a place more propise for that purpose.

And here I conclude to write any more at this tyme of mercy.

CHAPTER VIII.

The thre principall partes of humanitie.

THE nature and condition of man, wherin he is lasse than god almightie, and excellinge nat withstanding all other creatures in erthe, is called humanitie; whiche is a generall name to those vertues in whome semeth to be a mutuall concorde and loue in the nature of man.[c] And all thoughe there be many of

[a] The period of eight hundred years thus assigned as the limit of Roman history can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that the author excluded the duration of the kingly period, and reckoned from the foundation of the Republic, or rather from the regifugium, B.C. 508, to the death of Carinus, A.D. 285, and as the Augustan History concludes at the latter point, it seems not unlikely that these were the *termini* really selected by Sir Thomas Elyot.

[b] The principal of these being the Lord Lieutenant, Sheriff and Deputy-Sheriff, Coroner, Justices of the Peace, constables, overseers of the poor, surveyors of highways, churchwardens, commissioners of sewers, hundredors, tything men, bailiffs, head-boroughs, *cum multis aliis*.

[c] Aulus Gellius mentions the primary and secondary meanings of this word, and from his definition it is easy to trace the significance of the term 'Humanities,' applied at a much later period to a special course of study at the Universities. 'Qui verba Latina fecerunt, quique his probe usi sunt, "humanitatem," non id esse voluerunt quod vulgus existimat, quodque à Græcis φιλανθρωπία dicitur, et significat dexteritatem quandam benevolentiamque erga omnes homines promiscuam, sed "humanitatem" appellaverunt id propemodum quod Græci παιδείαν vocant; nos eruditionem institutionemque in bonas artes dicimus: quas qui sinceriter cupiunt appetuntque, hi sunt vel maxime humanissime: hujus enim scientiæ cura et discip-

the said vertues, yet be there thre principall by whome humanitie is chiefly compact; beneuolence,[a] beneficence, and liberalitie, which maketh up the said principall vertue called benignitie or gentilnes.

Beneuolence, if it do extende to a hole contraye or citie, it is proprely called charitie,[b] and some tyme zele;[c] and if it concerne one persone, than is it called beneuolence.[d] And if it be very feruent and to one singuler

Charitie.
Beneuolence.

lina ex universis animantibus uni homini data est; idcircoque humanitas appellata est.'—*Noct. Att.* lib. xiii. cap. 16.

[a] After the lapse of three centuries modern philosophy can scarcely give us a better definition of this principle. Thus Dr. Whewell says, 'Benevolence is a Desire or Affection which has for its object the good of all mankind. This object may be expressed by the term *Humanity*. Humanity, which is thus the ideal object of Benevolence, is also a term used to describe the disposition itself, as it exists in man, who is the subject of this affection. We have thus an objective and a subjective Humanity. Subjective Humanity is *Benevolence*; objective Humanity is the Good of all Mankind, the Welfare of Man and the like.'—*Elem. of Morality*, pp. 75, 76, 4th ed.

[b] We should rather term it 'philanthropy.' Dr. Whewell says, 'The Benevolent Affections are also modified by a regard to the circumstances of the object. We naturally share in the emotions which we witness in man: we have a *Fellow-feeling*, a *Sympathy* with them. When this Disposition leads us to feel pain at the sight of pain, it is *Compassion*; we *commiserate* the object. This feeling being strongly confirmed by Piety, came to be called *Pity*. Such a Disposition, as it prompts us to abstain from adding to the pain felt, is *Mercy* or *Clemency*; as it prompts us to remove the pain or want which we see, it is *Charity*. But this word has also a wider sense in which it describes Benevolence, as it makes us abstain from judging unfavourably of other men. All these are virtuous affections, and lead to the performance of Duties of Benevolence.'—*Elements of Moral.*, p. 79, 4th ed.

[c] This hardly corresponds to the modern acceptation of the term, but in his own Dictionary the second meaning assigned by the author to the Latin word *zelus*, is 'loue,' and he could perhaps plead the authority of Ausonius, who says

'Quin etiam cupio, junctus quia zelus amori est.'

Epig. 77, *ad Crispam.*

A modern writer says, 'The feelings of Love of Right, and Anger at Wrong, in a permanent and energetic form, are virtuous *Zeal*.'—*Elem. of Mor.* p. 82.

[d] The following is a modern definition of this quality. 'Benevolence is the Virtue of the Affection of Love.' This Affection is variously modified, according to the persons to whom it is directed, and the accompanying circumstances. Thus there is Conjugal Love, the Love of Husband and Wife: Parental (Paternal and

persone, than may it be named loue or amitie.[a] Of that ver-
Loue Amitie. tuous disposition procedeth an acte, wherby some thinge is employed whiche is profitable and good to him that receyueth it. And that vertue, if it be in operation, or (as I mought saye) endeuour, it is called than beneficence, and the dede (vulgarly named a good tourne) may be called
Liberalitie. a benefite. If it be in money or other thing that hath substaunce it is than called liberalitie,[b] whiche is nat alway a vertue as beneficence is; for in well doinge (whiche
Seneca de benef. is the right interpretation of beneficence) can be no vice included.[c] But liberalitie, thoughe it procede of a free and gentill harte, wyllinge to do some thinge thankefull, yet may it transgresse the bondes of vertue, eyther in excessiue rewardes, or expences, or els emploienge treasour, promotion, or other substaunce on persones unworthy, or on thynges inconuenient, and of small importaunce.[d] All be it some thinke

Maternal) Love ; Filial Love ; Fraternal Love, and other kinds of Family Affection ; Friendship, the Love by which Friends are especially drawn to each other ; our Love of our Fellow-Citizens ; of our Fellow Countrymen ; finally, the Love which we bear to the whole Human Race, and to every member of it. All these are included in the general term Benevolent Affections.'—*Elem. of Moral.*, p. 78.

[a] 'Affections by which man clings to man, may be expressed by the term *Benevolence*, understood in the largest sense. Men feel, in the first place, the kinds of this Affection which operate within certain limited spheres. We feel and conceive the Affection of Love at first, as binding together the members of the same Family.'—*Ibid.* p. 72.

[b] 'Wealth, and Property of all kinds, may be used as a means of Benevolence, and from this use arise Virtues ; as *Charity*, already mentioned, *Liberality*, (a willingness to give) and the like.—*Ibid.* p. 83.

[c] 'Multum interest inter materiam beneficii, et beneficium ; itaque nec aurum, nec argentum, nec quidquam eorum quæ à proximis accipiuntur, beneficium est, sed ipsa tribuentis voluntas . . . . Est enim recte factum, quod irritum nulla vis efficit.'—Seneca, *de Benef.* lib. i. cap. 5. Montaigne expresses the same idea as our author. 'Si la liberalité d'un prince est sans discretion et sans mesure je l'aime mieulx avare.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 495, ed. 1854.

[d] This seems exactly to anticipate Dr. Whewell's definition in the *Elements of Morality*, 'A willingness to give is Liberality, Generosity, Bountifulness ; which are reckoned Virtues. But this disposition may be excessive : the man is then *lavish, extravagant*,' p. 84 ; and so Bentham says, 'Exercised by a public functionary, at the expense of the public, *liberality*, is but another name for waste.

suche maner of erogation[a] nat to be worthy the name of liberalitie. For Aristotle defineth a liberal man to be he whiche doth erogate accordinge to the rate of his substance and as oportunitie hapneth.[b] He saieth also in the same place, that liberalitie is nat in the multitude or quantite of that whiche is gyuen, but in the habite or facion of the gyuer, for he gyueth accordinge to his habilitie.[c] Neyther Tulli approueth it to be liberalitie, wherin is any mixture of auarice or rapyne; for it is nat properly liberalitie to exacte iniustly, or by violence or craft to take goodes from particuler persones, and distribute them in a multitude;[d] or to

Ethic. ii.

A liberall man.

Combined in its essence are breach of trust, peculation, depredation, oppression, and corruption. Exercised to a good end, and at a man's own expense, liberality is a virtue: exercised at the expense of others, and without their consent, it is a vice.' *Works*, vol. ix. p. 267, ed. 1843.

[a] This word and the verb, to erogate, in the following sentence are simply adaptations of the strictly classical words *erogatio*, *erogare* signifying 'to spend, or distribute lavishly.' Thus Cicero says, 'Πεντέλοιπον movere ista videntur, in primis *erogatio* pecuniæ.'—*Ep. ad Att.* lib. xv. 2. And again, 'Et quoniam pecunias aliorum despicis, de tuis divitiis intolerantissimè gloriaris, volo uti mihi respondeas, fecerisne fœdera tribunus plebis cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis? *erogarisne* pecunias ex ærario tuis legibus?'—*Orat. in Vatin.* cap. 12. Another writer of the 16th century uses the word in the same sense: 'But yet wold I wish that what so is superfluous or ouermuch, either in the one or in the other, shuld be distributed and *erogate*, to the help and subuention of the poore members of the body of Christ Jesus.'—Stubbe's *Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 11, ed. 1595. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, who wrote in 1692 'an Answer to a book intituled *The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel*,' in replying to the proposition which affirmed 'that no man can do works of supererogation,' says, 'How should he? when no man can *supererogate* till he have first *erogated*. In plainer terms, no man can have anything to spare to bestow upon others (for this they mean by *supererogating*) till he hath done all that he is bound to do for himself.'—P. 119.

[b] Καὶ ὁ ἐλευθέριος οὖν δώσει τοῦ καλοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ ὀρθῶς· οἷς γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ὅσα καὶ ὅτε, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἕπεται τῇ ὀρθῇ δόσει.—*Ethic. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 1 (2).

[c] Κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν δ' ἡ ἐλευθεριότης λέγεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν διδομένων τὸ ἐλευθέριον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ διδόντος ἕξει, αὕτη δὲ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν δίδωσιν.—*Ibid.* § 19.

[d] 'Qui aliis nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eâdem sunt injustitiâ, ut si in suam rem alienam convertant. Sunt autem multi, et quidem cupidi splendoris et gloriæ, qui eripiunt aliis, quod aliis largiantur: hique arbitrantur se beneficos in suos amicos visum iri, si locupletent eos quâcumque ratione. Id autem tantum abest officio, ut nihil magis officio possit esse contrarium. Videndum est igitur,

take from many iniustly, and enriche therwith one persone or fewe. For as the same autour saieth, the last precept concerning benefites or rewardes is, to take good hede that he contende nat agayne equitie, ne that he upholde none iniurie.[a]

Nowe will I procede seriously and in a due forme to speke more particulerly of these thre vertues. Nat withstandinge there is suche affinite bitwene beneficence and liberalitie, beinge always a vertue, that they tende to one conclusion or purpose, that is to saye, with a free and glad wyll to gyue to a nother that thinge which he before lacked.[b]

CHAPTER IX.

Of what excellence beneuolence is.

WHAN I remembre what incomparable goodnes hath euer proceded of this vertue beneuolence, mercifull god, what swete flauour fele I persing my spirites, wherof bothe my soule and body to my thinkinge do conceyue suche recreacion, that it semeth me to be in a paradise, or other semblable place of incomparable delites and pleasures. Firste I beholde the dig-

ut eâ liberalitate utamur, quæ prosit amicis, noceat nemini.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. i. cap. 14.

[a] 'Extremum autem præceptum, in beneficiis operâque dandâ, est ne quid contra æquitatem contendas, ne quid pro injuriâ.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 20.

[b] 'But,' as Dr. Brown says, 'pecuniary aid is only one of many forms of being useful. To correct some error, moral or intellectual—to counsel those who are in doubt, and who in such circumstances require instruction, as the indigent require alms—even though nothing more were in our power to show an interest in the welfare of the happy, and a sincere commiseration of those who are in sorrow ; in these, and in innumerable other ways, the benevolent, however scanty may be their means of conferring what alone the world calls benefactions, are not benevolent only, but beneficent ; as truly beneficent, or far more so, as those who squander in loose prodigalities to the deserving and the undeserving, the sufferers from their own thoughtless dissipation, or the sufferers from the injustice or dissipation of others, almost as much as they loosely squander on a few hours of their own sensual appetites.'—*Lectures on Ethics*, p. 263, ed. 1846.

nitie of that vertue, consideringe that god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured both of aungell and man.[a] As contrarie wise the deuill is hated and reproued bothe of god and man for his malice,[b] whiche vice is contrarious and repugnaunt to beneuolence. Wherefore without beneuolence may be no god. For god is all goodnes, all charite, all loue, whiche holy be comprehended in the saide worde beneuolence.[c]

[a] Dr. Whewell says, 'We conceive not only Will and Purpose, as residing in God, but also Affections. His creation abounds in Contrivances, which have for their objects, the health, comfort, and enjoyment of his creatures; and nowhere exhibits Contrivances which have, for their object, pain or disease. Hence we conceive God as *benevolent* towards his creatures.'—*El. of Mo.* p. 255. Modern philosophers of the school of Kant derive the notion of the supreme benevolence of the Deity from our own moral faculty. 'Even if we could discover a predominance of benevolence in the creation,' says Mr. Lecky, 'we should still regard the mingled attributes of nature as a reflex of the mingled attributes of its Contriver. Our knowledge of the Supreme Excellence, our best evidence even of the existence of the Creator, is derived not from the material universe but from our own moral nature.'—*Hist. of Europ. Morals*, vol. i. p. 57, ed. 1869. And Bentham says, 'It is not from the attributes of the Deity, that an idea is to be had of any qualities in men: on the contrary, it is from what we see of the qualities of men, that we obtain the feeble idea we can frame to ourselves, of the attributes of the Deity.' *Works*, vol. i. p. 273, ed. 1843.

[b] The Patristic notion, however, was that this malice (*malitia*) was itself the creation of the supreme Being. 'Nonnulli eum (sc. diabolum) non in hanc malitiam libero voluntatis arbitrio esse deflexum, sed in hâc omnino creatum putant, quamvis à Domino Deo summo, et vero naturarum omnium creatore.'—S. Augustin, tom. iii. col. 439, Migne ed. And Lactantius says, 'Deinde fecit Deus alterum (spiritum) in quo indoles divinæ stirpis non permansit. Itaque suapte invidiâ tamquam veneno infectus est, et ex bono ad malum transcendit.'—Lib. ii. cap. 9. Tertullian ascribes to the Devil, 'et infirmitas et malitia.'—*De Oratione*, cap. 8.

[c] Bishop Butler says, 'Some men seem to think the only character of the Author of Nature to be that of simple absolute benevolence. This, considered as a principle of action and infinite in degree, is a disposition to produce the greatest possible happiness, without regard to a person's behaviour, otherwise than as such regard would produce higher degrees of it. And supposing this to be the only character of God, veracity and justice in him would be nothing but benevolence conducted by wisdom.' But he goes on to prove that 'though there may possibly be in the creation beings, to whom the Author of Nature manifests himself under this most amiable of all characters, this of infinite absolute benevolence, for it is the most amiable, supposing it not, as perhaps it is not, incompatible with justice; yet he manifests himself to us under the character of a righteous governor.'—*Anal. of Rel.* p. 110, ed. 1852, Bohn's Stand. Lib.

Nowe let us see where any other vertue may be equall in dignitie with this vertue beneuolence, or if any vertue remayneth, where this is excluded.[a] For what commeth of prudence where lacketh beneuolence, but disceite, rauine, auarice and tyranny?[b] What of fortitude, but bestely crueltie, oppression, and effusion of bloode?[c] What iustice may there be without beneuo-

[a] Sir Thomas Elyot anticipates in this passage the opinion held in the eighteenth century by Hutcheson, 'who is the very founder in modern times of the doctrine of "a moral sense," and who resolved all virtue into benevolence or the pursuit of the happiness of others.'—Lecky's *Hist. Eur. Mor.* vol. i. p. 4. Dr. Brown says, 'The doctrine of virtue, as consisting in benevolence, false as it is when maintained as universal and exclusive, is yet, when considered as having the sanction of so many enlightened men, a proof at least of the very extensive diffusion of benevolence in the modes of conduct which are denominated virtuous.'—*Lectures on Ethics*, p. 253.

[b] This is exactly in accordance with the view taken by Bentham three centuries later. 'As to Ethics in general, a man's happiness will depend, in the first place, upon such parts of his behaviour as none but himself are interested in; in the next place, upon such parts of it as may affect the happiness of those about him. In as far as his happiness depends upon the first mentioned part of his behaviour, it is said to depend upon his *duty to himself*. Ethics, then, in as far as it is the art of directing a man's actions in this respect, may be termed the art of discharging one's duty to oneself: and the quality which a man manifests by the discharge of this branch of duty (if duty it is to be called), is that of *prudence*. In as far as his happiness, and that of any other person or persons whose interests are considered, depends upon such parts of his behaviour as may affect the interests of those about him, it may be said to depend upon his *duty to others*; or to use a phrase now somewhat antiquated, his *duty to his neighbour*. Ethics, then, in as far as it is the art of directing a man's actions in this respect, may be termed the art of discharging one's duty to one's neighbour. Now the happiness of one's neighbour may be consulted in two ways: 1. In a negative way, by forbearing to diminish it. 2. In a positive way by studying to increase it. A man's duty to his neighbour is accordingly partly negative and partly positive; to discharge the negative branch of it is *probity*, to discharge the positive branch, *beneficence*.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 143.

[c] A modern philosopher, however, attributes still greater force to the influence of the imagination. Mr. Lecky says, 'There are certain virtues that are the natural product of a cultivated society. Independently of all local and special circumstances, the transition of men from a barbarous or semi-civilised to a highly organised state necessarily brings with it the destruction or abridgment of the legitimate sphere of revenge by the transfer of the office of punishment from the wronged person to a passionless tribunal appointed by society; a growing substitution of pacific for warlike occupations, the introduction of refined and intellectual tastes, which gradually displace amusements that derive their zest from their bar-

lence ?[a] Sens the first or chiefe porcion of iustice (as Tulli saieth) is to indomage no man, onelas thou be wrongfully vexed.[b] And what is the cause hereof but equall and entier loue ; whiche beinge remoued, or cessing, who endeuoreth nat him selfe to take from a nother al thyng that he coueteth, or for euery thinge that discontenteth him wolde nat forthwith be auenged ? Wherby he confoundeth the vertue called temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of all motions of the minde, called affectes, as of all actis procedyng of man. Here it sufficiently appereth (as I suppose) of what estimation beneuolence is.[c]

Nowe wyll I, accordynge to myne accustomed maner, endeuore me to recreate the spirites of the diligent reder with some delectable histories, wherin is any noble remembrance of this vertue beneuolence, that the worthinesse therof maye

barity, the rapid multiplication of ties of connection between all classes and nations, and above all the strengthening of the imagination by intellectual culture. Hence in a great degree, the tact with which a refined mind learns to discriminate and adapt itself to the most delicate shades of feeling, and hence, too, the sensitive humanity with which, in proportion to their civilisation, men realise and recoil from cruelty.'—*Hist. of Europ. Morals*, vol. i. pp. 137–139.

[a] This is in accordance with the views of the utilitarian school of philosophy. Thus, Bentham says, 'Justice, in the only sense in which it has a meaning, is an imaginary personage, feigned for the convenience of discourse, whose dictates are the dictates of utility, applied to certain particular cases. Justice, then, is nothing more than an imaginary instrument, employed to forward, on certain occasions and by certain means, the purposes of benevolence. The dictates of justice are nothing more than a part of the dictates of benevolence, which, on certain occasions, are applied to certain subjects ; to wit, to certain actions.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 58, note, ed. 1843.

[b] 'Justitiæ primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus injuriâ.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 7.

[c] Dr. Whewell says, 'The special kinds of benevolent Affection, Gratitude, Compassion, Reverence for Superiors, Filial Affection, Parental Affection, Conjugal Affection, Fraternal Affection, are all Duties. They are Affections in which all men sympathize. They are Natural Affections. Those who have them not, are universally condemned as without natural affection. Such men have not found admission into the Moral School of the Heart. They have not made the first steps towards that Universal Benevolence, which is a Fundamental Moral Principle. Such men must be destitute of that warmth of right affections which the Principle of Earnestness requires. Such men cannot give to the obligations of their station that moral significance which Morality requires.—*El. of Morality*, p. 101.

appiere in a more playne declaration ; for in euery discipline example is the beste instructour.

But firste I will aduertise the reder, that I will nowe write of that beneuolence onely whiche is moste uniuersall, wherin is equalitie without singuler affection or acceptaunce of personagis.[a] And here it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publike weale, iuge, or any other ministre of iustice, do gyue sentence agayne one that hath transgressed the lawes, or punissheth hym according to the qualitie of his trespas, Beneuolence therby is nat any thing perisshed ;[b]

That iustice neuer lack beneuolence.

[a] This definition corresponds as nearly as possible to that of Justice. Thus Dr. Whewell says, 'In the Idea of Complete Goodness or Virtue, we must exclude all Desires that merely tend to their center in the individual, without regard to the common sympathy of mankind: and we must have a habit of mind which suppresses and contradicts all such Desires. The Desire of Property is, in its original form, of this selfish kind. Each man desires Property for himself alone. But the nature of Morality, rejects this selfish covetousness, and points out the contrary dispositions, for instance, Liberality and Fairness, as the proper guides of Action. Liberality partakes of Benevolence, but Fairness involves the notion of another Virtue, which may be described as the Desire that each person should have his own. This Desire, in a complete and comprehensive form, is the Virtue of *Justice*, and this Virtue, Justice, is a second part of the complete Idea of Virtue and Goodness. The Idea of Justice is that of a Desire that, of external things, each person should have his own without any preference of ourselves to others, or of one person to another. We may state this also as a Moral Principle, that *Each man is to have his own* ; and this we may term the *Principle of Justice*.'—*El. of Mor.*, pp. 72, 73, 95, ed. 1864.

[b] This view of the proportion to be observed between crimes and punishments is quite in accordance with the general proposition laid down by Montesquieu, and followed to its legitimate conclusion by Bentham. The former, complaining of the penal code of his country, says, 'C'est un grand mal parmi nous de faire subir la même peine à celui qui vole sur un grand chemin, et à celui qui vole et assassine. Il est visible que, pour la sûreté publique, il faudrait mettre quelque différence dans la peine.'—*Esprit des Lois*, liv. vi. ch. 16. Whilst the latter argues that in awarding punishment the legislator must pay due attention to circumstances which influence sensibility. 'In estimating the evil of an offence. In effect the same nominal offence is not the same real offence, when the sensibility of the individual injured is not the same. A certain action for example would be a serious insult to a woman, whilst it is indifferent to a man. A certain corporal injury, if done to a sick person, would endanger his life, but would be of no consequence to a person in good health. An imputation which would ruin the fortune or the honour of a certain individual, would do no injury to another individual.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 33.

for the condemnation or punisshement is either to reduce hym that erreth in to the trayne of vertue, or to preserue a multitude from domage, by puttynge men in feare that be prone to offende, dreding the sharpe correction that they beholde a nother to suffre.[a] And that maner of seueritie is touched by the prophet Dauid, in the fourthe psalme, sayinge in this wise; Be you angry and loke that you sinne nat.[b] And Tulli saith in his first boke of Officis, It is to be wisshed, that they, whiche in the publike weale haue any autoritie, maye be like to the lawes, whiche in correctynge be ladde only by equitie and nat by wrathe or displesure.[c] And *Rigour of iustice.*

[a] This description of the object of punishment perfectly accords with that given by modern writers. Thus Paley says, 'The end of punishment is twofold—*amendment* and *example*.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 381, ed. 1825. Blackstone says, 'As to the *end*, or final cause of human punishments. This is not by way of atonement or expiation for the crime committed; for that must be left to the just determination of the Supreme Being; but as a precaution against future offences of the same kind. This is effected three ways: either by the amendment of the offender himself; for which purpose all corporal punishments fines, and temporary exile or imprisonment are inflicted: or by deterring others by the dread of his example from offending in the like way; which gives rise to all ignominious punishments, and to such executions of justice as are open and public: or, lastly, by depriving the party injuring of the power to do future mischief; which is effected by either putting him to death, or condemning him to perpetual confinement, slavery, or exile.'—*Comment.* vol. iv. p. 11, 9th ed. According to Bentham, 'General prevention ought to be the chief end of punishment, as it is its real justification. If we could consider an offence which has been committed as an isolated fact, the like of which would never recur, punishment would be useless. It would be only adding one evil to another. But when we consider that an unpunished crime leaves the path of crime open, not only to the same delinquent, but also to all those who may have the same motives and opportunities for entering upon it, we perceive that the punishment inflicted on the individual becomes a source of security to all.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 396. Other writers, however, hold that a principal object of punishment is its educational force. Thus Dr. Whewell says, 'The Object of Punishment, even when it threatens most roughly, is not merely to deter men, but to teach them; not merely to tell them that transgression of the Law is dangerous, but also that it is immoral. Punishment is a means of the Moral Education of the Citizens.'—*El. of Mor.*, p. 503.

[b] This is rendered in the A. V. 'Stand in awe, and sin not.'—*Psalm* iv. 4.

[c] 'Optandumque, ut ii, qui præsunt reipublicæ, legum similes sint, quæ ad puniendum, non iracundiâ, sed æquitate, ducuntur.'—*De Off.*, lib. i. cap. 25.

in that maner, whan Chore, Dathan, and Abiron moued a sedition agayne Moyses, he praied god that the erth mought open and swalowe them, consideryng that the furye of the people moughte nat be by any other meanes asswaged, ne they kepte in due rule or obedience.[a]

Helias.

Helias[b] the holy prophete of god dyd his owne handes put to deth the prestes of the Idol Baal, yet cessed he nat with fastynge, praying, longe and tedious pilgrimages to pacifie the displeasure that god toke againe the people of Israhel.[c] But to retourne to beneuolence.

Moyses beinge highly entretayned with Pharao kynge of Aegipte, and so moche in his fauour by the meanes of the kynges suster, that, (as Josephus saithe), he beinge made capitaine of a huge armye, was sente by Pharao agayne the Ethiopians or Moores, where he made suche exploiture, that he nat only atchieued his entreprise, but also had giuen unto him, for his prowesse, the kyngs daughter of Ethiopia to be his

[a] See Numbers xvi. 30.

[b] *I.e.* Elijah. The Septuagint version of the prophet's name is Ἠλιού. One of the orders given to the translators of the Bible by King James was that 'the names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, should be retained as near as might be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.' And Dr. Dixon points out that this rule exercised an important influence upon the English orthography of scripture names of persons and places. 'Whether from a wish to be unlike the Church, which they had abandoned, even in this slight matter, or from an anxiety to exhibit their acquaintance with the Hebrew text, the first Reformers, in their translations of the Bible rejected the established orthography of the scripture names, substituting for it another, which was modelled upon the Masoretic reading of the Hebrew text. Hence has arisen such a frequent discrepancy between Catholic and Protestant Bibles—and of course between Catholic and Protestant writers—in the spelling of these names. The Catholics will say *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Sion*, while the Protestant, following his Bible, will say, *Elijah*, *Elisha*, *Zion*, and so of a vast number of names of persons and places. The Catholic orthography has been derived from the Septuagint version, and has prevailed in the Church from the very beginning, in all those places to which the influence of the Septuagint extended. But the Reformers undertook to reform many things both great and small, and among the rest, the prevalent orthography of these scripture names.'—*Introd. to the Scriptures*, vol. i. pp. 204, 205, ed. 1852.

[c] See 1 Kings xviii.

wife, with great abundaunce of riches.[a] And also for his endeuour, prowesse, and wisedome, was moche estemed by Pharao and the nobles of Egipte; so that he moughte haue liued there continually in moche honour and welth, if he wolde haue preferred his singuler aduaile[b] before the uniuersall weale of his owne kynred or familie. But he inflamed with feruent beneuolence or zele towarde them, to redeme them out of their miserable bondage, chase rather to be in the daungerous indignation of Pharao, to committe his persone to the chaungeable myndes of a multitude, and they most unstable, to passe great and long iournaies throughe desertes replenisshed with wylde beastis and venimous serpentes, to suffre exstreme hunger and thirste, lackynge often tymes nat onely vitaile[c] but

[a] It will be seen that the author has not adhered strictly to the account given by Josephus, who represents Tharbis as falling in love with Moses, and the capture of the royal city of Ethiopia as the result of a compact of marriage between them. Sir Thomas Elyot is also in error in saying that Moses owed his favour at the court of Pharaoh to the influence of the King's *sister*, for Josephus expressly says that it was his daughter who adopted Moses for her son. Θέρμουθις ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως. And afterwards he informs us that it was partly at her instigation that Moses undertook the expedition against the Ethiopians. Μωϋσῆς δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδέως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον. The result of which is thus given by Josephus: Φέροντι τοίνυν ἀηδῶς τῷ Μωϋσῇ τὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀργίαν, (εἰς χεῖρας γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀπαντᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι) συνέτυχέ τι τοιοῦτον· Θάρβις θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέως· αὕτη τὸν Μωϋσῆν πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ μαχόμενον γενναίως ἀποσκοποῦσα, καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπτίοις αἴτιον, ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς εὐπραγίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν, αὐχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν κατορθωμένοις, τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὅλων κινδύνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινὸν ὥλισθεν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ περιόντος τοῦ πάθους πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους διαλεγομένη περὶ γάμου. Προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ποιησαμένου πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἄξεσθαι γυναῖκα, καὶ κρατήσαντα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, φθάνει τὸ ἔργον τοὺς λόγους. Καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αἰθιόπων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Θεῷ συνετέλει τὸν γάμον ὁ Μωϋσῆς, καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν.—*Antiq. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. 10.

[b] *I.e.* advantage, probably from the French *valoir*. This substantival use of the word is uncommon. Sir Thomas More uses it in his *Booke of Comfort against Tribulacion*. 'Nay, nay, Cosyn, naye, there walke you somewhat wide, for ther you defende your owne righte for your temporal *auayle*.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 1151, ed. 1557.

[c] See Exodus xvi. 3.

also fresshe water to drinke,[a] than to be in the palice of Pharao where he shulde haue bene satisfied with honour, richesse and ease, and all other thinges pleasaunt. Who that redeth the boke of Exodi shall finde the charitie of this man wonderfull. For whan almightie god, being greuously meued with the children of Israhel for their ingratitude, for as moche as they often tymes murmured agayne hym, and uneth moughte be kepte by Moyses from idolatrie, he said to Moyses that he wold destroye them utterly, and make hym ruler of a moche greatter and better people. But Moyses brenning in a meruailous charite towards them said unto god, This people, good lorde, haue mooste greuouslye sinned, yet either forgyue them this trespas, or, if ye do nat, strike me clene out of the booke that ye wrate.[b] And diuers other tymes he importunately cried to god for the saulfe garde of them, nat withstanding that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym, if he had nat ben by his wisedome, and specially by the powar of god, preserued.

But perauenture some, which seke for sterting holes[c] to mainteine their vices, will obiecte, sayinge that Moyses was a holy prophete and a persone electe by predestination[d] to

[a] See Exodus xvii. 1. [b] See Exodus xxxii. 32.

[c] Wilson in *The Arte of Logique* has the very same phrase: 'And wheras the answerer perhappes shall smell where aboutes he goeth, and therefore will *seke startyng holes* to escape and flee soche daunger.'—Fol. 61, ed 1553.

[d] This word has of course been borrowed by the author from the patristic writings. The Latin word prædestinatio is very frequently used by S. Augustine. It took its origin in the well-known passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, viii. 30, which was rendered into Latin, 'quos prædestinavit ipsos et vocavit.' But the Rev. J. H. Blunt, in his *Dict. of Doctrinal Theology*, says, 'The interpretation of this passage mainly depends on the word προέγνω (foreknew), which may have different meanings. The Greek fathers, generally, thought that it referred to the foreseen character of the predestinated, that is, that God predestinated those whom He foresaw would live and persevere in faith and obedience (predestination to glory).' But he adds that in another place (viz Rom. xi. 2,) it means 'loved' and 'according to the more probable meaning of the word, the passage will have reference to "predestination to grace," the "foreknown," or loved, being those chosen from the rest of mankind who are the objects of God's undeserved favour and grace.' P. 234, note, ed. 1870. The following is S. Augustine's definition of the word: 'Hæc est prædestinatio sanctorum, nihil aliud: præscientia scilicet,

deliuer the children of Israhell out of captiuitie, which he coulde nat haue done, if he had nat bene of suche pacience and charitie. Therfore let us se what examples of semblable beneuolence we can finde amonge the gentiles, in whom was no vertue inspired, but that only which natural reason induced.

Whan a furious and wylfull yonge man in a sedicion had striken out one of the eies of kyng Licurgus, wherfore the people wolde haue slaine the transgressour, he wolde nat suffre them, but hauyng him home to his house, he by suche wise meanes corrected the yonge man, that he at the laste broughte hym to good maners and wisedome.[a] Also the same Licurge, to the entent that theffecte of his beneuolence towarde the commune weale of his countray mought persist and continue, and that his excellent lawes beinge stablisshed shulde neuer be alterate, he dyd let swere al his people, that they shulde chaunge no part of his lawes, untill he were retourned, faynynge to them that he wolde go to Delphos, where Apollo was chiefly honoured, to consulte with that god what semed to hym to be added to or minisshed of those lawes, whiche also he fayned to haue receiued of the said Apollo.[b] But finally

et præparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus certissime liberantur, quicumque liberantur.'—*Lib. de Dono Persev.* cap. xiv. See Migne's ed., tom. x. col. 1014.

[a] *Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφθασεν εἰς ἱερὸν καταφυγών· εἷς δέ τις νεανίσκος, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἀφυὴς, ὀξὺς δὲ καὶ θυμοειδὴς, Ἀλκανδρος, ἐπικείμενος καὶ διώκων, ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πατάξας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ στὰς ἐναντίος ἔδειξε τοῖς πολίταις τὸ πρόσωπον ᾑμαγμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ὄψιν. Αἰδὼς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχεν, ὥστε παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀλκανδρον αὐτῷ, καὶ προπέμψαι μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας συναγανακτοῦντας. Ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινέσας ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ἀλκανδρον εἰσαγαγὼν οἴκαδε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτ' εἶπεν, ἀπαλλάξας δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑπηρέτας καὶ θεραπευτῆρας ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀγεννὴς ἐποίει τὸ προστασσόμενον σιωπῇ καὶ παραμένων ἅμα τῷ Λυκούργῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος ἐν τῷ κατανοεῖν τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἄκαμπτον, αὐτός τε δεινῶς διετέθη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐ σκληρὸς οὐδ' αὐθάδης ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἥμερος καὶ πρᾷός ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεκόλαστο καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπεσχήκει δίκην, ἐκ πονηροῦ δὴ νέου καὶ αὐθάδους ἐμμελέστατος ἀνὴρ καὶ σωφρονικώτατος γενόμενος.*—Plut. *Lycurgus*, 11.

[b] 'Hæc quoniam primo, solutis antea moribus, dura videbat esse, "auctorem

he went in to the Isle of Crete, where he continued and died, commaundyng at his deth that his bones shulde be cast in to the see, lest if they were brought to Lacedemonia, his countray, the people shuld thinke them selfe of their othe and promise discharged.

Codrus kynge of Athenes.

Semblable loue Codrus, the last kynge of Athenes, had to his countray. For where the people called Dores (whom some thinke to be nowe Sicilians)[a] wolde aduenge their olde grudges agayne the Atheniensis, they demaunded of some of their goddes, what successe shulde happen if they made any warres. Unto whom answere was made, that if they slewe nat the kynge of Atheniensis they shulde than haue the victorie. Whan they came to the felde, straite commaundement was gyuen amonge them that, aboue all thinge, they shulde haue good awaite of the kynge of Athenes, whiche at that time was Codrus. But he before knowyng the answere made to the Dores, and what commandement was giuen to the army, dyd put of his princely habite or robes, and in apparaile all ragged and rent, carieng on his necke a bundell of twigges, entred in to

eorum Apollinem Delphicum" fingit, "et inde se ea ex præcepto numinis detulisse," ut consuescendi tædium metus religionis vincat. Dein ut æternitatem legibus suis daret, jurejurando obligat civitatem, nihil eos de ejus legibus mutaturos, priusquam reverteretur; et simulat se ad oraculum Delphicum proficisci, consulturum, quid addendum mutandumque legibus videretur. Proficiscitur autem Cretam, ibique perpetuum exilium egit, abjicique in mare ossa sua moriens jussit; ne, relatis Lacedæmona, solutos se Spartani religione jurisjurandi in dissolvendis legibus arbitrarentur.'—Justin. *Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

[a] Grote says, 'That which is commonly termed the Doric comedy was, in great part, at least, the Sikel comedy taken up by Dorian composers—the Doric race and dialect being decidedly predominant in Sicily.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 532. Certain it is that all the Greek temples of Sicily, without exception, are of the Doric order. And we are even told that one Sicilian writer, Serradifalco, was induced by patriotism 'to claim the invention of the Doric order for his native land rather than for Greece or Asia Minor.'—Murray's *Handbook for Sicily*, p. xxv. We learn from Strabo that the founder of Syracuse was joined by some Dorians from Megara. 'Τὸν δ' Ἀρχίαν κατασχόντα πρὸς τὸ Ζεφύριον τῶν Δωριέων εὑρόντα τινὰς δεῦρο ἀφιγμένους ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας παρὰ τῶν τὰ Μέγαρα κτισάντων ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν κτίσαι τοὺς Συρακούσας.'—Lib. vi. cap. 2, § 4.

the hoste of his enemies, and was slayne in the prese by a souldiour, whom he wounded with a hooke purposely. But whan it was perceiued and knowen to be the corps of kyng Codrus, the Dores all dismayed departed from the felde without proferynge bataile. And in this wise the Atheniensis, by the vertue of their most beneuolent kynge, who for the saulfgarde of his countray willingly died, were clerely deliuered from bataile.[a] O noble Codrus, howe worthy had you ben (if god had bene pleased) to haue aboden the reparation of mankynde, that, in the habite and religion of a christen prince, ye mought haue showed your wonderfull beneuolence and courage, for the saulfegarde of christen men, and to the noble example of other princes.

Curtius, a noble knighte of the Romanes, had no lasse loue to his countray than Codrus. For sone after the begynnyng of the citie there hapned to be a great erth quaue, and after there remayned a great dell or pitte without botome, whiche to beholde was horrible and lothsome, and out of it proceded suche a dampe or ayre, that corrupted all the citie with pestilence. Wherfore whan they had counsailed with suche idols as they than worshipped, answere was made that the erth shuld nat close untill there were throwen in to it the moste precious thinge in the citie; whiche answere receiued, there was throwen in riche ieuels of golde and precious stone; but all auailed nat. At the laste, Curtius, beinge a yonge and goodly gentilman, consideryng that no riches throwen in profited, he finallye coniected that the life of man was aboue all thinges moste precious; to thentent the residue *Curtius.*

[a] 'Erant inter Athenienses et Dorienses simultatium veteres offensæ: quas vindicaturi bello Dorienses de eventu belli oracula consuluerunt. Responsum "superiores fore, ni regem Atheniensium occidissent." Cum ventum esset in bellum, militibus ante omnia custodia regis præcipitur. Atheniensibus eo tempore rex Codrus erat: qui et responso Dei, et præceptis hostium cognitis, permutato regis habitu, pannosus, sarmenta collo gerens, castra hostium ingreditur; ibi in turbâ obsistentium, à milite quem falce astu convulneraverat, interficitur. Cognito regis corpore, Dorienses sine prælio discedunt. Atque ita Athenienses virtute ducis, pro salute patriæ morti se offerentis, bello liberantur.'—Justin. *Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. 6.

of the people mought be saued by his only dethe, he armed hym selfe at all pointes, and sittyng on a courser, with his swerde in his hande redy drawen, with a valiaunt and fierce courage enforsed his horse to lepe in to the dell or pitte, and furthwith it ioyned to gether and closed, leuynge onely a signe where the pitte was; which longe after was called Curtius lake.[a]

I passe ouer the two Decius, Marcus Regulus, and many other princes and noble men that for the weale of their contraye died willingly.[b] And nowe wyll I speke of suche as in any other fourme haue declared their beneuolence.

Cyrus kynge of Persia shewinge the power of beneuolence.

Xenophon, condisciple of Plato, wrate the life of Cyrus kyng of Persia most elegantly, wherin he expresseth the figure of an excellent gouernour or capitayne.[c] He sheweth there that Craesus, the riche king of Lidia, whom Cyrus had taken prisoner, subdued his countray, and possessed his treasure, saide on a tyme to Cyrus, whan he behelde his liberalitie, that suche largenesse as he used shulde bringe hym in pouertie, where, if he lysted, he

[a] 'Eodem anno, seu motu terræ, seu quâ vi aliâ, forum medium fermè specu asto collapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem conjectu erræ, cum pro se quisque gereret, expleri potuisse prius, quàm Deum monitu quæri cæptum, quo plurimum populus Romanus posset. Id enim illi loco dicandum, vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, juvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes, an ullum magis Romanum bonum, quàm arma virtusque, esset. Silentio facto, templa Deorum immortalium, quæ foro imminent, Capitoliumque intuentem, et manus nunc in cælum, nunc in patentes terræ hiatus ad Deos Manes porrigentem, se devovisse: equo deinde, quàm poterat, maximè exornato insidentem, armatum se in specum immisisse, donaque ac fruges super eum à multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas; lacumque Curtium, non ab antiquo T. Tatii milite Curtio Metto, sed ab hoc appellatum.'—Liv. lib. vii. cap. 6.

[b] 'It was examples of this nature,' says Mr. Lecky, 'that formed the culminations or ideals of ancient systems of virtue, and they naturally led men to draw a very clear and deep distinction between the notions of interest and of duty. It may indeed be truly said that while the conception of what constituted duty was often very imperfect in antiquity, the conviction that duty, as distinguished from every modification of selfishness, should be the supreme motive of life, was more clearly enforced among the Stoics than in any later society.'—*Hist. Eur. Mor.*, vol. i. p. 187, ed. 1869.

[c] See Vol. I. p. 84, and note.

mought accumulate up treasure incomparable.[a] Than Cyrus demaunded of Croesus, What treasure suppose ye shulde I nowe haue, if durynge the tyme of my raigne I wolde haue gadred and kept money as ye exhorte me to do? Than Cresus named a great some. Well, said Cyrus, sende ye some man, whom ye best truste, with Histaspa my seruaunt; and thou, Histaspa, go about to my frendes and shewe them that I lacke golde towarde a certayne businesse, wherfore I will they shal sende me as moche as they can, and that they put it in writinge and sende it sealed by the seruant of Cresus. In the same wise Cirus wrate in a letter, and also that they shulde receiue Histaspa as his counsailour and frende, and sent it by hym. Histaspa, after that he had done the message of Cyrus and was retourned with the seruant of Cresus, who brought letters from Cyrus frendes, he saide to Cyrus, O sir, from hensforthe loke that ye take me for a man of great substaunce. For I am highly rewarded with many great gyftes for bringing your

[a] Καλὸν δὲ ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται Κῦρος ἐπιδεῖξαι Κροίσῳ, ὅτε ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν ὡς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι πένης ἔσοιτο, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ πλείστους ἑνί γε ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καταθέσθαι· καὶ τὸν Κῦρον λέγεται ἐρέσθαι, Καὶ πόσα ἂν ἤδη οἴει μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ ὅτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἰμι; καὶ τὸν Κροῖσον εἰπεῖν πολύν τινα ἀριθμόν. Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα, Ἄγε, δή, φάναι, ὦ Κροῖσε, σύμπεμψον ἄνδρα σὺν Ὑστάσπῃ τούτῳ ὅτῳ σὺ πιστεύεις μάλιστα. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, ἔφη, περιελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσίου πρὸς πρᾶξίν τινα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι προσδέομαι· καὶ κέλευε αὐτοὺς ὁπόσα ἂν ἕκαστος δύνηται πορίσαι μοι χρήματα. γράψαντας δὲ καὶ κατασημηναμένους δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Κροίσου θεράποντι φέρειν. Ταῦτα δὲ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος ἐδίδου τῷ Ὑστάσπῃ φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ Ὑστάσπην ὡς φίλον αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθε, καὶ ἤνεγκεν ὁ Κροίσου θεράπων τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὑστάσπης εἶπεν, Ὦ Κῦρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἤδη χρὴ ὡς πλουσίῳ χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρειμι δῶρα διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Εἷς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος ἤδη θησαυρὸς ἡμῖν, ὦ Κροῖσε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταθεῶ, καὶ λόγισαι πόσα ἐστὶν ἕτοιμα χρήματα, ἤν τι δέωμαι χρῆσθαι. Λέγεται δὴ λογιζόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος πολλαπλάσια εὑρεῖν ἢ ἔφη Κύρῳ ἂν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἤδη, εἰ συνέλεγεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο φανερὸν ἐγένετο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος, Ὁρᾷς, φάναι, ὦ Κροῖσε, ὡς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις με παρ' ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαί τε δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ μισεῖσθαι καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἐφιστάντα μισθοφόρους τούτοις πιστεύειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φίλους πλουσίους ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ φύλακας ἅμα ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν πιστοτέρους εἶναι ἢ εἰ φρουροὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπεστησάμην.—Xen. *Cyroped.* lib. viii. cap. 2.

letters. Than Cyrus, at the houre appointed, ladde with hym kynge Cresus in to his campe, sayinge to hym, Now beholde here is our treasure, accounte, if ye can, how moche money is redy for me, if I haue nede of any to occupy. Whan Cresus behelde and rekened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sondry partes were laide aboute the pauilion of Cirus, he founde moche more than he said to Cirus that he shuld haue in his tresure, if he him selfe had gadred and kept it. And whan all appiered sufficiently, Cirus than said, Howe thinke you, Cresus, haue I nat tresure? And ye counsailed me that I shulde gadre and kepe money, by occasion wherof I shuld be enuied and hated of my people, and more ouer put my trust to seruantes hyred to haue rule therof. But I do all other wise; for, in making my frendes riche, I take them al for my tresure, and haue them more sure and trusty kepers bothe of me and my substance, than I shuld do those whom I must trust only for their wagis.

Lorde god, what a notable historie is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde; considerynge the vertue and power of beneuolence therin expressed. For the beneuolente mynde of a gouernour nat onely byndeth the hartes of the people unto hym with the chayne of loue, more stronger than any materiall bondes, but also gardeth more saulfely his persone than any toure or garison.

Off. ii.

The eloquent Tulli, saithe in his officis, A liberall harte is cause of beneuolence, al though perchance that powar some tyme lackethe.[a] Contrary wise he saith, They that desire to be feared, nedes must they drede them, of whom they be feared.[b]

In Panegyrico.

Also Plini the yonger saith, He that is nat enuironed with charite, in vaine is he garded with terrour; sens armure with armure is stered.[c] Whiche is ratified by

[a] 'Beneficâ voluntate benevolentia movetur, etiam si res fortè non suppetit.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

[b] 'Qui se metui volent, à quibus metuentur, eosdem metuant ipsi, necesse est.'—*Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

[c] 'Frustrà se terrore succinxerit, qui septus caritate non fuerit: armis enim arma irritantur.'—Plin. jun. *Panegyr.* cap. 49.

the mooste graue philosopher Seneke, in his boke of mercye that he wrate to Nero, where he saith, He is moche deceiued that thinketh a man to be suer, where nothynge from hym can be saulfe. For with mutuall assuraunce suertie is optained.[a] *De clementia.*

Antoninus Pius, emperour of Rome, so moche tendred the beneuolence of his people, that whan a greatte nombre had conspired treason againe him, the Senate being therwith greuously meued, endeuoured them to punisshe the said conspiratours; but the emperour caused the examination to cesse, sayinge, that it shulde nat nede to seeke to busily for them that intended suche mischiefe, leste, if they founde many, he shulde knowe that many him hated.[b] Also whan the people (for as moch as on a time they lacked corne in their graynardes) wolde haue slaine him with stones, rather than he wolde haue the sedicious persones to be punisshed, he in his owne persone declared to them the occasion of the scarsitie, wherwith they beinge pacified euery man helde him contented.[c] *Antoninus Pius.*

I had almost forgoten a notable and worthy remembraunce of kynge Philip, father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to him reported that one of his capitaines had menacing wordes towards him, wherby it semed he intended some domage towarde his persone. Wherfore his counsaile aduised hym to haue good awayte of the saide capitaine, and that he were put under warde; to whom the kynge answered, If any parte of my body were sicke or els sore, whether shuld *Kynge Philip.*

[a] 'Errat enim, si quis existimat tutum esse ibi regem, ubi nihil à rege tutum est. Securitas securitate mutuâ paciscenda est.'—Sen. *de Clem.* lib. i. cap. 19. It is worthy of notice that Sir Thomas Elyot, with the tact of a true courtier, has suppressed the word which might have rendered the passage unpalatable to his royal patron.

[b] 'Adeo mansuetus, ut instantibus Patribus ad eos, qui contra eum conjuraverant, persequendos, compresserit quæstionem, præfatus, necesse non esse, sceleris in semetipsum cupidos, pertinacius indagari; ne, si plures reperirentur, quantis odio esset, intelligeretur.'—Aurel. Victor. *Epit.* cap. 15.

[c] 'Usque eo autem mitis fuit, ut, cum ob inopiæ frumentariæ suspicionem lapidibus à plebe Romanâ perstringeretur, maluerit ratione expositâ placare, quàm ulcisci seditionem.'—Aurel. Victor, *ubi supra.*

I therfore cutte it from the residue, and cast it from me, or els endeuour my selfe that it moughte be healed? And than he called for the saide capitaine, and so entretayned hym with familiaritie and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he had hym more assured and loyall than euer he was.[a]

Agesilaus. Agesilaus kynge of Lacedemonia, to hym that demaunded howe a kyng mought most suerly gouerne his realme without souldiours or a garde to his persone, answered, If he reigned ouer his people, as a father doth ouer his children.[b]

The xxx tyrantes of Athenes. The citie of Athenes (from whens issued al excellent doctrine and wisedom) during the time that it was gouerned by those persons unto whom the people mought haue a familiare accesse, and boldly expound their grefes and damages, prospered merualously, and during a longe season raigned in honour and weale.[c] Afterwarde the Lacedemons, by

[a] This story is not to be found in any classical author, but is narrated by John of Salisbury, (with whose works it has been already shown that Sir Thomas Elyot was acquainted), as follows: 'Philippus cum audisset Phytiam quemdam bonum pugnatorem alienatum animo sibi, quòd tres filias inops vix aleret, nec à rege adjuvaretur, monentibus amicis, ut eum caveret, "Quid," inquit Philippus, "si haberem partem corporis ægram, abscinderemne potius, quàm curarem?" Deinde familiariter secreto elicitum Phytiam, acceptâ difficultate necessitatum domesticarum, pecuniâ sufficienter instruxit, ac meliorem fidelioremque habuit, quàm fuerat antequam crederetur offensus.'—*Polycraticus*, lib. iv. cap. 8.

[b] This is a mistake, though a very venial one; the apopthegm is attributed by Plutarch to Agasicles, not to Agesilaus. *Πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα, πῶς ἄν τις ἀδορυφόρητος ὢν ἄρχειν ἀσφαλῶς δύναιτο, Ἐὰν οὕτως, ἔφη, αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, ὥσπερ οἱ πατέρες τῶν υἱῶν.*—Plut. *Apoph. Lacon.*

[c] Mr. Grote, in his concluding remarks on the rise and fall of the supremacy of Athens, says, 'Under the circumstances of her dominion—at a time when the whole transit and commerce of the Ægean was under one maritime system which excluded all irregular force,—when Persian ships of war were kept out of the waters and Persian tribute-officers away from the sea-board,—when the disputes inevitable among so many little communities could be peaceably redressed by the mutual right of application to the tribunals at Athens, and when these tribunals were also such as to present to sufferers a refuge against wrongs done even by individual citizens of Athens herself (to use the expression of the oligarchical Phrynichus)—the condition of the maritime Greeks was materially better than it had been before; or than it will be seen to become afterwards. Her empire, if it did not inspire attachment,

the mutabilite of fortune, vanquisshed them in bataile and committed the citie of Athenes to the kepyng of xxx of their owne capitaines, which were for their pride and auarice called tyrantes.[a] But nowe se how litle suerte is in great nombre or strength, wher lacketh beneuolence. These xxx tyrantes were continuelly enuironed with sondry garisons of armed men, which was a terrible visage to people that before liued under the obedience of their lawes only.[b] Finally the Atheniensis, by fere being put from their accustomed accesse to their gouernours to require iustice, and there with being fatigate as men oppressed with continual iniurie, toke to them a desperate corage, and in conclusion expelled out of the

Strength lackinge beneuolence.

certainly provoked no antipathy, among the bulk of the citizens of the subject communities, as is shown by the party character of the revolts against her. If in her imperial character she exacted obedience, she also fulfilled duties and ensured protection—to a degree incomparably greater than was ever realised by Sparta. And even if she had been ever so much disposed to cramp the free play of mind and purpose among her subjects—a disposition which is no way proved—the very circumstances of her own democracy, with its open antithesis of political parties, *universal liberty of speech*, and manifold individual energy, would do much to prevent the accomplishment of such an end, and would act as a stimulus to the dependent communities even without her own intention.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. v. p. 606.

[a] Professor Rawlinson says, 'The triumph of Sparta was the triumph throughout Greece of oligarchical principles. At Athens the democracy was abolished, and the entire control of the government placed in the hands of a Board of Thirty, a Board which has acquired in history the ominous name of "the Thirty Tyrants." The Greeks found that, instead of gaining by the change of masters, they had lost; they had exchanged the yoke of a power, which, if rapacious, was at any rate refined, civilised, and polished, for that of one which added to rapacity a coarse arrogance and a cruel harshness, which were infinitely exasperating and offensive.'—*Manual of Ancient History*, p. 184, ed. 1869.

[b] 'They had a Lacedæmonian military force constantly at their command, besides an organised band of youthful satellites and assassins, ready for any deeds of violence.'—Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. v p. 565. Justin's account is as follows: 'Mutato statu Athenarum, etiam civium conditio mutatur. Triginta rectores reipublicæ constituuntur; qui fiunt tyranni; quippe à principio tria millia sibi satellitum statuunt, quantum ex tot cladibus prope nec civium superfuerat; et, quasi parvus hic ad continendam civitatem exercitus esset, septigentos milites à victoribus accipiunt.'—*Hist.* lib. v. cap. 8.

citie all the said tyrantes, and reduced it unto his pristinate gouernance.[a]

Dionyse kynge of Sicile.

What misery was in the life of Dionyse the tyrant of Cicile? Who knowing that his people desired his distruction, for his rauine and crueltie, wold nat be of any man shauen, but first caused his owne doughters to clippe his berde, and afterwarde he also mistrusted them, and than he him selfe with a brenning cole seared the heres of his berde, and yet finally was he destroyed.[b]

Alexander Phereus.

In like wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citie called Pherea, for he, hauing an excellent faire wyfe, nat only excluded all men from her company, but also, as often as he wold lie with her, certaine persones shulde go before him with torchis, and he folowing with his swerde redy drawen wolde therwith enserche the bedde, cofers, and all other places of his chambre, leste any man shulde be there hidde, to thentent to sle him. And that nat withstanding by the procurement of his said wife (who at the last, fatigate with his most folisshe ialousy, conuerted her loue in to haterede) he was slaine by his owne subiects.[c] Nowe dothe it appere that this reuerende

[a] 'The very excess of tyranny,' says Mr. Grote, 'committed by the Thirty, gave a peculiar zest to the recovery of the democracy . . . To all men, rich and poor, citizens and metics, the comparative excellence of the democracy, in respect of all the essentials of good government, was now manifest. With the exception of those who had identified themselves with the Thirty as partners, partisans, or instruments, there was scarcely any one who did not feel that his life and property had been far more secure under the former democracy, and would become so again if that democracy were revived.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. pp. 2, 3.

[b] 'Ita propter injustam dominatûs cupiditatem in carcerem quodammodo ipse se incluserat. Quinetiam, ne tonsori collum committeret, tondere filias suas docuit. Ita sordido ancillarique artificio regiæ virgines, ut tonstriculæ, tondebant barbam et capillum patris. Et tamen ab his ipsis, cum jam essent adultæ, ferrum removit, instituitque, ut candentibus juglandium putaminibus barbam sibi et capillum adurerent.'—Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. cap. 20.

[c] 'Alexandrum Pheræum quo animo vixisse arbitramur? qui (ut scriptum legimus) cum uxorem Theben admodum diligeret, tamen ad eam ex epulis in cubiculum veniens, barbarum, et eum quidem (ut scriptum est) compunctum notis Threiciis, destricto gladio jubebat anteire: præmittebatque de stipatoribus suis, qui scrutarentur arculas muliebres, et, ne quod in vestimentis occultaretur telum, exquirerent.

virtue beneuolence is of all men, most specially of gouernors and men of honour, incomparably before other to be embraced.

Kyng Philip, whan he herd that his sonne Alexander used a meruailous liberalite amonge the people, he sent to him a lettre, wherin he wrate in this wise: Alexander, what peruerse opinion hath put the in suche hope, that thou thinkest to make them loyall unto the, whom thou with money corruptest, conside-ryng that the receiuour therof is therby appaired, beinge trained by thy prodigalitie to loke and gape alway for a sem-blable custome?[a] And therfore the treasure of a gentle counte-nance, swete answeres, ayde in aduersitie, nat with money onely but also with studie and diligent endeuour, can neuer be wasted, ne the loue of good people, therby acquired, can be from their hartes in any wise seperate. And here I make an ende to speke any more at this tyme of beneuolence.

CHAPTER X.

Of beneficence and liberalitie.

ALL thoughe philosophers in the description of vertues haue deuised to set them as it were in degrees, hauing respecte to the qualitie and condition of the persone whiche is with them adourned; as applyinge Magnificence to the substaunce and astate of princes, and to priuate persones Beneficence[b] and

O miserum, qui fideliorem et barbarum et stigmatiam putaret, quàm conjugem! Nec eum fefellit: ab eâ enim est ipse, propter pellicatûs suspicionem, interfectus.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

[a] 'Præclare epistolâ quâdam Alexandrum filium Philippus accusat, quòd largi-tione benevolentiam Macedonum consectetur. "Quæ te (malum!)" inquit, "ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecuniâ corrupisses? An tu id agis, ut Macedones, non te regem suum, sed ministrum et præbitorem sperent fore?" Bene ministrum et præbitorem, quia sordidum regi: melius etiam, quod largitionem corruptelam esse dixit. Fit enim deterior, qui accipit, atque ad idem semper expectandum paratior. Hoc ille filio: sed præceptum putemus omnibus.'—Cic. *de Off.*, lib. ii. cap. 15. The letter is also quoted by Valerius Maximus, lib. vii. cap. 2, ext. 10.

[b] Ὁ δ' ἐν μικροῖς ἢ ἐν μετρίοις κατ' ἀξίαν δαπανῶν οὐ λέγεται μεγαλοπρεπής, οἷον

Liberalitie, yet be nat these in any parte defalcate[a] of their condigne praises. For if vertue be an election annexed unto our nature, and consisteth in a meane, which is determined by reason,[b] and that meane is the verye myddes of two thynges viciouse, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke,[c] than nedes must beneficence and liberalitie be capitall vertues. And magnificence procedeth from them, approchinge to the extreme partes;[d] and may be tourned in to vice if he lacke the bridle of reason.[e] But beneficence can by no menes be vicious and retaine still his name.[f] Semblably liberalitie (as Aristotle saith) is a measure, as well in gyuing as in takyng of money and

Aristot. Ethic. i.

Beneficence.

Liberalitie.

τὸ 'πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτῃ,' 'αλλ' ὁ ἐν μεγάλοις οὗτος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἐλευθέριος, ὁ δ' ἐλευθέριος οὐθὲν μᾶλλον μεγαλοπρερὴς . . . . Διὸ πένης μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη μεγαλοπρεπής· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀφ' ὧν πολλὰ δαπανήσει πρεπόντως· ὁ δ' επιχειρῶν ἠλίθιος· παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δέον, κατ' ἀρετὴν δὲ τὸ ὀρθῶς.—Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 2 (4), §§ 3, 13; and in another place Aristotle thus distinguishes between Magnificence and Liberality, ὁ γὰρ μεγαλοπρεπὴς διαφέρει ἐλευθερίου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ μεγάλα, ὁ δὲ περὶ μικρά.—*Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 7. § 6.

[a] *I.e.* cut off, deprived; whence the substantive 'defalcation.' This form was unknown to classical writers, but Ovid uses the word *falcatus* with the primary meaning 'shaped like a falx or scythe,' and Livy employs it in the sense of 'furnished with scythes.' In the 17th century we find it used by Hopkins, Bishop of Londonderry, who says, 'How infinitely temerarious is it for vile wretches either to invert, or *defalcate*, and as it were, to decimate the laws of the great God, by the which they and all their actions must be judged at the last day?'—*Exposition on the tenth commandment*, p. 92, ed. 1692.

[b] Ἔστιν ἄρα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις προαιρετική, ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡρισμένη λόγῳ καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσειεν.—Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* lib. ii. cap. 6, § 15.

[c] Μεσότης δὲ δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολήν, τῆς δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν.—Arist. *ubi supra.*

[d] Δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ (μεγαλοπρέπεια) περὶ χρήματά τις ἀρετὴ εἶναι. Οὐχ ὥσπερ δ' ἡ ἐλευθεριότης διατείνει περὶ πάσας τὰς ἐν χρήμασι πράξεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς δαπανηρὰς μόνον· ἐν τούτοις δ' ὑπερέχει τῆς ἐλευθεριότητος μεγέθει. Καθάπερ γὰρ τοὔνομα αὐτὸ ὑποσημαίνει, ἐν μεγέθει πρέπουσα δαπάνη ἐστίν.—Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 2 (4), § 1.

[e] Τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ἕξεως ἡ μὲν ἔλλειψις μικροπρέπεια καλεῖται, ἡ δ' ὑπερβολὴ βαναυσία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσαι τῷ μεγέθει περὶ ἃ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὡς οὐ δεῖ λαμπρυνόμεναι . . . . Εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ ἕξεις αὗται κακίαι.—Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 2, §§ 4, 22.

[f] Ὁ δὲ διδοὺς οἷς μὴ δεῖ, ἢ μὴ τοῦ καλοῦ ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ διά τιν' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, οὐκ ἐλευθέριος ἀλλ' ἄλλος τις ῥηθήσεται.—*Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 1 (2), § 14.

goodes. And he is only liberall, whiche distributeth accordyng to his substance, and where it is expedient.[a] Therfore he ought to consider to whom he shulde gyue, howe moche, and whan. For liberalitie takethe his name of the substance of the persone from whom it procedeth;[b] for it resteth nat in the quantite or qualitie of thinges that be gyuen, but in the naturall disposition of the gyuer.[c]

Alexander.

The great Alexander on a tyme, after that he had vainquisshed Darius in bataile, one of his souldiours broughte unto hym the hede of an enemie that he had slayne, whiche the kynge thankefully and with sweete countenance receiued, and takyng a cuppe of golde filled with good wine, saide unto the souldiour, In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the rewarde of suche vertue as thou hast nowe shewed, whiche semblably thou shalte receiue. But whan the souldiour for shamefastnes refused the cup, Alexander added unto it these wordes; The custome was to gyue the cuppe emptie, but Alexander giueth it to the full of wyne with good handsell.[d] Where with he expressed his liberall harte, and as moche comforted the souldiour as if he had gyuen to hym a great citie.

More ouer he that is liberall neglecteth nat his substance or goodes, ne gyueth it to all men, but useth it so as he may continuelly helpe therwith other, and gyueth whan, and where,

[a] Τῆς ἐλευθεριότητος δὴ μεσότητος οὔσης περὶ χρημάτων δόσιν καὶ λῆψιν, ὁ ἐλευθέριος καὶ δώσει καὶ δαπανήσει εἰς ἃ δεῖ καὶ ὅσα δεῖ.—Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 1 (2), § 24.

[b] Λέγωμεν δ' ἐξῆς περὶ ἐλευθεριότητος, δοκεῖ δ'εἶναι ἡ περὶ χρήματα μεσότης . . . Χρήματα δὲ λέγομεν πάντα ὅσων ἡ ἀξία νομίσματι μετρεῖται.—*Ubi supra*, lib. iv. cap. 1, § 1-2.

[c] Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν διδομένων τὸ ἐλευθέριον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ διδόντος ἕξει.—*Ibid.*, lib. iv. cap. 1 (2), § 19.

[d] The story as told by Plutarch is as follows:—'Ἀρίστων δ τῶν Παιόνων ἡγούμενος ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, 'Τοῦτο,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶται τὸ δῶρον.' Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας, 'Κενοῦ γε,' εἶπεν, 'ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου προπίομαι.'—*Alexander*, 39. The reader will notice the alteration that the original has undergone in the process of translation.

and on whom it ought to be employed. Therfore it maye be saide that he usethe euery thynge best that exerciseth the vertue whiche is to the thinge most appropred. For riches is of the nombre of thinges that may be either good or iuell, whiche is in the arbitrement of the gyuer.[a] And for that cause liberalitie and beneficence be of suche affinitie, that the one may neuer from the other be seperate. For the employment of money is nat liberalitie if it be nat for a good ende or purpose.[b]

The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Seuerus[c]

[a] Adam Smith thus distinguishes between the good and bad employment of capital. 'The expense,' he says, 'that is laid out in durable commodities gives maintenance, commonly, to a greater number of people, than that which is employed in the most profuse hospitality. Of two or three hundredweight of provisions which may sometimes be served up at a great festival, one half, perhaps, is thrown to the dunghill, and there is always a great deal wasted and abused. But if the expense of this entertainment had been employed in setting to work masons, carpenters, upholsterers, mechanics, &c., a quantity of provisions of equal value would have been distributed among a still greater number of people, who would have bought them in pennyworths and pound weights, and not have lost nor thrown away a single ounce of them. In the one way, besides, this expense maintains productive, in the other (to some degree ?) unproductive hands. In the one way therefore it increases, in the other it does not increase, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country.'—*Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 32. 'Those princes who have heaped, with the greatest profusion, wealth, power, and honour upon their favourites, have seldom excited that degree of attachment to their persons which has often been experienced by those who were more frugal of their favours. The well-natured but injudicious prodigality of James I. of Great Britain seems to have attached nobody to his person; and that prince, notwithstanding his social and harmless disposition, appears to have lived and died without a friend.'—Adam Smith's *Theory of Mor. Sent.*, p. 101, ed. 1853.

[b] 'Liberality in princes,' says Hume, 'is regarded as a mark of beneficence; but when it occurs that the homely bread of the honest and industrious is often thereby converted into delicious cates for the idle and the prodigal, we soon retract our heedless praises. The regrets of a prince, for having lost a day were noble and generous; but had he intended to have spent it in acts of generosity to his greedy courtiers it was better lost than misemployed after that manner.'—*Philosoph. Works*, vol. iv. p. 251, ed. 1826.

[c] The author has here, as on a former occasion, (See Vol. I. p. 288), confounded this emperor with Septimius Severus, whom he undoubtedly alludes to in this place. Gibbon says of the latter, 'His expensive taste for building, magnificent shows, and, above all, a constant and liberal distribution of corn and provisions, were the surest means of captivating the affection of the Roman people.'—*Decline and Fall*

gaue of the reuenues of the empire innumerable substaunce, to the reedifieng of cities and commune houses decayed for age, or by erthe quaues subuerted, wherin they practised liberalitie and also beneficence. *Antonine and Alexander liberall emperours.*

But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinite treasures in bordell[a] houses, and places where abominacions were used, also in enriching slaues, con- *Prodigalitie.*

of Rom. Emp., vol. i. p. 258. Spartianus tells us, 'Sunt per plurimas civitates opera ejus insignia. Magnum vero illud in vitâ ejus, quòd Romæ omnes ædes publicas, quæ vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit, nusquam prope suo nomine ascripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum. Moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut quotidiana septuaginta quinque millia modiorum expendi possent, reliquit : olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non solum urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret.'—*Hist. August.*, tom. i. p. 638. With regard to Antoninus Pius, Merivale says, 'While all the public establishments were maintained on the most frugal scale, he was munificent in his gifts and largesses. He acquitted the promises of Hadrian at his adoption, completed many of his predecessor's buildings, and remitted the coronary gold expected on his accession, to the Italians entirely, to the extent of one half to the provincials. When the treasury, which he received full from Hadrian, became at last empty, he replenished it by the sale of the imperial furniture.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. vii. p. 501. The account given by Capitolinus is as follows :—'Multas etiam civitates adjuvit pecuniâ, ut opera vel nova facerent, vel vetera restituerent . . . Vini, olei, et tritici penuriam, per ærarii sui damna emendo et gratis populo dando, sedavit. Adversa ejus temporibus hæc provenerunt : fames de quâ diximus, circi ruina, terræmotus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiæ oppida conciderunt : quæ omnia mirificè instauravit.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. pp. 267, 268, and it was without doubt this account with which Sir Thos. Elyot was familiar.

[a] Bordell = brothel. Du Fresne in his notes to Joinville's work, derives the French equivalent bordel (mod. *bordeau*) from the English. 'Le mot de *Bordel*, pour designer un lieu infame, *lupanar*, vient de ce qu'ordinairement les garces, et autres gens de cette farine, habitoient les petites maisons, qu'en vieux langage François on nommoit *bordels*, du diminutif de *borde*, qui signifie maison, et probablement a esté emprunté du *bord* des Saxons Anglois, où ce mot a la même signification.'—*Observations sur Hist. de S. Louys*, p. 63, ed. 1668. But there is no need to assume that the French borrowed the word from the Anglo-Saxons, because the word bordellum was in common use in the Middle Ages as a synonym for ædicula, tuguriolum. Thus Guillaume de Jumièges, better known as Gulielmus Gemiticensis, who wrote before 1087, says, 'Ricardus nempe qui primogenitus erat noctu in vili casâ juxta quoddam stagnum securus dormiebat. Protinus quidam miles potens, nomine Ricardus de Sanctâ Scholasticâ, cujus terram devastaverat, domuncu-

cubines and baudes,[a] were nat therfore named liberall, but suffreth therfore parpetuall reproche of writars, beinge called

lam circumdedit cum suâ familiâ. Sorengus vero expergefactus de *Bordello* exiit, et fugiens in vivarium exilire voluit.'—*De Ducibus Normannis*, lib. vi. cap. 14, Here it is evident that vilis casa, domuncula, and bordellum, are equivalent expressions. Again, in the *Black Book of the Exchequer*, we find the same use of the word in a proclamation of outlawry of one William de Braose, in which it is alleged by the King that 'postquam transfretavimus in Hyberniam, ipse nobis malum fecit quod potuit, et unum molendinum et tres *Bordellos* combussit,' vol. i. p. 382. ed. 1771. Dugdale, who gives this document at length in his *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 417, translates the above passage thus : 'After the king was gone into Ireland (W. de B.) did more mischief by burning of houses.' And in a charter belonging to the Priory of Briweton or Bruton, in Somersetshire, we find enumerated amongst their possessions, 'ortum ante portam atrii cum *bordello*.'—*Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. pt. 1, p. 336, ed. 1830. In a letter of protection granted by King John II. of France to the city of Florence, A.D. 1351, occurs the following clause : 'Mandantes Senescallis Tholose et Agenni, &c., quatenus dictos Consules et habitatores dictæ villæ eorum officiales et servitores, familiares hominesque suos de corpore, cum eorum bonis et rebus, juribus, domibus, maneriis, *bordillis* et possessionibus universis et singulis, in et sub dictis protectione et salvâ ac speciali Gardiâ Regiâ manuteneant et conservent.'—*Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. iv. p. 96, ed. 1734, where the word *bordillis* is explained in a side note to be 'especes de maison.' The word, however, had even at this period acquired the secondary and less reputable signification which it has retained up to the present time, for we find it so used in an award of arbitrators appointed by Gregory X. to settle certain disputes between the Archbishop of Vienne and the Chapter of St. Romain, made in 1274. Item quòd prout decet, dict. Dom. Archiepiscopus, Vicarius, Judex, seu Correarius non permittant neque sustineant morari mulierem uxoratam publicè in prostibulo *seu bordello*.'—*Hist. de Dauphiné*, tom. i. p. 126, ed. 1722. Dugdale, among the charters relating to the foundation of Saint Mary's Abbey at York, prints one in which occurs the following passage : 'Item inquiratur qualiter dicti canonici capellam sive heremitorium de Bordelbi primitus obtinuerunt, et utrum ante Conquestum dictum Bordelbi *pro lupanari* habebatur.'—*Mon. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 547, ed. 1821. To turn to English writers, the word is used by Chaucer in *The Persones Tale*, in the sense applied to it by Sir T. Elyot, 'namely these harlottis, that haunten *bordels* of these foule wommen.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 346, ed. 1866. While Harrison employs a form of the word which appears to be intermediate between its earliest and latest forms. Speaking of monks he says, 'Being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought oft great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than *brodelhouses*, especiallie where nunries were farre off.'—*Descript. of Engl.* p. 194.

[a] This word may perhaps come from the name of the place, bordellum, borda, or from the French word *baude*, signifying bold, insolent, impudent. It is impossible in the face of the facts stated in the last note to accept Richardson's suggestion that bordell is derived from bawd.

deuourers and wasters of treasure.[a] Wherfore in as moche as liberalite holy resteth in the geuynge of money, it somtyme coloureth a vice. But beneficence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tulli saieth) is taken out of vertue, where liberalite commeth out of the cofer.[b] Also where a man distributeth his substaunce to many parsones, the lasse liberalitie shall he use to other; so with bounteousnes bountie is minisshed.[c] Onely they that be called beneficiall, and do use the vertue of beneficence, whiche consisteth in counsaylinge and helpinge other with any assistence in tyme of nede, shall alway fynde coadiutours and supportours of their gentyll courage.[d] And doughtlas that maner of gentilnesse that consisteth in labour, studie, and diligence, is more commendable, and extendeth further, and also may more profite parsones, than that whiche resteth in rewardes and expences.[e] But to retourne to liberalitie.

[a] Gibbon declares that 'it is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy.' The same writer says of Elagabalus, that he 'abandoned himself to the grossest pleasures with ungoverned fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid; the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, and the studied variety of attitudes and sauces, served to revive his languid appetites. New terms and new inventions in these sciences, the only ones cultivated and patronised by the monarch, signalised his reign, and transmitted his infamy to succeeding times. A capricious prodigality supplied the want of taste and elegance; and whilst Elagabalus lavished away the treasures of his people in the wildest extravagance, his own voice and that of his flatterers applauded a spirit and magnificence unknown to the tameness of his predecessors.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vol. i. pp. 217, 282, ed. 1854.

[b] 'Altera ex arcâ, altera ex virtute, depromitur.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

[c] 'Ita benignitate benignitas tollitur; quâ quo in plures usus sis, eo minus in multos uti possis.'—Cic. *ubi supra.*

[d] 'At qui operâ, id est virtute et industriâ, benefici et liberales erunt, primum, quo pluribus profuerint, eo plures ad benignè faciendum adjutores habebunt.'—Cic. *ubi supra.*

[e] 'Quamobrem id quidem non dubium est, quin illa benignitas, quæ constet

Prodigalytie.

What greater foly may be, than that thinge that a man most gladly dothe, to endeuour him with all studie that it may no lenger be done? Wherfore Tulli calleth them prodigall, that in inordinate feastes and bankettes, vayne playes, and huntinges, do spende al their substaunce, and in those thinges wherof they shall leaue but a shorte or no remembraunce.[a] Wherfore to resorte to the counsaile of Aristotle before expressed. Natwithstandinge that liberalitie, in a noble man specially, is commended, all though it somwhat do excede the termes of measure; yet if it be well and duely emploied, it acquireth parpetuall honour to the giuer, and moche frute and singuler commoditie therby encreaseth.[b] For where honeste and virtuous parsonages be aduaunced, and well rewarded, it sterith the courages of men, whiche haue any sparke of vertue, to encrease therein, with all their force and endeuour.[c] Wherfore nexte to the helpinge and relieuinge of a communaltie, the great part of liberalitie is to be emploied on men of vertue and good qualities.[d] Wherein is required to be

ex operâ et industriâ, et honestior sit, et latiùs pateat, et possit prodesse pluribus.' —Cic. *De Offic.* lib. ii. cap 15.

[a] 'Prodigi, qui epulis et viscerationibus, et gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut brevem, aut nullam omnino, sint relicturi.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 16.

[b] *Πρέπει δὲ καὶ οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτα προϋπάρχει δι' αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν προγόνων ἢ ὧν αὐτοῖς μέτεστι, καὶ τοῖς εὐγενέσι καὶ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα μέγεθος ἔχει καὶ ἀξίωμα. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτος ὁ μεγαλοπρεπής, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δαπανήμασιν ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια, ὥσπερ εἴρηται· μέγιστα γὰρ καὶ ἐντιμότατα.*— Arist. *Ethic. Nicom.* lib. iv. cap. 2, § 14.

[c] It was thus that Addison, starting as a poor scholar, with a pension of £300 a year, procured for him by the influence of Montague, to enable him to travel, was advanced to the highest office. 'Addison,' says Lord Macaulay, 'without high birth, and with little property, rose to a post which Dukes, the heads of the great houses of Talbot, Russell, and Bentinck, have thought it an honour to fill. Without opening his lips in debate he rose to a post the highest that Chatham or Fox ever reached.' But he explains that this rapid promotion was due to the fact that 'to the influence which Addison derived from his literary talents was added all the influence which arises from character.'—*Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336, ed. 1854.

[d] Pitt seems to have totally ignored this injunction. 'The love of literature,' says Lord Macaulay, 'had induced Augustus to heap benefits on Pompeians,

a good election and iugement, that, for hope of rewarde or fauour, under the cloke of vertue be nat hidde the moste mortall poisone of flaterie.[a]

CHAPTER XI.

The true discription of amitie or frendship.

I HAUE all redy treated of beneuolence and beneficence generally. But for als moche as frendship, called in latine *Amicitia*, comprehendeth bothe those vertues more specially and in an higher degree, and is nowe so infrequent or straunge amonge

Somers to be the protector of nonjurors, Harley to make the fortunes of Whigs. But it could not move Pitt to show any favour, even to Pittites. Though the sound rule is that authors should be left to be remunerated by their readers, there will in every generation be a few exceptions to this rule. To distinguish these special cases from the mass is an employment well worthy of the faculties of a great and accomplished ruler; and Pitt would assuredly have had little difficulty in finding such cases . . . What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Johnson and the way in which Lord Grey acted towards his political enemy Scott, when Scott, worn out by misfortune and disease, was advised to try the effect of the Italian air! What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Cowper and the way in which Burke, a poor man and out of place, acted towards Crabbe! Even Dundas, who made no pretensions to literary taste, and was content to be considered as a hard-headed and somewhat coarse man of business, was, when compared with his eloquent and classically educated friend, a Mæcenas or a Leo. Dundas made Burns an exciseman with seventy pounds a year; and this was more than Pitt, during his long tenure of power, did for the encouragement of letters. Even those who may think that it is, in general, no part of the duty of a government to reward literary merit, will hardly deny that a government which has much lucrative Church preferment in its gift, is bound, in distributing that preferment, not to overlook divines whose writings have rendered great service to the cause of religion. But it seems never to have occurred to Pitt that he lay under any such obligation.'—*Biographies*, p. 184–187, ed. 1860.

[a] Cicero can find no term sufficiently opprobrious to apply to this vice. 'Habendum est, nullam in amicitiis pestem esse majorem, quàm adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem. Quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum, levium hominum atque fallacium, ad voluntatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem.'—Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 25.

mortall men, by the tyrannie of couetise and ambition, whiche haue longe reigned,[a] and yet do, that amitie may nowe unethe be knowen or founden throughout the worlde,[b] by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wolde seeke for a small siluer pinne in a great chamber strawed with white russhes,[c] I will therfore borowe so moche of the gentle redar

[a] So Patrizi says: 'Idcirco rarò admodum hæc amicitia esse cernitur . . . Non parva conditio haberi debet ea, quam Euripides tragicus præscribit, τὰ τῶν φίλων κοινὰ, hoc est, amicorum omnia communia, *et præsertim nostris temporibus, in quibus avaritia adeò plerosque invasit*, ut quotidiano cibo ac victu seipsos defraudent, nemini benigniores sint, nihil amico inopi, etiam ex his rebus quæ eis superfluunt, impertiantur, vixque ab alienis manus abstineant. Quinetiam amicitiæ jam vulgo non virtute, sed utilitate aut voluptate probantur.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. viii. tit. 11.

[b] 'Unfortunately,' says a modern writer, 'from the vast complication of selfish considerations in which most men in a society like ours are involved, it is scarcely possible for any to experience the full enjoyment which is to be derived from friendship. We see this happiness at its height only in the young, who have as yet few cares. In the middle of life, our hearts are scarcely better fitted for the culture of this delightful sentiment than is the highway for the rearing of flowers. Few, therefore, can have the noted advantage of going on with certain friends through their whole career, until, in their elderly days, they feel towards them in so intensely sympathetic a manner that they appear as parts of the same being. These were joys appropriate, I fear, only to Arcadian times.'—Chambers' *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 237, ed. 1847.

[c] This was from time immemorial the substitute for carpets, and remained so until the 17th century. Mr. Wright tell us that in the middle ages 'floor-carpets were sometimes used in the chambers, but this was uncommon, and they seem to have been more usually, like the hall, strewed with rushes. It appears that sometimes, as a refinement in gaiety, flowers were mixed with the rushes. In an old French fabliau (Méon, *Nouv. Recueil de Fabliaux*, tom. i. p. 75), a lady who expects her lover, lights a fire in the chamber, and spreads rushes and flowers on the floor.

"Vient à l'ostel, lo feu esclaire,
Jons et flors espandre par l'aire."—*Dom. Man. in Eng.* p. 246.

Paul Hentzner, who visited England in 1598, speaking of the Royal Palace of Greenwich, where the Queen was then keeping her Court, says that even the floor of the Royal Presence Chamber was so covered. His words are 'pavimentum, uti in Angliâ moris est, *fœno* erat constratum.'—*Itinerarium*, p. 135, ed. 1617. Horace Walpole, who translated this work, renders the word 'hay,' but adds in a note, 'he probably means rushes.' Even in the palaces of royalty the floors were generally strewed with rushes and straw, sometimes mixed with sweet herbs. 'In the Household Roll of Edward II. we find an entry of money paid to John de

thoughe he be nigh wery of this longe mater, barrayne of eloquence and pleasaunt sentence, and declare some what by the way of very and true frendship. Whiche perchaunce may be an allectife to good men to seeke for their semblable, on whom they may practise amitie. For as Tulli saieth, Nothinge is more to be loued or to be ioyned to gether, than similitude of good maners or vertues; where in be the same or semblable studies, the same willes or desires, in them it hapneth that one in an other as moche deliteth as in him selfe.[a] *C. Offi. i.*

But nowe let us enserche what frendship or amitie is.

Carleford for going from York to Newcastle to procure straw for the King's chamber. Froissart, relating the death of Gaston, Count de Foix, says that 'the Count went to his chamber, which he found ready strewed with rushes and green leaves; the walls were hung with boughs, newly cut, for perfume and coolness, as the weather was marvellously hot.'—Turner's *Dom. Arch. in Eng.* vol. ii. p. 99, ed. 1853. 'In 1464, Sir John Howard,' we are told, 'paid sixteenpence "to the gromys off chambre ffor rushis" for his parlour. In the household of Ed. IV. the serjeant of the hall was to see that sufficient quantity of rushes were provided for the royal apartments.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 111, ed. 1859. Whilst, according to the Household Book of that King, it was the duty of the groom of the chamber to bring 'rushes and litter for the paylettes all the yere.' Mr. Turner says, 'Straw and rushes were used for covering the floors as late as the time of Henry VIII.' And he refers to vol. iv. of the *Archæologia*, p. 312, where is contained 'the Ceremonial of making the King's bed,' but nothing is said about rushes or straw for the floor; and the only mention of straw is a direction that a yeoman, with a dagger, is to search *the straw of the King's Bed*,' which manifestly implies that it was the pallet upon which the bed was made, and not a substitute for a floor cloth. However, although Mr. Turner does not adduce any instances to show the use of rushes or straw instead of carpets in this reign, it is certain that the former continued to be employed till a much later period. In *Archæologia*, vol. xix., extracts from the Household Book of Lord North, beginning Jan. 1, 1575, are printed, and Mr. Stevenson, by whom they were communicated, writing in 1819, in a note upon an item 'for matting,' says, 'Although mats and carpets were now in use, they had not superseded the ancient custom of strewing rushes over the floors of the apartments. A custom *still kept up, at least a few years ago*, in the Trinity House, Hull, and here (*i.e.* in Lord North's H. Book) we have frequent charges for them "for the chambers."'—P. 296.

[a] 'Nihil autem est amabilius nec copulatius, quàm morum similitudo bonorum. In quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eædemque voluptates, in his fit, ut æque quisque altero delectetur, ac seipso.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 17.

Aristotle saieth that frendship is a vertue, or ioyneth with vertue;[a] whiche is affirmed by Tulli, sayenge, that frendship can nat be without vertue,[b] ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth to be those parsones, whiche so do beare them selfes and in such wyse do lyue, that their faithe, suertie, equalitie and liberalitie be sufficiently proued. Ne that there is in them any couetise, wilfulnes, or foole hardinesse, and that in them is great stabilitie or constaunce; them suppose I (as they be taken) to be called good men, whiche do folowe (as moche as men may) nature, the chiefe capitayne or guide of mannes lyfe.[c] Moreouer the same Tulli defineth frendship in this maner, sayenge, That it is none other thinge, but a parfecte consent of all thinges appertayninge as well to god as to man, with beneuolence and charitie; and that he knoweth nothinge giuen of god (except sapience) to man more commodius.[d] Which definition is excellent and very true. For in god, and all thinge that commeth of god, nothing is of more greatter estimation than loue,[e] called in latine *Amor*, whereof *Amicitia* commeth,[f] named in englisshe frendshippe or amitie; the whiche taken a way from the lyfe of man, no house shall abide standinge, no felde shall be in culture.[g] And that is

Ethic. vi.

Tulli de Amicitia.

[a] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ φιλίας ἕποιτ' ἂν διελθεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ἀρετή τις ἢ μετ' ἀρετῆς. —*Eth.* lib. viii. cap. 1.

[b] 'Nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 6.

[c] 'Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, æquitas, liberalitas, nec sit in illis ulla cupiditas, vel libido, vel audacia, sintque magnâ constantiâ, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi; hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus; quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam, optimam bene vivendi ducem.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 5.

[d] 'Est autem amicitia nihil aliud, nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentiâ et caritate, summa consensio: quâ quidem haud scio an, exceptâ sapientiâ, nihil quidquam melius homini sit a diis immortalibus datum.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 6.

[e] 'God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.'—1 John iv. 6.

[f] 'Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata, princeps est ad benevolentiam conjungendam.'—Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 8.

[g] 'Quod si exemeris ex naturâ rerum benevolentiæ conjunctionem, nec domus

lightly parceiued, if a man do remember what commeth of dissention and discorde. Finally he semeth to take the sonne from the worlde, that taketh frendshippe from mannes life.[a]

Sens frendshippe can nat be but in good men,[b] ne may nat be without vertue, we may be assured that therof none iuell may procede, or therewith any iuell thinge may participate.[c] Wherfore in as moche as it may be but in a fewe parsones (good men being in a small nomber),[d] and also it is rare and seldome (as all vertues be communely), I will declare after the opinion of Philosophers, and partly by commune experience, who amonge good men be of nature moste apte to frendshippe.

Betwene all men that be good can nat all way be amitie, but it also requireth that they be of semblable or moche like

ulla, nec urbs stare poterit; ne agri quidem cultus permanebit.'—Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 7.

[a] 'Solem enim è mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam è vitâ tollunt.'—Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 13. 'Friendship,' says Professor Brown, 'is indeed the sunshine of those who otherwise would walk in darkness; it beams with unclouded radiance on our moral path, and is itself warmth and beauty to the very path along which it invites us to proceed.'—*Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. iv. p. 262, ed. 1851.

[b] 'Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam, nisi inter bonos, esse non posse.'—Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 18.

[c] 'Men of virtue only,' says Adam Smith, 'can feel that entire confidence in the conduct and behaviour of one another, which can at all times assure them that they can never either offend or be offended by one another. Vice is alway capricious—virtue only is regular and orderly. The attachment which is founded upon the love of virtue, as it is certainly of all attachments the most virtuous, so it is likewise the happiest, as well as the most permanent and secure. Such friendships need not be confined to a single person, but may safely embrace all the wise and virtuous with whom we have been long and intimately acquainted, and upon whose wisdom and virtue we can upon that account entirely depend.'—*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 330, ed. 1853.

[d] The author had evidently Juvenal's famous saying in his mind: 'Rari quippe boni,' which is, however, only a little less epigrammatic than Cicero's own remark, in the dialogue to which Sir Thos. Elyot makes frequent reference in the course of this chapter. 'Digni autem sunt amicitiâ, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur. Rarum genus (et quidem omnia præclara rara), nec quidquam difficilius, quàm reperire, quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum.'—*De Amicitia*, cap. 21.

maners.[a] For grauitie and affabilitie be euery of them laudable qualities, so be seueritie and placabilitie, also magnificence and liberalitie be noble vertues, and yet frugalitie, whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation in liuinge is, and that for good cause, of al wise men extolled.[b] Yet where these vertues and qualities be seperately in sondry parsones assembled, may well be parfecte concorde, but frendshippe is there seldome or neuer; for that, whiche the one for a vertue embraceth, the other contemneth, or at the leste neglecteth.[c] Wherfore it semeth that

[a] 'Tis obvious,' says Hume, 'that people associate together according to their particular tempers and dispositions, and that men of gay tempers naturally love the gay, as the serious bear an affection to the serious. This not only happens where they remark this resemblance betwixt themselves and others, but also by the natural course of the disposition, and by a certain sympathy which always arises betwixt similar characters.'—*Philosoph. Works*, vol. ii. p. 96, ed. 1826. A modern writer considers 'a general resemblance of character' an 'indispensable requisite' to the maintenance of friendship. 'Often there are considerable differences of nature in those who pass for friends; but generally it will be found that even those who seem most diverse have some peculiarities in common—some opinions, prejudices, or sympathies, in which they are at one; otherwise it would be quite impossible for them to maintain an attachment. It is best when the two natures have a general conformity, for then tastes, opinions, and sympathies will all be in harmony, and each will find in the other's conversation that support to his own views, and that encouragement to his own tendencies, which, by soothing his self-love, will irresistibly dispose him to look agreeably on his associate.'—Chambers's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 234.

[b] 'All prospect of success in life, or even of tolerable subsistence, must fail where a reasonable Frugality is wanting. The heap, instead of increasing, diminishes daily, and leaves its possessor so much more unhappy, as not having been able to confine his expenses to a large revenue, he will still less be able to live contentedly on a small one.'—Hume, *Phil. Works*, vol. iv. p. 313. And another writer of equal reputation says, 'In the steadiness of his industry and frugality, in his steadily sacrificing the ease and enjoyment of the present moment for the probable expectation of the still greater ease and enjoyment of a more distant but more lasting period of time, the prudent man is always both supported and rewarded by the entire approbation of the impartial spectator.'—Ad. Smith, *Theory of Moral Sent.* p. 314. 'The character of Pitt,' says Lord Macaulay, 'would have stood higher if, with the disinterestedness of Pericles and of De Witt, he had united their dignified frugality.'—*Biographies*, p. 233, ed. 1860.

[c] Deficiency of imagination may probably account to a very large extent for the absence of complete sympathy. 'That which makes it so difficult,' says Mr. Lecky in his most interesting work, 'for a man of strong vicious passions to unbosom

wherein the one deliteth, it is to the other repugnaunt unto his nature ; and where is any repugnaunce, may be none amitie, sens frendshippe is an entier consent of willes and desires.[a] Therfore it is seldome sene that frendship is betwene these parsones, a man sturdie, of oppinion inflexible, and of soure countenaunce and speche, with him that is tractable, and with reason persuaded, and of swete countenaunce and entretaynement.[b] Also betwene him which is eleuate in autoritie and a nother of a very base astate or degree.[c] Ye and if they

himself to a naturally virtuous man, is not so much the virtue as the ignorance of the latter. It is the conviction that he cannot possibly understand the force of a passion he has never felt.'—*Hist. of Europ. Morals*, vol. i. p. 141, ed. 1869.

[a] 'True friendship is only to be expected amongst average and superior moral beings, and where there is conformity of character, equality of worldly condition, and a perfect independence.'—Chambers's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 237.

[b] A modern writer makes precisely the same remark : 'Where there is a diversity of feeling on some leading matter, such as politics, friendship, though other circumstances may be favourable, can scarcely be maintained. There must also be a general parity in the moral conditions. If one of the parties is deficient in a virtue which the other has in large endowment, or is marked by a glaring vice which is absent in the other party, friendship can scarcely be maintained, for in either event there cannot be a thorough esteem, and therefore no union. It may be liable to a question, how far friendship can be kept up between parties of infirm or harsh temper. It is perhaps possible for a pair of such a description to worry on with each other for a long course of years, each finding the other's society necessary, and even by fits and starts entertaining a sort of liking for each other. But certainly there can be no consistent friendship between a pair, of which one of the parties is of a harsh, and the other of a mild, temper. Elements so opposite can never be reconciled, even by the powerful sense of conjugal duty.'—Chambers's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 234, ed. 1847.

[c] 'Conformity of character is scarcely more necessary than is equality of worldly conditions. The distinctions of wealth and social position may be ridiculed as much as any one likes ; but they operate upon all, and an individual is powerless to overcome them. When two persons of sympathising character, but different in these respects, are thrown together, there may be considerable liking and esteem ; but the association will hardly ripen into a friendship. A constant condescension on the one side, and a constant looking up on the other, are incompatible with the genuine feeling. If the superior party has the good nature to get over all *his* difficulties, it will scarcely be that the inferior party has the humility to put up with *his*. Though they may occasionally meet, the spheres in which they spend the main part of their lives are different, and their ordinary feelings, maxims, and views, will be different also. The one party will shrink from what

be bothe in an equall dignitie, if they be desirous to klyme, as they do ascende, so frendship for the more parte decayeth.[a] For as Tulli saieth in his firste boke of offices, what thing so euer it be, in the whiche many can nat excell or haue therein superioritie, therein often tymes is suche a contencion, that it is a thinge of all other moste difficile to kepe amonge them good or vertuous company;[b] that is as moche to say as to retayne amonge them frendship and amitie. And it is often tymes sene that diuers, which before they came in autoritie, were of good and vertuous condicions, beinge in their prosperitie were utterly chaunged, and dispisinge their olde frendes set all their studie and pleasure on their newe acquaintaunce.[c]

he hears of a lower grade and style of mind from the other ; and the other, again will be mortified at hearing of higher things, of which he is not allowed to partake. Hence there will be secret disgusts, and rancours, and jealousies, until each has the uneasy feeling that he is walking over a mine ever ready to explode; about which period of course all real friendship will be at an end between them, and it will not even be necessary that they should quarrel in order to be avowedly done with it.'—Chambers's *Essays*, vol iii. p. 235.

[a] Bacon has a passage very like this : 'Near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised ; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others ; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame.'—*Essays*, p. 81, ed. 1857.

[b] 'Quicquid ejusmodi est, in quo non possint plures excellere, in eo fit plerumque tanta contentio, ut difficillimum sit sanctam servare societatem.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 8.

[c] And on the other hand, such prosperity often tests severely the sincerity of the friends of those who are advanced to honour, for as Adam Smith says, 'The man who, by some sudden revolution of fortune, is lifted up all at once into a condition of life greatly above what he had formerly lived in, may be assured that the congratulations of his best friends are not all of them perfectly sincere. An upstart, though of the greatest merit, is generally disagreeable, and a sentiment of envy commonly prevents us from heartily sympathising with his joy. If he has any judgment, he is sensible of this, and instead of appearing to be elated with his good fortune, he endeavours, as much as he can, to smother his joy, and keep down that elevation of mind with which his new circumstances naturally inspire him. He redoubles his attention to his old friends, and endeavours more than ever to be humble, assiduous, and complaisant. And this is the behaviour which in his situation we most approve of; because we expect, it seems, that he should have

Wherein men shall parceiue to be a wonderfull blindnes, or (as I mought say) a madnesse, if they note diligently all that I shall here after write of frendshippe. But nowe to resorte to speke of them in whom frendship is most frequent, and they also therto be moste aptly disposed. Undoughtedly it be specially they whiche be wyse and of nature inclined to beneficence, liberalitie and constance.[a] For by wysedome is marked and substancially decerned the wordes, actes, and demeanure of all men betwene whom hapneth to be any entrecourse or familiaritie, whereby is ingendred a fauour or disposition of loue.[b] Beneficence, that is to say, mutually puttinge to their

more sympathy with our envy and aversion to his happiness, than we have to his happiness. It is seldom that with all this he succeeds. We suspect the sincerity of his humility, and he grows weary of this constraint. In a little time, therefore, he generally leaves all his old friends behind him, some of the meanest of them excepted, who may perhaps condescend to become his dependants. Nor does he always acquire any new ones; the pride of his new connections is as much affronted at finding him their equal, as that of his old ones had been by his becoming their superior; and it requires the most obstinate and persevering modesty to atone for this mortification to either. He generally grows weary too soon, and is provoked by the sullen and suspicious pride of the one, and by the saucy contempt of the other, to treat the first with neglect, and the second with petulance, till at last he grows habitually insolent, and forfeits the esteem of all.'—*Theory of Moral Sent.*, p. 55.

[a] 'All those associations,' says a modern writer, 'which are grounded on a common indulgence of the lower sentiments, and all those which have only in view a little temporary amusement, although they may be attended with the immediate effects in enjoyment which are contemplated from them, involve but a very elementary condition of the passion of friendship. This feeling, like love, is seen in many forms, graduating between the lowest and the most exalted; and its condition in any human being must depend greatly on the general moral condition of that being. Unquestionably, it will only be found in its state of utmost purity and nobleness in highly-refined and greatly-generous natures. There only shall we find such associations as those of David and Jonathan, Damon and Pythias, and the other like friendships of historical celebrity.'—Chambers's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 234.

[b] Modern philosophers define Wisdom as the habit by which we select right means for right ends. 'We approve,' says one of them, 'and admire Prudence relatively to its end. We approve and admire Wisdom absolutely. We commend the prudent man as taking the best course for his purpose, but we do not necessarily agree with him in his estimate of his object. We venerate the wise man as

studie and helpe in necessary affaires, induceth loue.[a] They that be liberall do with holde or hyde nothinge from them whom they loue, wherby loue encreaseth. And in them that be constante is neuer mistrust or suspition, nor any surmise or iuell reporte can withdrawe them from their affection, and hereby frendship is made perpetuall and stable.[b] But if similitude of studie or lerninge be ioyned unto the said vertues, frendship moche rather hapneth, and the mutuall

one knowing better than we do the true object of action, as well as the means of approaching it. Wisdom is a Cardinal Virtue, like Benevolence, Justice, Truth, Purity, and with reference to the first as well as the other four human Dispositions, are good, as they partake of the Cardinal Virtue. Wisdom is the complete Idea of Intellectual Excellence, as Benevolence, Justice, Truth, and Purity are of Moral Excellence.'—*El. of Mor.* p. 88. But as Adam Smith says, 'It necessarily supposes the utmost perfection of all the intellectual and of all the moral virtues. It is the best head joined to the best heart.'—*Theory of Mor. Sentiments*, p. 316.

[a] 'Of all the persons,' says the writer last quoted, 'whom nature points out for our peculiar beneficence, there are none to whom it seems more properly directed than to those whose beneficence we have ourselves already experienced.'—*Theor. of Moral Sent.*, p. 331. 'When a friend thinks of his friend,' says another writer, 'what a long period of reciprocal good offices does he seem to measure in a single moment with his eye, what happiness conferred, what misery soothed!'—Brown *Phil. of the Mind*, vol. iii. p. 291.

[b] A modern writer uses very similar language. 'Even with respect to the pleasure of friendship itself, if it be a pleasure on which we set a high value, it is not a slight consideration whether it be fixed on one whose regard is likely to be as stable as ours, or on one who may in a few months, or perhaps even in a few weeks, withhold from us the very pleasure of that intimacy which before had been profusely lavished on us. In every one of these respects, I need not point out the manifest superiority of virtue over vice. Virtue only is stable, because virtue only is consistent; and the caprice which, under a momentary impulse, begins an eager intimacy with one, as it began it from an impulse as momentary with another, will soon find a third with whom it may again begin it, with the same exclusion, for the moment, of every previous attachment.'—Brown, *Phil. of the Mind*, vol. iv. p. 268. And Adam Smith says, 'The prudent man, though not always distinguished by the most exquisite sensibility, is always very capable of friendship. But his friendship is not that ardent and passionate, but too often transitory, affection, which appears so delicious to the generosity of youth and in experience. It is a sedate, but steady and faithful, attachment to a few well-tried and well-chosen companions; in the choice of whom he is not guided by the giddy admiration of shining accomplishments but by the sober esteem of modesty, discretion, and good conduct.'—*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 313.

enteruewe and conuersation is moche more pleasaunt, specially if the studies haue in them any delectable affection or motion. For where they be to serious or full of contention, frendship is oftentimes assaulted, whereby it is often in parile.[a] Where the studie is elegant and the mater illecebrous, that is to say, swete to the redar, the course wherof is rather gentill persuasion and quicke reasoninges than ouer subtill argumentes or litigious controuersies, there also it hapneth that the studentes do delite one in a nother and be without enuie or malicious contention.[b]

Nowe let us trie out what is that frendshippe that we suppose to be in good men. Verely it is a blessed and stable connexion of sondrie willes, makinge of two parsones one in

[a] But Dugald Stewart observes that 'where the ground-work of two characters in point of moral worth is the same, there is sometimes a contrast in the secondary qualities, of taste, of intellectual accomplishments, and even of animal spirits, which instead of presenting obstacles to friendship, has a tendency to bind more strongly the knot of mutual attachment between the parties. And he adds that 'two very interesting and memorable examples of this may be found in Cuvier's account of the friendship between Buffon and Daubenton, and in Playfair's account of the friendship between Black and Hutton.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 176, ed. 1855.

[b] Hume says, 'A delicacy of taste is favourable to love and friendship, by confining our choice to few people and making us indifferent to the company and conversation of the greater part of men . . . One that has well digested his knowledge both of books and men, has little enjoyment but in the company of a few select companions. He feels too sensibly how much all the rest of mankind fall short of the notions which he has entertained. And, his affections being thus confined within a narrow circle, no wonder he carries them further than if they were more general and undistinguished. The gaiety and frolic of a bottle companion improves with him into a solid friendship ; and the ardours of a youthful appetite become an elegant passion.'—*Phil. Works*, vol. iii. pp. 6, 7. 'Mathematicians and natural philosophers,' says Adam Smith, 'from their independency upon the public opinion, have little temptation to form themselves into factions and cabals, either for the support of their own reputation, or for the depression of that of their rivals. They are almost always men of the most amiable simplicity of manners, who live in good harmony with one another, are the friends of one another's reputation, enter into no intrigue in order to secure the public applause, but are pleased when their works are approved of, without bein either much vexed or very angry when they are neglected.'—*Theory of Mora Sent.* p. 181.

hauinge and suffringe. And therfore a frende is proprely named of Philosophers the other I.[a] For that in them is but one mynde and one possession; and that, which more is, a man more reioiseth at his frendes good fortune than at his owne.

Horestes and Pilades, beinge wonderfull like in all features, were taken to gider and presented unto a tyrant[b] who deedly hated Horestes, but whan he behelde them bothe, and wolde haue slayne Horestes onely, he coulde nat decerne the one from the other. And also Pilades, to deliuer his frende, affirmed that he was Orestes; on the other parte Orestes, to saue Pilades, denied and said that he was Orestes (as the trouthe was). Thus a longe tyme they to gither contendinge, the one to die for the other, at the laste so relented the fierse and cruell harte of the

[a] It was Zeno who originated the expression which afterwards passed into a proverb. According to Diogenes Laertius, ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος, 'ἄλλος ἐγώ' ἔφη. —Lib. vii. cap. 1, § 23, p. 164, ed. Didot. 1850. The Latin equivalent is 'alter ego,' which is frequently employed by Cicero: thus in the *Letters to Atticus* he says, 'Me enim ipsum multo magis accuso; deinde te, quasi me alterum.'—Lib. iii. 15. And again, 'Ille legatos quindecim quum postularet, me principem nominavit; et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit.'—Lib. iv. 1. Another form of the same expression is also found. Thus, speaking of a 'true friend,' he says, 'Est enim is quidem tamquam alter idem.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 21. Aristotle says, Ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς φαμέν, ὁ φίλος ἕτερος ἐγώ.—*Magn. Moral.* lib. ii. cap. 15. Bacon says, 'The best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say that "a friend is another himself," for that a friend is far more than himself.'—*Essays*, p. 265, ed. 1857.

[b] Thoas, King of Tauris. The story of the friendship of Orestes and Pylades forms the subject of two tragedies of Euripides viz. Orestes, and Iphigenia in Tauris, and has been embellished in various ways by the poets. The particular form of it, referred to by the author, seems to have been popularised through a play of Pacuvius, which has not come down to us, but which is mentioned by Cicero. 'Qui clamores totâ caveâ nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvii novâ fabulâ, quum ignorante rege, uter eorum esset Orestes, Pylades Oresten se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret?'—*De Amicitia*, cap. 7. And it may be presumed that it was from Cicero that Sir Thomas Elyot derived his knowledge of the story, but, according to his usual practice, he has himself added some details which are not given by Cicero, and, after the fashion of a modern novelist, has made the tale end happily, and in a way which would commend it to the sympathies of his readers.

tyrant, that wondringe at their meruailous frendship he suffred them frely to departe, without doinge to them any damage.[a]

Pitheas and Damon.

Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagoriens, that is to say, studentes of Pythagoras lerninge, beinge ioyned to gither in a parfeite frendship, for that one of them was accused to haue conspired agayne Dionyse, king of Sicile, they were bothe taken and brought to the kinge, who immediately gaue sentence, that he that was accused shulde be put to dethe. But he desired the kinge that, er he died, he mought retourne home to set his householde in ordre and to distribute his goodes; whereat the kinge laughinge demaunded of him skornefully what pledge he wolde leaue hym to come agayne. At the whiche wordes his companyon stepte furthe and saide, that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frende, that in case he came nat againe at the daye to hym appointed, that he wyllingly wolde lose his hede; whiche condicion the tyraunt receyued. The yonge man that shuld haue died, was suffred to departe home to his house, where he set all thinge in ordre and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was commen, the tyme moche passed; wherfore the kynge called for him that was pledge, who came furthe merely without semblaunte of drede, offringe to abide the sentence of the tyraunt, and without grudginge to die for the sauinge the life of his frende. But as the officer of iustyce had closed his eien with a kerchiefe, and had drawen his swerde to haue striken of his hedde, his felowe came runninge and cryenge that the daye of his appointment was nat yet past; wherfore he desired the minister of iustice to lose his felowe, and to prepare to do execution on hym that had giuen the occasion. Whereat the tyraunt being all abasshed, commaunded bothe to be brought in his presence, and whan he

[a] 'Ire jubet Pylades carum periturus Oresten.
Hic negat: inque vicem pugnat uterque mori.
Extitit hoc unum, quo non convenerit illis:
Cetera par concors et sine lite fuit.'
Ovid, *Epist. ex Pont.* lib. iii. 2, 85-88.

had ynough wondred at their noble hartes and their constance in very frendship, he offring to them great rewardes desired them to receyue hym into their company; and so, doinge them moche honour, dyd set them at liberte.[a] Undoughtedly that frendship whiche dothe depende either on profite or els in pleasure, if the habilitie of the parsone, whiche mought be profitable, do fayle or diminisshe, or the disposition of the parsone, whiche shulde be pleasaunt, do chaunge or appayre, the feruentnesse of loue cesseth, and than is there no frendship.

CHAPTER XII.[b]

The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfet amitie.[c]

BUT nowe in the middes of my labour, as it were to pause and take brethe, and also to recreate the reders, which, fatigate

[a] 'Damon et Phintias, Pythagoricæ prudentiæ sacris initiati, tam fidelem inter e amicitiam junxerunt, ut, cum alterum ex his Dionysius Syracusanus interficere vellet, atque is tempus ab eo, quo, prius quàm periret, domum profectus res suas ordinaret, impetravisset, alter vadem se pro reditu ejus tyranno dare non dubitarit. Solutus erat periculo mortis, qui modo cervices gladio subjectas habuerat: eidem caput suum subjecerat, cui securo vivere licebat. Igitur omnes, et in primis Dionysius, novæ atque ancipitis rei exitum speculabantur. Appropinquante deinde definitâ die, nec illo redeunte, unusquisque stultitiæ tam temerarium sponsorem damnabat. At is "nihil se de amici constantiâ metuere" prædicabat. Eodem autem momento, et horâ à Dionysio constitutâ, qui eam acceperat, supervenit. Admiratus amborum animum tyrannus, supplicium fidei remisit; insuperque eos rogavit, "ut se in societatem amicitiæ, tertium sodalitii gradum ultimâ culturum benevolentiâ, reciperent."'—*Val. Max.* lib. iv. cap. 7, ext. 1.

[b] The greater portion of this chapter is entirely omitted in Mr. Eliot's edition.

[c] The tale which occupies nearly the whole of the present chapter is a translation of one of the stories in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio (Gior. X. Novel. viii.), and is probably the earliest English version of any of the great poet's writings. It is doubtful, however, whether Sir Thos. Elyot translated directly from the original or (as appears more probable) made use of a Latin version, by the celebrated Philip Beroaldo, whose editions of the classics were in great repute in the sixteenth century. As copies of the latter version are now extremely rare, it has

with longe preceptes, desire varietie of mater, or some newe pleasaunt fable or historie, I will reherce a right goodly example of frendship. Whiche example, studiousely radde, shall ministre to the redars singuler pleasure and also incredible comforte to practise amitie.

There was in the citie of Rome[a] a noble senatour named Fuluius, who sent his sone called Titus, beinge a childe, to the citie of Athenes in Greece (whiche was the fountaine of al maner of doctrine), there to lerne good letters, and caused him

been deemed advisable to present a new edition of it to the reader, who can of course easily make for himself the comparison with the original in its native tongue. The single copy in the Brit. Mus., which is now reprinted for the first time, bears the title 'Mithica historia Johannis Boccatii, poetæ laureati, de Tito Romano Gisippoque Atheniensi, philosophiæ tironibus ac commilitonibus, amicitiæ vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum ex italico in latinum transversa;' and is without date, but is supposed to have been printed at Leipsic in 1495. More than thirty years after the publication of *The Governour*, one Edward Lewicke, whose name, says Warton, is 'not known in the catalogue of English poets,' brought out a rhythmical version of the story, calling it 'The most wonderful and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frendshyp, drawen into English metre by Edwarde Lewicke, anno 1562.' Mr. Collier has shown conclusively (*Poet. Decameron*, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85) that Lewicke was indebted not only for the form of the narrative, but 'even for some of his very words and phrases,' to this chapter of *The Governour*; and 'there is not only a strong resemblance throughout, but a perfect identity in some passages,' which renders it extremely probable that the story was only known to Lewicke by a perusal of Sir T. Elyot's work. Lewicke's version, therefore, deservedly sank into obscurity, and is now very rarely met with. According to M. Brunet, a copy was sold in 1854 for £27, but the National Library does not contain any specimen of this poetaster. Another metrical version of much the same character was that printed by Wynkyn de Worde, entitled 'The History of Tytus and Gesyppus, translated out of Latyn into englyshe by Willyam Walter;' this is even more rare than the former, and is not to be found in the Brit. Mus, but a copy is said to have realised the high price of £36 at the Roxburgh sale. According to Brunet, the Latin text which Walter translated was written by Matthew Bandello, and published at Milan in 1509. Warton calls this 'an exceedingly scarce book.'—*Hist. E. P.* vol. ii. p. 493, note. The reader who compares Sir T. Elyot's version either with the Italian of Boccaccio, or with the Latin of Beroaldo, will not fail to remark that our author has diverged widely from both sources.

[a] 'Quo tempore Octavius Cæsar, nondum cognominatus Augustus, in triumviratum Romanum tegebat imperium, fuit Romæ P. Qu. Fulvius, homo patricius ac nobilis, qui filium nomine Titum Fulvium, juvenem singulari ingenio præditum,

to be hosted with a worshipfull man of that citie called Chremes. This Chremes hapned to haue also a sone named Gisippus, who nat onely was equall to the said yonge Titus in yeres, but also in stature, proporcion of body, fauour, and colour of visage, countenaunce and speche. The two children were so like, that without moche difficultie it coulde nat be discerned of their propre parentes, whiche was Titus from Gysippus, or Gysippus from Titus. These two yonge gentilmen, as they semed to be one in fourme and personage, so, shortely after acquaintaunce, the same nature wrought in their hartes suche a mutuall affection, that their willes and appetites daily more and more so confederated them selfes, that it semed none other, whan their names were declared, but that they hadde onely chaunged their places, issuinge (as I mought saye) out of the one body, and entringe in to the other. They to gether and at one tyme went to their lerninge and studie, at one tyme to their meales and refection; they delited bothe in one doctrine, and profited equally therein; finally they to gether so increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yeres, fewe within Athenes mought be compared unto them. At the laste died Chremes, whiche was nat only to his sone, but also to Titus, cause of moche sorowe and heuinesse. Gysippus, by the goodes of his father, was knowen to be a man of great substaunce, wherfore there were offred to hym great and riche mariages. And he than beinge of ripe yeres and of an habile and goodly parsonage, his frendes,

Athenas misit ut philosophiæ studiis erudiretur, eumque etiam atque etiam commendavit Chremeti, viro nobili, amico vetustissimo. Qui Titum hospicio suscipiens voluit ut in contubernio filii Gisippi familiariter educaretur, et utrumque Aristippo, id temporis philosopho illustrissimo, tradidit erudiendum, ut eisdem pariter doctrinis imbuerentur. Cum itaque ambo juvenes vitam degerent communem, tanta similitudo morum repente apparuit, ut summa germanitas, summaque benevolentia, inter ipsos coaluerit. Adeo ut vix morte potuerit dissociari. Simul ambo philosophiæ studiis incumbere, simul ambo ad fastigium divini dogmatis ascendere, ambo excellentissimi ingenii dotibus pares existere. Qui talem vitam duxere circiter triennium, maximâ cum voluptate Chremetis. Is utrumque pio amore prosequens nec in filium quàm in Titum propensior, cum jam esset senio confectus, è vitâ migravit. Cujus obitum tanquam communis parentis Titus atque Gisippus peræque defleverunt, et pari lamentatione prosequuti sunt. Adeo ut nec ipsius Chremetis familiares ac

kynne, and alies exhorted hym busely to take a wyfe, to the intent he mought increase his lygnage and progenie. But the yonge man, hauinge his hart all redy wedded to his frende Titus, and his mynde fixed to the studie of Philosophie, fearinge that mariage shulde be the occasion to seuer hym bothe from thone and thother, refused of longe tyme to be parswaded; untill at the last, partly by the importunate callynge on of his kynnesmen, partly by the consent and aduise of his dere frende Titus, therto by other desired, he assented to mary suche one as shulde lyke hym. What shall nede many wordes? His frendes founde a yonge gentilwoman, whiche in equalitie of yeres, vertuous condicions, nobilitie of blode, beautie, and sufficient richesse, they thought was for suche a yonge man apte and conuenient. And whan they and her frendes upon the couenauntes of mariage were throughly accorded, they counsailed Gysippus to repayre unto the mayden, and to beholde howe her parsone contented hym. And he so doinge founde her in euery fourme and condicion accordinge to his expectation and appetite; wherat he moche reioysed and became of her amorouse, in so moche as many and often tymes he leauinge Titus at his studie secretely repayred unto her. Nat withstandyng the feruent loue that he had to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted shamefastnes. Wherfore he disclosed to him his secrete iournayes, and what delectacion he toke in beholdinge the excellent beautie of her whom he purposed to mary, and howe, with her good maners and swete entretaynement, she

cognati satis dignoscere possent, uter eorum juvenum magis consolandus foret. Post aliquot menses amici necessariique Gisippi hominem conveniunt, et ad uxorem ducendam pariter hortantur, puellam se reperisse dictitantes, civem Atticam, incredibili formositate conspicuam, et generosissimâ gente procreatam, cui Sophroniæ nomen erat, et id temporis quintum decimum agebat ætatis annum. Horum votis Gisippus, utpote juvenili ardore calescens, libenter annuit. Jamque appetebat tempus nuptiarum, cum sponsus unà cum Tito ad sponsam visendam proficiscitur. Jam ambo intra ædes sponsæ penetraverant, jam inter Gisippum Sophroniamque facetissimi sermones serebantur, cum Titus, quasi elegans spectator feminæ formositate adhibitus, cepit curiosis oculis cuncta prospicere et singula Sophroniæ membra callenter pensitare, quæ cum mirandum in modum tota complacuisset, ipse

had constrained hym to be her louer. And on a tyme he, hauynge with hym his frende Titus, went to his lady, of whom he was resceyued moste ioyously. But Titus furthwith, as he behelde so heuenly a personage adourned with beautie inexplicable, in whose visage was moste amiable countenaunce, mixte with maydenly shamefastnesse, and the rare and sobre wordes, and well couched, whiche issued out of her pratie mouthe, Titus was therat abasshed, and had the harte through perced with the firy darte of blinde Cupide. Of the whiche wounde the anguisshe was so excedinge and vehement, that neither the study of Philosophie, neyther the remembraunce of his dere frende Gysippus, who so moche loued and trusted hym, coulde any thinge withdrawe hym from that unkynde appetite, but that of force he must loue inordinately that lady, whom his said frende had determined to mary. All be it with incredible paynes he kepte his thoughtes secrete, untyll that he and Gysippus were retourned unto their lodgynges. Than the miserable Titus, withdrawynge hym as it were to his studie, all turmented and oppressed with loue, threwe hym selfe on a bedde, and there rebukyng his owne moste despitefull unkyndnesse, whiche, by the sodayne sight of a mayden, he had conspired agayne his moste dere frende

secum illam speciosissimæ puellæ venustatem, illud decus, illam exuperatissimam pulchritudinem ubinde memoriâ repetens, tanto amoris incendio cepit æstuare, quanto nullus priscis temporibus amator conflagraverat. Cum itaque domum repedassent, Titus intra cubiculum solus super Sophroniâ cogitare, Sophroniam intueri, Sophroniæ nomen idemtidem nominare, tanto magis ardescens quanto magis in eâ cogitatione versabatur. Tandem post multiplices curas crebraque suspiria ita secum lamentari exorsus est. "Heu te miserum! Heu ærumnosam vitam tuam, Titè! Ubi unanimus, ubi amor, ubi spes tuæ collocantur? Nonne vides, nonne sentis hanc tibi virginem in eâ veneratione esse habendam quâ sororem? Hoc exigit munificentia et benignitas in te à Chremete collata. Hoc exposcit fida vetusque amicitia, quæ tibi cum Gisippo est hujusce adolescentulæ sponso. Quid igitur concupiscis? Quo te à fraudulento cupidine precipitem trahi sinis? Quo à spe blandiente? Reclude aliquando oculos animi, et temetipsum, infelix, recognosce, optempera rationi, et cohibe illicibilem appetitum. Moderare cupiditates insanas, et aliorsum cogitationes tuas convertito, principiis obsta, et vince teipsum dum tempus adest, dum datur occasio. Istud quod tu tantoperè affectas, turpe, flagitiosum, indecorum est. Istud quod assequi moliris, abs te inprimis fugiendum,

Gysippus, agayne all humanitie and reason, he cursed his fate or constellation, and wisshed that he had neuer comen to Athenes. And there with he sent out from the botome of his harte depe and colde sighes, in suche plentie that it lacked but litle that his harte ne was riuen in peces. In dolour and anguisshe tossed he hym selfe by a certayne space, but to no man wolde he discouer it. But at the last the payne became so intollerable, that, wolde he or no, he was inforced to kepe his bedde, beinge, for lacke of slepe and other naturall sustenaunce, brought in suche feblenesse, that his legges mought nat sustayne his body. Gysippus missyng his dere frende Titus was moche abasshed, and heringe that he laye sicke in his bedde had furthwith his harte perced with heuinesse, and with all spede came to hym where he laye. And beholding the rosiall colour, which was wont to be in his visage, tourned in to salowe, the residue pale, his ruddy lippes wanne, and his eyen ledy and holowe, Gysippus mought uneth kepe hym selfe from wepynge ; but, to thentent he wolde nat discomfort his frende Titus, he dissimuled his heuynesse, and with a comfortable countenaunce demaunded of Titus what was the cause of his disease, blamynge him of unkyndenesse that he so longe had sustayned it without geuing him knowlege, that he mought for him haue prouided some

si id, quod vera amicitia exposcit, et quod teipsum decet, intueri velis. Quidnam igitur tibi, Tite, factitandum est? Amoris mediusfidius illicitus illaudabilisque relinquendus, alioquin inter fidos amicos perfidiosissimus judicabere." Dein cum Sophroniæ reminisceretur, mutato consilio, cuncta quæ dixerat retexens, sic secum solus sermocinabatur. "Majores sunt profectò vires legis cupidineæ, majorque potentia quàm legum reliquarum. Leges Cupidinis frangunt dissipantque non solum leges Amicitiæ, verùm quod majus est divinas. Quotiens impellente Cupidine pater filiam adamavit, frater sororem, noverca privignum, quæ haud dubie sunt majora portenta quàm si amicus amici uxorem ardenter amet, id quod jam sexcenties factitatum. Huc adde quòd ego sum juvenis, et juventa imprimis obnoxia est legibus cupidineis. Quod igitur Amori placet mihi quoque placeat necesse est. Honesta senioribus conveniunt. Ego id velle cogor quod Amor jubet ; formositas hujus virgunculæ tanta est ut ab omnibus amari mereatur. Et quis me merito poterit objurgare? Si juvenili ætate calescens tam decoram, tam venustam juvenculam, tanquam amabilem adamavero, quæ à me non propterea amatur quòd Gisippo desponsata sit, immo eam amo libentiùsque amarem si alteri denupsisset. In hoc

remedie, if any mought haue ben goten, though it were with the dispendinge of all his substaunce. With whiche wordes the mortall sighes renewed in Titus, and the salte teares brast out of his eien in suche habundaunce, as it had ben a lande flode runnynge downe of a mountayne after a storme. That beholdinge Gysippus, and beinge also resolued in to teares, moste hartely desired hym and (as I mought saye) coniured him that for the feruent and entier loue that had ben, and yet was, betwene them, he wolde no lenger hyde from him his griefe, and that there was nothing to him so dere or precious (all though it were his owne life) that mought restore Titus to helthe, but that he shulde gladly and without grutchinge employe it. With whiche wordes, obtestations, and teares of Gysippus, Titus constrayned, all blusshinge and ashamed, holdinge downe his hedde, brought furthe with great difficultie his wordes in this wyse.

The wordes of Titus to Gysippus. My dere and moste louynge frende, withdrawe your frendely offers, cease of your courtaisie, refrayne your teares and regrettinges, take rather your knyfe and slee me here where I lye, or otherwise take vengeaunce on me, moste miserable and false traytour unto you, and of all other moste worthy to suffre moste shamefull dethe. For where as god of nature, lyke as he hath given to us similitude in all the partes of our body, so had he conioyned our willes, studies, and appetites to gether in one, so that betwene two

fortuna objurgari meretur, quæ Sophroniam amico meo Gisippo potius quàm alteri habendam tradidit. Quòd si puella, ob incomparabilem formositatem, meretur amari, sicut hercules meretur, debet æquiore animo ferre Gisippus, si resciverit eam mihi esse potissimum cordi, non alteri." Hæc et id genus multa secum Titus ipse volutabat animo, qui nutabundus in partes varias distrahebatur. Itaque maximo curarum æstu fluctuans, non solum diem illum, noctemque quæ subsequuta est suspirando consumpsit, sed et alias complusculas, adeo ut nec cibum caperet, nec somno indulgeret, in lectuloque pro nimiâ virium imbecillitate decumberet. Gisippus utpote qui Titum jampridem viderat sollicitudinibus anxium et nunc eundem videbat ægrotantem, maximo dolore afficitur, omnique adhibito studio ac diligentiâ nusquam ab ipsius latere discedens, hominem sepissimè consolatur, subinde causam exquirens et curarum et ægrotationis. Ceterùm Titus, qui responsiones fallaciosas hactenus commentus fuerat, ad Gisippum astu decipiendum, tandem suspirans ac lachrymabundus "Gisippe," inquit, "si diis placuisset,

men was neuer lyke concorde and loue, as I suppose. And nowe nat withstandinge, onely with the loke of a woman, those bondes of loue be dissolued, reason oppressed, frendship is excluded; there auaileth no wisedome, no doctrine, no fidelitie or truste; ye, your truste is the cause that I haue conspired agayne you this treason. Alas, Gysippus, what enuious spirite meued you to bringe me with you to her whom ye haue chosen to be your wyfe, where I receyued this poison? I saye, Gysippus, where was than your wisedom, that ye remembred nat the fragilitie of our commune nature? What neded you to call me for a witnesse of your priuate delites? Why wolde ye haue me see that, whiche you youre selfe coulde nat beholde without rauisshinge of mynde and carnall appetite? Alas, why forgate ye that our myndes and appetites were euer one? And that also what so ye lyked was euer to me in lyke degree pleasaunt? What will ye more? Gysippus, I saye your trust is the cause that I am intrapped; the rayes or beames issuinge from the eyen of her whom ye haue chosen, with the remembraunce of her incomparable vertues, hath thrilled throughout the middes of my hart, and in suche wise brenneth it, that aboue all thinges I desire to be out of this wretched and moste unkinde lyfe, whiche is nat worthy the company of so noble and louynge a frende as ye be. And therewith Titus concluded his confession with so profounde and bitter a sigh, receyued with teares, that it semed that al his body shulde be dissolued and relented in to salt dropes.

mihi erat mors jamdudum vitâ jucundior, cogitanti à fortunâ me eo esse deductum, ut mihi virtutis meæ periculum faciendum fuerit, quàm appetitionibus dominantibus, non sine maximo meo dedecore, succubuisse cognosco. Itaque præstolor mortem, quæ mihi sit futura suavior turpi vitâ atque famosâ. Jam enim tibi cuncta denarrabo, jam ex me pudibundo cuncta cognosces. Cum apud te nihil occulere, nihil dissimulare nec possim, nec debeam, nec velim." Et ab initio rerum exorsus detexit scenam curaram suarum. Et quemadmodum secum acerrime contendissent hinc amor illinc honestas, hinc dedecus illinc decor, et ut tandem animus undique vexatur imperioso amori succubuisset. Denique edisserit quem ad modum Sophroniam efflictim deperiret, asserens se amoris sordidissimi flagitiosissimique pœnas morte luere constituisse, ad eamque citissime se

The answere of Gysippus.

But Gysippus, as he were there with nothynge astonyed or discontented, with an assured countenaunce and mery regarde, imbrasinge Titus and kissynge him, answered in this wyse. Why, Titus, is this your onely sickenesse and griefe that ye so uncurtesely haue so longe counceiled, and with moche more unkyndnesse kept it from me than ye haue conceyued it? I knowlege my foly, wherwith ye haue with good right imbrayded me, that, in showing to you her whom I loued, I remembred nat the commune astate of our nature, ne the agreablenesse, or (as I mought saye) the unitie of our two appetites, suerly that defaulte can be by no reason excused. Wherfore it is onely I that haue offended. For who may by right proue that ye haue trespased, that by the ineuitable stroke of Cupides darte are thus bitterly wounded? Thinke ye me suche a fole or ignorant persone that I knowe nat the powar of Venus, where she listeth to shewe her importable violence? Haue nat ye well resisted agayne suche a goddesse, that for my sake ye haue striuen with her all moste to the dethe? What more loyaltie or trouthe can I require of you? Am I of that vertue that I may resiste agayne celestiall influence preordinate by prouidence diuine? If I so thought, what were my wittes? Where were my studie so longe tyme spent in noble Philosophie? I confesse to you, Titus, I loue that mayden as moche as any wise man mought possible, and toke in her companye more delite and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father lefte to me, whiche ye knowe was right abundaunt. But nowe I perceyue

proventurum. Hoc audito, Gisippus paulisper hesitabundus, utpote Sophroniæ cupitor, dein secum ipse incunctanter decrevit vitam amici anteponendam esse virgunculæ, et lachrymis Titi oppido commotus, ipse quoque plorabundus, sic infit, "Tite, nisi consolatione indigeres, ego te apud teipsum expostularem tanquam amicitiæ nostræ prævaricatorem, qui tamdiu tuos acerbissimos affectus mihi ignotos esse voluisti. Quod si tibi istud inhonestum ac indecorum videbatur, scito inhonesta non secus quàm honesta cum amico esse communicanda. Nam qui verus amicus est, quantum ex honestis amici rebus capit voluptatis, tantum à flagitiosis ac turpibus amici animum abducere conatur. Sed in præsentiam, his posthabitis, propiora discutiamus. Si tu sponsam meam Sophroniam ardenter

that the affection of loue towarde her surmounteth in you aboue measure, what, shal I thinke it of a wanton lust or sodayne appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sadde disposition, inclyned alway to honest doctrine, fleinge all vayne daliaunce and dishonest passetyme? Shall I imagine to be in you any malice or fraude, sens from the tendre tyme of our childhode I haue alway founden in you, my swete frende Titus, suche a conformitie with all my maners, appetites, and desires, that neuer was sene betwene us any maner of contention? Nay god forbede that in the frendshippe of Gysippus and Titus shulde happen any suspition, or that any fantasie shulde perce my hedde, whereby that honorable loue betwene us shulde be the mountenaunce of a cromme perisshed. Nay, nay, Titus, it is (as I haue said) the onely prouidence of god. She was by hym from the beginnynge prepared to be your lady and wife. For suche feruent loue entreth nat in to the harte of a wise man and vertuous, but by a diuine disposition; whereat if I shulde be discontented or grudge, I shulde nat onely be iniuste to you, withholdinge that from you whiche is undoughtedly youres, but also obstinate and repugnaunt agayne the determination of god; whiche shall neuer be founden in Gysippus. Therfore, gentill frende Titus, dismay you nat at the chaunce of loue, but receyue it ioyously with me, that am with you nothinge discontented, but meruailous gladde, sens it is my happe to finde for you suche a lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felicitie, and receyue frute to the honour and comfort of all your linage. Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and

amas, nihil equidem admiror, valde admiraturus, si abs te secus fieret cognitâ puellæ formositate, et animi tui generositate prospectatâ, quæ tanto est ad passiones amoris subeundas accomodatior quanto res concupita fuerit excellentior; et quanto æquiùs Sophroniam amas, tanto iniquius de fortunâ conquereris. Dum tibi videtur eam abs te honestius amari potuisse, si alteri potiùs quàm mihi denupsisset. Verum si tu prudens ac circumspectus es, prout esse consuevisti, profecto cognoscere debes te plurimum debere fortunæ, quæ Sophroniam mihi quàm alteri fovendam dare maluerit. Etenim quivis alius maritus suorum potius quàm tuorum amorum rationem habendam esse duxisset, quod minimè cadit in meos mores, si me tam tibi quàm quod maxime sit amicum esse credis. Cujus rei argumentum vel hoc sit,

interest that I nowe haue or mought haue in that faire mayden. Call to you your pristinate courage, wasshe clene your visage and eyen thus biwept, and abandone all heuinesse. The day appointed for our mariage approcheth; let us consult howe without difficultie ye may holy attayne your desires. Take hede, this is myne aduise; ye knowe well that we two be so like, that, beinge a parte and in one apparayle, fewe men do knowe us. Also ye do remembre that the custome is, that, natwithstandinge any ceremony done at the tyme of the spousayles, the mariage natwithstandinge is nat confirmed, untyll at night that the husbande putteth a rynge on the finger of his wyfe, and unloseth her girdell. Therfore I my selfe will be present with my frendes and perfourme all the partes of a bride. And ye shall abyde in a place secrete, where I shall appoint you, untill it be nyght. And than shall ye quickely conuaye your selfe in to the maidens chambre, and for the similitude of our parsonages and of our apparaile, ye shall nat be espied of the women, whiche haue with none of us any acquaintaunce, and shortely gette you to bedde, and put your owne rynge on the maydens fynger, and undo her gyrdell of virginite, and do all other thinge that shall be to your pleasure. Be nowe of good chere, Titus, and comfort your selfe with good refections and solace, that this wan and pale colour, and your chekes meigre and leane, be nat the cause of your discoueringe. I knowe well that, ye hauinge your purpose, I shall be in obloqui and derision of all men, and so hated of all my kynrede, that they shall seke

quod ego postea quàm sumus inter nos amicitiâ copulati, nihil habuisse me memini, quod non tibi quoque commune foret. Quin etiam hæc res nisi in eum locum adducta esset, ut revocari non posset, id in præsentiâ quoque facerem quod reliquis in rebus à me semper antehac est factitatum. Sed cum Sophronia in eâ sit adhuc apud me conditione ut tua effici possit : tua mediusfidius pro me efficietur. Cum non videam in quo tu benevolentiam meam debeas magnifacere, nisi ego quoque novero tibi morem gerere gratificari in eo potissimum quod honeste fieri potest. Non inficior Sophroniam mihi esse desponsatam et à me vehementer amari, cujus nuptias cupidissime præstolabar. Sed quum tu utpote meipso curiosior, rem tam desiderabilem incredibili desiderio desideras, vivito lætus, et esto securus, propterea quòd Sophronia non mihi sed tibi nubet, et in meum thalamum tua futura conjux

occasion to expulse me out of this citie, thinkyng me to be a notable reproche to al my familie. But let god therin warke. I force nat what payne that I abyde, so that ye, my frende Titus, may be saulfe, and pleasauntly enioy your desires, to the increasinge of your felicitie.

With these wordes Titus began to meue, as it were, out of a dreme, and doughtinge whither he harde Gysippus speke, or els sawe but a vision, laye styll as a man abasshed. But whan he behelde the teares trickelinge downe by the face of Gysippus, he than recomforted hym, and thankinge him for his incomparable kyndnesse, refused the benefite that he offred, sayenge that it were better that a hundred suche unkynde wretches, as he was, shulde perisshe, than

deducetur. Proin exuito curas, desine tristitudinem, et pristinâ valetudine recuperatâ, gaudibundus temetipsum consolare, et, animo defecato, obtineto fructus amoris tui suavissimos, longè amore meo præstantiores." Titus quantum voluptatis capiebat ex hoc Gisippi sermone pleno spei blandientis, tantum verecundiâ afficiebatur ostentante quo major erat Gisippi liberalitas, eo majorem suam ipsius fore ad eam usurpandam procacitatem. Quamobrem cum lachrymas cohibere non posset, ita respondit, "Tua, Gisippe, liberalis ingenuaque amicitia apertissimè ostendit quid me quoque in mea facere deceat. Itaque hinc deus avertat, ut ego llam unquam abs te recipiam in uxorem, quam tibi tanquam digniori fortuna concessit, quæ si novisset hanc mihi convenire, neque tibi neque alteri eam tradidisset. Utere igitur lætus sorte tuâ. Utere fortunæ dono, meque sinito, quæso, inter juges lachrymas tabescere, quas mihi, utpote homini tanta commoda non merenti, fortuna paravit. Quæ me hercules lachrymæ aut à me superabuntur, id quod erit tibi perjucundum, aut me superabunt, et ego hoc gliscente indies cruciatu liberabor." Ad hæc Gisippus, "Tite," inquit, "si à benevolentiâ nostrâ tantum impetrare possum ut tu meæ voluntati obsequaris, et si ab eadem tibi persuaderi potest ut obsequar non nolis, hoc illud est in quo potissimum decrevi ipsius amicitiæ beneficio uti. Et si precibus meis non reluctaberis, efficiam ut tu Sophroniâ potiaris, eamque vim adhibebo quâ in amici bonis uti debemus. Novi quantæ sint Cupidinis vires, quæ non semel sed sepissimè, amantes perduxit ad obitus miserabiles. Et talibus te amoris pedicis illaqueatum esse sentio, ut neque regredi possis, neque lachrymas ullâ ratione cohibitas moderari. Tibi vero impatibiles Cupidinis uredines perferre nequeunti atque ob idipsum obeunti superstes planè esse nolim, teque ocissimè subsequar. Quocirca et si nulla alia inter nos causa esset mutuæ benevolentiæ, tantum cupio te vivere ut ipse quoque vivam; scitoque vitam tuam vel ob hoc mihi esse jucundissimam. Igitur erit tua Sophronia, cum haud facile aliam reperire queas, quæ tibi tantoperè placitura sit, et ego amorem meum non sanè difficulter in alteram transferens et tibi et mihi satisfecero, cui negocio

so noble a man as was Gysippus shulde sustayne reproche or damage. But Gysippus eftsones comforted Titus, and therewith sware and protested, that with free and glad will he wolde that this thinge shulde be in fourme aforesaide accomplisshed, and therwith inbraced and swetely kyssed Titus. Who perceyuinge the mater suer and nat fayned, as a man nat sicke but onely a waked out of his slepe, he set hym selfe up in his bedde, the quicke bloode somwhat resorted unto his visage, and, after a little good meates and drinkes taken, he was shortly and in a fewe daies restored in to his olde facion and figure. To make the tale shorte. The day of maryage was commen. Gysippus accompanied with his alyes and frendes came to the house of the damosel, where they were honorably and ioyously

obeundo, fortassis non sic propensus forem si tam raro tanquam difficulter uxores reperirentur, quàm raro quanquam difficulter amici veri reperiuntur. Ideoque cum ego possim facillimè uxorem alteram invenire, amicum vero alterum difficillimè, malo uxorem amittere quàm amicum. Immo nec uxoris jacturam patiar, si eam tibi concessero, sed ex bonâ in meliorem fortunam eam transtulisse, neque amicum perdidisse existimabor. Proin si quid apud te pollent preces meæ, te rogo quæsoque ut hâc ægritudine depositâ, te meque simul consoleris, et optimâ spe fretus constituas eam capere voluptatem quam tuus ferventissimus amor exoptat." Titus partim pudore suffusus, quòd indecorum esse existimaret ut ipsi Sophronia desponsaretur, partim stimulante cupidine et hortamentis Gisippi vigoratus, sic loquitur. "Nutabundus sum, Gisippe, et incertus utrum magis tuo an meo desiderio obsequar, utrum id facere debeam quod tibi tantoperè roganti placiturum esse confirmas. Et quum tua erga me benignitas tanta est, ut meam exuperet verecundiam, id efficiam quod rogas, tibique sit exploratissimum, me tibi non solum optatissimam sponsam, sed ipsam vitam acceptam referre. Dii faxint ut ego olim partim in fortunis tuis amplificandis, partim in honoribus cumulandis, possim tibi ostendere meam erga te benevolentiam et fidem, et tu cognoscere queas quàm mihi gratum fuerit hoc tuum in me singulare beneficium, in quo tu meipso erga meipsum misericordior extitisti." Ad hæc Gisippus, "Tite," inquit "ut hoc negocium ad amussim peragatur mihi ita agendum videtur optime ; nosti quemadmodum mihi Sophronia post diutinas meorum necessariorum consultationes fuerit desponsata. Ideoque si nunc eam uxorem repudiavero, perturbatio me hercules maxima, et tumultus exorietur inter utriusque consanguineos, neque ego id magnifacerem, si vel sic ipsa tibi uxor traderetur, sed vereor ne si hoc pacto res agatur, cognati eam alteri statim despondeant, amboque puellâ cupitâ simus viduati, quo circa mihi videtur, si modo tibi idem videatur, ut ego in id incumbam quod jampridem inchoavi, hoc est, ut Sophronia, tanquam uxorem meam domum ducam, et nuptias sponsali ritu conficiam. Tu dein furtim, sicuti commodissimè inter nos concinabimus, cum illâ

fested. And betwene him and the mayden was a swete entretaynement, which to beholde all that were present toke moche pleasure and comfort, praysinge the beautie, goodlynesse, vertue, and curtesie whiche in those couples were excellent aboue all other that they hadde euer sene. What shall I saye more? The couenauntes were radde and sealed, the dowar appointed, and al other bargaynes concluded, and the frendes of either parte toke their leaue and departed, the bride with a fewe women (as was the custome) brought in to her chambre. Than (as it was before agreed) Titus conueyed him selfe after Gysippus retourned to his house, or parchaunce to the chambre appoynted for Titus, nothynge sorowfull, all though that he hartely loued the mayden, but with a glad harte and countenaunce, that he had so recouered his frende from dethe, and so well brought hym to the effecte of his desire. Nowe is Titus in bedde with the mayden, nat knowen of her, nor of any other, but for Gysippus. And first he swetely demaunded her, if that she loued hym, and dayned to take hym for her husbande, forsaking all other, which she all blusshing with an eye halfe laughinge halfe mourninge (as in poynte to departe from her maydenhede, but supposinge it to be Gysippus that asked her) affirmed. And than he eftsones asketh her, if she in ratifienge that promise wolde receyue his rynge, whiche he hadde there

perinde ac uxore tuâ furtim concumbes. Mox ubi visum fuerit tempestivum, rem omnem patefaciemus, quod si à cognatis non improbabitur bonum erit, sin minus tu tamen voluptate tuâ satisfeceris. Et cum id quod factum est fieri infectum non possit, necessum erit ut illi, velint nolint, rem ipsam approbare cogantur." Placuit Tito tale commentum. Quapropter Gisippus Sophroniam perinde ac conjugem suam domum ducit, jam Tito incolumi et ex ægrotatione confirmato ; celebratisque nuptiis, cum jam advesperavisset, matronæ paranymphæ novam nuptam in thoro geniali collocantes cubiculo propere facessunt. Erat thalamus Titi cum Gisippi thalamo conjunctus, et aditus inter utrumque erat pervius. Itaque Gisippus, luminibus dissimulanter extinctis, clanculum Titum adit, eumque admonet ut cum uxore suâ cubitum eat. Quo audito, Titus pudore suffusus voluit ab incepto desistere. Sed Gisippus, qui non minus re quàm verbis propensus erat ad explenda Titi desideria, post diutinam disceptationem tandem hominem intra cubiculum ingredi cogit, qui, cum primum lectum genialem conscendisset, novam nuptam familiariter interrogat an ipsius uxor esse velit. Puella existimans illum esse Gisippum se velle respondet. Tunc Titus Sophroniæ digito annulum pronubum induit faberrimè

all redy, wherto she consentynge putteth the rynge on her ynger and unloseth her gyrdell. What thinge els he dyd, they two onely knewe it. Of one thing I am suer, that night was to Titus more comfortable than euer was the lengest daye of the yere, ye, and I suppose a hole yere of dayes. The morowe is comen. And Gysippus, thinking it to be expedient that the trouthe shulde be discouered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citie at his owne house, where also by appointment was Titus, who amonge them had these wardes that do folowe.

The oration of Titus to the Atheniensis.

My frendes Atheniensis, there is at this tyme shewed amonge you an example all moste incredible of the diuine powar of honorable loue, to the perpetuall renoume and commendation of this noble citie of Athenes, wherof ye ought to take excellent comfort, and therfore gyue due thankes to god, if there remayne amonge you any token of the auncient wisedome of your moste noble progenitours. For what more prayse may be gyuen to people, than beneuolence, faithfulnesse, and constaunce? Without whome all contrayes and cities be brought unto desolation and ruyne, lyke as by them they become prosperous and in moste hyghe felicitie. What shall I longe tary you in coniectynge myne intent and meaninge? Ye all knowe from whens I came unto this citie, that of aduenture I founde in the house of Chremes his sone Gysippus, of myne owne age, and in euery thinge so lyke to me, that neyther his father nor any other man coulde discerne of us the one from the other, but by our owne insigne-

factum ac luculentum, eamque hic verbis affatur, "Et ego volo tuus esse maritus." Inde cum veneri conjugali ambo operarenter, incredibili voluptate afficiuntur, neque unquam Sophronia satis dispicere potuit non Gisippum esse sed Titum qui secum singulis noctibus concumberet. Cum hoc pacto procederet Titi Sophroniæque conjugium, moritur Romæ Publius, Titi pater. Extemploque ad illum literæ afferuntur, quibus admonetur ut sine cunctatione Romam remigraret ad res suas omnes componendas. Quo accepto, destinat Titus secum ducere Sophroniam, remque cum Gisippo communicat. Hoc autem non facile nec satis commodè fieri poterat, nisi Sophroniæ prius rem omnem detexisset. Quapropter illam in cubiculum introductam de rebus omnibus, prout transactæ fuissent, ambo commonefaciunt, validissimisque argumentis Titus cuncta confirmat. Tunc Sophronia cum torvo obtutu utrumque conspiceret, paulum indignabunda prorupit in lachrymas et

ment or showinge, in so moche as there were put about our neckes lacis of sondry colours to declare our personages. What mutuall agrement and loue haue ben alwaye betwene us, durynge the eight yeres that we haue ben to gether, ye all be witnesses, that haue ben beholders and wonderars of our moste swete conuersation and consent of appetites, wherein was neuer any discorde or variaunce. And as for my parte, after the decease of my father, nat withstandinge that there was discended and hapned unto me great possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of riches; also I beinge called home by the desirous and importunate letters of myne alyes and frendes, whyche be of the moste noble of all the senatours, offred the aduauncement to the highest dignities in the publike weale; I will nat remembre the lamentations of my moste naturall mother, expressed in her tender letters, all be sprent and blotted with abundaunce of teares, wherein she accuseth me of unkyndenesse for my longe taryenge, and specially nowe in her mooste discomforte; but all this coulde nat remoue me the breade of

ubertim flens, dolum in se Gisippi detestatur, et mox nullo super hâc re emisso verbo, domum paternam repetens parentibus cuncta denarrat, et quemadmodum ipsi ambo fraude Gisippi fuerint circumventi, seque non Gisippi, ut opinabantur, sed Titi conjugem esse. Hoc patri acerbum, indignum, contumeliosum videri. Ipse cum suis Gisippi affinibus super hâc re dolenter conqueri. Hinc contentiones rixæque inter utrosque non modicæ fieri. Invisus erat jam Gisippus non solum Sophroniæ necessariis, sed etiam suis. Omnes asserere eum non solum reprehensione sed atroci punitione esse dignissimum. Gisippus rem se honestissimam fecisse contendere, ob quam Sophroniæ consanguinei sibi gratas gratias meminisse deberent, cum illa meliorique generosiorique nupsisset. Titus hæc omnia intelligens, maximâ anxietate afficiebatur. Idem cognoscebat morem peculiarem esse Græcorum ut tantisper vociferationibus minisque contendant, donec aliqui reperiantur qui fidenter ac viriliter congrediantur. Tunc non solum illos meticulosos sed vilissimos inertissimosque existere. Itaque existimans illorum contumelias atque convitia non ulterius esse toleranda, animo Romano præditus et prudentiâ Atticâ decoratus, cognatos Gisippi atque Sophroniæ in unum omnes convocat. Quo in cœtu ipse solo Gisippo comitatus ita disseruit. "Opinantur complures philosophi omnes omnium mortalium actiones deorum immortalium providentiâ fieri atque gubernari. Ideoque affirmant quicquid à nobis fiat omne fato et necessitate fieri. Alii vero autumant hanc necessitatem fato esse attribuendam. Quæ philosophorum opiniones si diligenter pensitatæ fuerint, satis apertè demonstrabitur eos prudentiores diis immortalibus videri velle qui volunt illa refel-

my nayle from my dere frende Gysippus. And but by force coulde nat I, nor yet may be drawen from his swete company, but if he therto will consent. I chosynge rather to lyue with hym as his companyon and felowe, ye, and as his seruaunt, rather than to be Consull of Rome. Thus my kyndenesse hathe he well acquyted, or (as I mought saye) redoubled, deliuerynge me from the dethe, ye, from the moste cruell and paynefull dethe of all other. I perceyue ye wonder here at, noble Atheniensis, and no meruayle; for what persone shulde be so hardie to attempte any suche thynge agayne me, beinge a Romayne, and of the noble bloode of the Romanes? Or who shulde be thought so malicious to slee me, who, (as all ye be my Juges) neuer trespased agayne any persone within this citie? Nay, nay, my frendes, I haue none of you all therein suspected. I perceyue ye desyre and harken to knowe what he was that presumed to do so cruell and great an enterprise. It was loue, noble Atheniensis, the same loue whyche (as youre poetes do remembre) dydde wounde the more parte of all the

lere quæ neque corrigi possunt neque mutari. Enimvero credere debemus ab ipsis diis optimâ ratione errore nullo nos nostraque regi ac gubernari. Est enim mediusfidius stulta ac belluina temeritas velle reprehendere deorum operationes. Et arctissimis illi catenis vinciendi plene sunt qui imprudentissimâ procacitate ad fata deorum criminanda præcipitanter ruunt, inter quos sicut ego sentio vos estis annumerandi si vera sunt illa quæ audio vos jampridem dixisse et quotidie dictitare. Culpatis enim vehementissimè quod Sophronia mihi nupserit quam vos Gisippo desponderatis. Enimvero considerandum vobis fuit et curiosissimè pensitandum quemadmodum fata à principio constituerant, ut Sophronia non Gisippo, sed mihi, in matrimonium collocaretur, sicut ipsa res in præsentia apertissimè ostendit. Ceterùm quum multis anceps et difficillimum videtur loqui de divinâ providentiâ asserentibus deos nullam agere curam rerum humanarum, mihi placet descendere ad hominum consultationes. Unde super his rebus sermocinaturis duo efficiam necesse est moribus meis minimè congruentia. Unum est ut me ipse laudem et ostentem. Alterum ut alios vituperatione consecter. Verùm id faciam modestissimè, hoc est quatenus causa ipsa exigere videbitur, neque digitum ut dicitur, transversum ab ipsâ veritate discedam. Vestræ contumeliæ furore magis quàm ratione stimulatæ atrocissimis criminationibus vituperant, lacerant, insectanturque Gisippum. Propterea quòd eam mihi uxorem suopte consilio tradidit quam vos illi vestrâ sententiâ concesseratis. In quâ re ego existimo Gisippum laudandum, idque pluribus argumentis confirmabimus. Primo fecit Gisippus id quod amicum pro amicissimo facere decet. Dein ipsius factum prudentius consultiusque

goddes that ye do honoure, that constrayned Juppiter to transfourme hym selfe in a swanne, a bulle, and diuers other lykenesses ; the same loue that caused Hercules, the vainquissher and distroyer of Monstres and Geauntes, to spynne on a rocke, sittynge amonge maydens in a womans apparayle ; the same loue that caused to assemble all the noble princes of Asia and Greece in the feldes of Troy ; the same loue, I saye, agayne whose assaultes may be founde no defence or resistence, hath sodainely and unware striken me unto the harte with suche vehemence and myght, that I had in shorte space died with moste feruent tourmentes, hadde nat the incomparable frendship of Gysippus holpen me. I se you wolde fayne knowe who she is that I loued. I will no lenger delaye you, noble Atheniensis. It is Sophronia, the lady whom Gysippus had chosen to haue to his wife, and whome he moste intierly loued. But whan his moste gentill harte percyued that my loue was in a moche higher degree than his towarde that lady, and that it proceded neither of wantonesse, neither of longe conuersation,

quàm vestrum judicamus. Mitto in præsenti enarrare quod sanctissimæ leges amicitiæ præcipiant, quod moneant ab amico in amici causâ esse factitandum. Hoc solum dixisse contentus sum, quod vinculum amicitiæ arctius validiusque humanos animos connectit quàm jus consanguinitatis ; quum amicos eos habemus quos ipsi diligimus, affines vero et necessarios fortuna et casus assignat. Proinde nemo vestrum debet admirari si Gisippus, qui mihi est intimâ familiaritate copulatus, pluris fecit vitam meam quàm vestrarum omnium benivolentiam. Sed jam secundum argumentum explicemus, quo demonstrandum est Gisippum vobis fuisse prudentiorem, cum de deorum providentiâ vos, ut mihi videtur, nihil prorsus intelligatis et multo minus calleatis quod efficere possit amicitia. Dicimus itaque quod vestra consideratio, vestra solertia, vestrumque consilium desponderant Soproniam Gisippo, qui et juvenis est et philosophus. At Gisippus eam tradidit mihi juveni pariter et philosopho. Vos eam uxorem dedistis homini Attico, Gisippus homini Romano. Vos sponso generoso, Gisippus generosissimo. Vos diviti, Gisippus ditissimo. Vos juveni Sophroniam despondistis illam non solum non amanti sed pæne fastidienti. Gisippus juveni qui eam supra suas fortunas omnes amabat, quæ illi erat ipsâ vitâ jucundior. Quòd autem verissima sint cuncta quæ dicimus, quòdque Gisippi factum magis sit laudabile quàm id quod vos factitastis, singula sigillatim pensitentur. Me juvenem esse et philosophum, sicut ipse Gisippus est, habitudo mea et studium sine longâ sermocinatione ostendere possunt. Eadem est mea et Gisippi ætas. In studiis literarum ambo pari spe gradu parique voluntate perfecimus ; hoc vero inficiari nec volo nec possum, illum Atheniensem me esse

nor of any other corrupte desire or fantasie, but in an instant, by one onely loke, and with suche feruence that immediately I was so cruciate, that I desired, and, in all that I mought, prouoked deth to take me, he by his wisedome soone perceyued (as I dought nat but that ye do) that it was the very prouision of god, that she shuld be my wife, and nat his. Wherto he geuynge place, and more estemynge true frendship than the loue of a woman, where unto he was induced by his frendes, and nat by violence of Cupide constrained, as I am, hath willyngly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell; and it is I, Titus, that have verely wedded her, I haue put the rynge on her fynger, I haue undone the girdell of shamefastnes. What wil ye more? I haue lyen with her, and confirmed the matrimonye, and made her a wife.

At these wordes all they that were present began to murmure, and to cast a disdaynous and greuous loke upon Gysippus. Than spake agayne Titus. Leaue youre grudgynges and menasinge countenaunce towarde Gysippus; he hathe

Romanum; quòd si de patriæ nobilitate et gloriâ disputandum est, dicam liberæ civitatis me esse civem, Gisippi vero patriam esse vectigalem ac stipendiariam; dicam me in eâ natum esse urbe, quæ toti terrarum orbi dominatur, illum in eâ quæ patriæ meæ obsequatur. Dicam illius urbis me esse alumnum quæ armis imperio et studiis literarum sit florentissima, cum Gisippi patria solis litteris censeatur. Præterea quamvis vos hìc me scholasticum esse despectissimum sordidissimumque existimetis, non sum propterea generatus ex fæce populari imâque plebeculâ. Ædes meæ in urbe Româ illustrissimæ refertissimæque sunt vetustissimis majorum meorum imaginibus, et annales maximi scatent titulis triumphorum, quos proavi mei egerunt in Capitolium, neque in præsentiarum gloria nostri nominis extincta languescit, sed in dies magis magisque juvenescit. Omitto pro pudore enumerare divitias meas luculentas. Cum animo meo infixum sit honestam paupertatem vetus esse copiosumque patrimonium nobilium civium Romanorum, quòd si paupertas apud vulgus ignobile probrosa judicatur, si divitiæ in honore ac pretio habentur, ego possideo opes amplissimas utpote fortunæ alumnus. Non me præterit vobis affinem charum fuisse et esse debuisse Gisippum. Sed non ego minu vobis charus esse debeo, si cogitaveritis Romæ me vestrum futurum hospitem frugi ac diligentem, et in rebus tam publicis quàm privatis optimum strenuissimumque patronum. Quis igitur post habito appetitu et adhibitâ ratione consilia vestra Gisippi mei consiliis anteponet? Profecto nullus. Est ergo Sophronia bene nupta Tito Quintio Fulvio, nobilissimo antiquissimo locupletissimo civi Romano, Gisippique amicissimo. Quapropter

done to you all honour and no dede of reproche. I tell you, he hathe accomplisshed all the partes of a frende ; that loue which was moste certayne that he continued ; he knewe that he mought fynde in Greece a nother mayden as fayre and as ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchaunce that he mought loue better. But suche a frende as I was (hauynge respecte to our similitude, the longe approued concorde, also myne astate and condition) he was suer to fynde neuer none. Also the damosell suffreth no dispergement in her bloode, or hynderaunce in her mariage, but is moche rather aduaunced (no dispreyse to my dere frende Gysippus). Also consider, noble Atheniensis, that I toke her nat my father liuynge, whan ye mought haue suspected that as well her ryches as her beautie shulde haue thereto alloured me, but soone after my fathers decease, whanne I ferre exceded her in possessions and substaunce, whan the moste noble men of Rome and of Italy desired myne alyaunce. Ye haue therfore all cause to reioyse and thanke Gysippus, and nat to be angrye, and also to extolle

quisquis ob id dolet atque ingemiscit, non id facit quod eum facere æquum est, et quod faciat nescit. Erunt fortasse nonnulli qui dicent Sophroniam non tantum ob id dignari quod Titi sit uxor effecta, quantum dolere ac lamentari super fraude ac dolo quo maritum Titum sortita sit, quod clanculum et furtim, nullo amicorum conscio, omnibus consanguineis ignorantibus, Tito denupserit. Atqui hoc neque mirandum est, neque novum manditumque contingit. Prætermitto illas quæ, invitissimis patribus ac reluctantibus, maritos sibi ipsæ repererunt. Prætereo eas quæ amatores suos sequutæ larem familiarem ac ipsos parentes deseruerunt et ante concubinæ fuere quàm nuptæ. Prætermitto illas quoque quæ prius pregnatione et fetu quàm verbo et ore matrimonia sua impudica detexerunt. In quibus necessitate id evenit quod in Sophroniâ non accidit. Immo ordine et ritu nuptiali solerter et sancte eam Tito Gisippus uxorem in legitimum matrimonium collocavit. Scio nonnullos futuros qui querantur Gisippum maritasse Sophroniam, id quod ad ipsum minimè pertinebat. Stultæ profecto tales sunt conquestiones atque fœmineæ et à nullâ prudentiâ provenientes. Nonne hoc tempore fortuna utitur variis novisque consiliis ? Nonne instrumentis multiplicibus res deducit ad exitus constitutos ? Quid ad me si sutor potius quàm philosophus negocium meum optimè confecerit, idque vel clam palam factitaverit, dummodo finis sit ipse probàndus ; meum est opus providere, ne deinceps sutor, maxime si imprudens est, possit meis se rebus ingerere, sed pro eo quod fecit gratias illi agere debeo. Similiter si Gisippus Sophroniam mihi desponsavit vobis nescientibus, stultitia supervacanea est ob id conqueri et indignari quòd conducibiliter factum

his wonderfull kyndenesse towarde me, whereby he hathe wonne me and all my bloode suche frendes to you and your citie, that ye may be assured to be by us defended agayne all the worlde. Whiche beinge considered, Gysippus hathe well deserued a statue or ymage of golde to be set on a piller in the myddes of youre citie, for an honorable monument in the remembraunce of our incomparable frendship, and of the good that thereby may come to your citie. But if this persuasion can nat satifie you, but that ye wyll imagyne any thinge to the damage of my dere frende Gysippus after my departinge, I make myne auowe unto god, creatoure of all thynge, that as I shall haue knowelege therof, I shall furthwith resort hither with the inuincible power of the Romanes, and reuenge hym in suche wise agayne his enemyes, that all Greece shall speke of it to their perpetuall dishonour, shame, and reproche. And therwith Titus and Gysippus rose; but the other, for feare of Titus, dissembled their malice, makynge semblaunt as they had ben with all thinge contented.

Soone after Titus beinge sent for by the autorite of the

est. Si diffiditis Gisippi prudentiæ, inposterum providere ne ipse eandem amplius maritandi habeat facultatem. Et pro eo quod fecit homini gratias agite. Ceterum hoc in primis scire debetis me neque per fraudes neque per vaframenta voluisse afficere ignominiâ ac notâ notabilitatem ac generositatem vestræ familiæ. Nam quamvis Sophroniam furtim ac dissimulanter uxorem acceperim, attamen non sicut raptor eam violavi, neque sicut hostis impudicè habui et contumeliosè, neque affinitatem vestram habui despicatui. Verùm cum ego Sophroniæ exuperanti formositate inflammatus æstuarem, videremque me nequaquam illius connubio posse potiri, si eam à vobis prout fieri solet deposcissem, propterea quòd vos timuissetis ne à me Romano Romam deportaretur illa quæ a vobis mirandum in modum diligebatur, usus sum, fateor, arte clandestinâ quæ nunc vobis facta est manifestaria, effecique ut Gisippus meo nomine nuptias conficeret quas suo facere tenuabat. Præterea quamvis ego efflictim Sophroniam deperirem, non tamen ut amator sed ut legitimus conjunx suos optatissimos amplexus concupivi. Etenim ipsa locupletissimum exhibere potest testimonium non prius cum eâ me concubuisse quàm verbis solitis atque conceptis et annuli arabone legitimâ mihi uxor efficeretur. Cum eam interrogaverim an mihi nubere vellet, et ipsa se non nolle responderit. Quòd si deceptam esse se existimat non sum ego coarguendus, sed ipsa objurganda quæ quisnam ego forem quærere supersederit; hoc ergo, ut simul finiam, illud atrox delictum; hoc est illud maximum flagitium; hæc est illa capitalis fraus, quam ego amore tabescens una cum Gisippo commentus sum; ut scilicet

senate and people of Rome, prepared to departe out of Athenes, and wolde fayne haue had Gysippus to haue gone with him, offringe to deuide with him all his substaunce and fortune. But Gysippus, considerynge howe necessary his counsayle shulde be to the citie of Athenes, wolde nat departe out of his countraye, nat withstandinge that aboue all erthly thinges he moste desired the company of Titus. Whiche abode also for the sayd consideration Titus approued. Titus with his lady is departed towardes the citie of Rome, where at their commynge they were of the mother of Titus, his kynsemen, and of all the senate and people ioyously receyued. And there lyued Titus with his lady in ioye inexplicable, and had by her many fayre children, and for his wisedome and lernynge was so highly estemed that there was no dignitie or honorable office within the citie that he had nat with moche fauour and praise achieued and occupied.

But nowe let us resorte to Gysippus, who immediately upon the departinge of Titus was so maligned at, as well by

Sophronia clanculum atque secreto ignara nuberet Tito Quintio; ob hoc Gisippum objurgationibus incessitis, Gisippo insidias paratis, Gisippo minitamini. Quid amplius quæso faceretis si eam homini rusticano, si servo, si nequissimo, tradidisset? Quæ catenæ, quis carcer, quid patibulum sufficerent ad Gisippum puniendum? sed jam hæc missa faciamus. Venit tempus quod à me nondum expectabatur, videlicet ut pater meus moreretur, propter cujus obitum mihi necessum est Romam remigrare. Quocirca cum mihi in animo sit Sophroniam in patriam mecum ducere velle, vobiscum ea communicavi quæ alioquin adhuc occuluissem. Si prudentes eritis, et hoc animo æquissimo feretis. Nam si vos fallere aut contumeliâ afficere voluissem, poteram Sophroniam vobis illusam ludificatamque relinquere. Sed hoc dii prohibeant ut in Romano spiritu tanta labes, tantaque nequitia, queat hospitari. Erit igitur mea Sophronia, partim propter voluntatem deorum et auctoritatem legum humanarum, partim propter laudabilem Gisippi mei solertiam et mei ipsius astutiam amatoriam. Ceterum quod nosmetipsos diis hominibusque sapientiores esse censetis, hoc omne negocium vituperationi ac probro insipienter dare videmini. Idque duabus potissimum de causis, quarum una hæc est, quòd Sophroniam mihi eripientes nullâ probabili ratione polletis, altera quòd Gisippum proinde ac inimicum habetis, cui haud immerito vos omnes estis obnoxii, quâ in re quanta sit vestra insipientia quantaque temeritas nolo in præsentiarum enarrare copiosius. Verum vos tanquam amicos amicus amicè moneo et hortor, ut omnes indignationum turbellas deponatis, ut omnis iracundia abjiciatur, omnia convicia aboleantur, et mihi Sophronia restituatur, ut ego gaudibundus vobisque affinis

his owne kynsemen as by the frendes of the lady, that he to their semyng shamefully abandoned, leauinge her to Titus, that they spared nat daily to vexe hym with all kindes of reproche that they coulde deuise or imagine. And firste they excluded him out of their counsayle, and prohibited from him all honest company. And yet nat beinge therewith satisfyed, finally they adiuged him unworthy to enioye any possessions or goodes lefte to him by his parentes, whome he (as they supposed), by his undiscrete frendship had so distayned. Wherfore they dispoyled hym of all thinges, and almoste naked expelled him out of the citie. Thus is Gysippus, late welthy and one of the moste noble men of Athenes, for his kynde harte banisshed his owne countraye for euer, and as a man dismayed wandringe hither and thither, fyndeth no man that wolde socour him. At the laste, remembring in what pleasure his frende Titus lyued with his lady, for whome he suffred these damages, concluded that he wolde go to Rome and declare his infortune to his said frende Titus. What shall nede a longe tale? In con-

non invisus, hinc possim in patriam repedare, ubi vivam vobis spe deditus et mancipatus. Nam quod à me factum est, id infectum nullo pacto fieri potest, sive vobis gratum futurum sit sive ingratissimum. Quod si votis meis refragari destinaveritis, ego vobis eripiam Gisippum, et, si Romam unquam appulero, illam mediusfidius vobis invitissimis recuperabo quæ uxor mea legitima est, et inimicitias vobiscum truculentissimas exercens vobis planum faciam quàm sint vehementes animorum Romanorum indignationes." Postquam longâ satis et luculentâ oratione Titus peroravit, ex subsellio surgens vultu tristissimo et fronte corrugatâ Gisippi manum apprendit, et cunctos illos se parvifacere simulans quassanti capite minitabundus inde facessit. Illi vero qui intus commorabantur, partim argumentis Titi provocati ad affinitatem amicitiamque ipsius ineundam, partim novissimis illius verbis pavefacti inter se constituerunt utilius fore et conducibilius Titum recipere affinem cum Gisippus affinitatem recusaverit, quàm Gisippum amicum perdidisse et Titum inimicum comparasse; quamobrem simul omnes egredientes Titum conveniunt seque non nolle demonstrant ut Sophronia ipsi in matrimonium collocetur et illius affinitatem se plurimi facere ostendunt, Gisippum autem ut amicum optimum complectuntur et cum festivitati atque lætitiæ, qualia affines decent, genialiter indulsissent, inde discesserunt, Sophroniam Tito remittentes, quæ ut prudentissimam matronam decebat conversa in virtutem ut dici solet necessitate omnemque extemplo amorem quo Gisippum prosequebatur transfudit in Titum, et cum eo Romam profecta est, ubi honorificentissimè à Titi necessariis familiaribusque accipiuntur. Interea Gisippus Athenis relictus fere ab omnibus

clusion, with moche payne, colde, hunger, and thurste, he is commen to the citie of Rome, and diligently enquirynge for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to hit, but beholdinge it so beauteous, large, and princely, he was a shamed to approche nigh to it, beinge in so simple astate and unkladde; but standeth by, that in case that Titus came forthe out of his house he mought than present hym selfe to hym. He beinge in this thought, Titus holdynge his lady by the hande issued out from his doore, and takynge their horses to solace them selfe, behelde Gysippus; but beholdyng his vile apparayle regarded hym nat, but passed furthe on their waye. Wherwith Gysippus was so wounded to the harte, thinkyng that Titus had condemned his fortune, that oppressed with mortall heuynes he fell in a sowne, but beinge recouered by some that stode by, thinkyng him to be sicke, he furthwith departed, entendinge nat to abide any lenger, but as a wilde beste to wandre abrode in the worlde. But for werynesse he was constrayned to entre into an olde berne, without the citie, where he castinge him self on the bare grounde, with wepinge and dolorous cryenge bewayled his fortune. But moste of all accusinge the ingratitude of Titus, for whome he suffred all that misery, the remembraunce wherof was so intollerable that he determined no lenger to lyue in that anguisshe and dolour. And therwith drewe his knyfe, purposinge to haue slayne him selfe. But euer wisedome (whiche he by the studie of Philo-

flocci pendebatur, quòd intra brevissimum tempus propter civiles aliquot controversias in egestatem atque calamitatem delapsus, et mox Athenis exterminatus in exilium sempiternum relegatur. Ubi egestosus vitam ærumnosissimam agens tandem Romam commigravit, hoc consilio, ut Titi benignitatem experiretur. Cognitoque eum esse superstitem et apud Romanos omnes gratiosum ac favorabilem, ad ædes ejus accedit, quæ haud dubiæ erant magnificentissimæ, et ante vestibulum consistens quoad Titus domum rediret præstolatur. Jam redierat è foro Titus, jam domum ingreditur, sed cum Gisippus non audet affari, memor illius quâ vexabatur calamitatis, naviter tamen operam dat ut à Tito visatur et recognitus introducatur. Ceterum Titus introgressus haudquaquam Gisippum recognovit, utpote squalidum, sentum, atque pannosum. Quapropter Gisippus cum existimaret se à Tito fuisse recognitum et propter sordes rejectum, memor pristini beneficii quod in Titum ipse contulerat, indignabundus rebusque deploratis inde discedit.

sophie had attained) withdrewe hym from that desperate acte. And in this contention betwene wisedome and wille, fatigate with longe iournayes and watche, or as god wolde haue it, he fell in to a deade sleepe. His knyfe (wherewith he wolde haue slayne hym selfe) fallynge downe by hym. In the meane tyme a commune and notable rufian or thefe, whiche had robbed and slayne a man, was entred in to the barne where Gisippus laye, to the intent to soiourne there all that nyght. And seinge Gysippus bewept, and his visage replenisshed with sorowe, and also the naked knyfe by hym, perceyued well that he was a man desperate, and supprised with heuinesse of harte was wery of his lyfe. Whiche the said rufian takinge for a good occasion to escape, toke the knife of Gysippus, and puttinge it in the wounde of him that was slayne, put it all blody in the hande of Gysippus, beinge fast a slepe, and so departed. Sonne after the dedde man beinge founde, the offycers made diligent serche for the murderar. At the laste they entring in to the barne, and fynding Gysippus on slepe, with a blody knife in his hande, they a waked him; wherwith he entred agayne in to his olde sorowes, complayninge his euill fortune. But whan the officers layde unto hym the dethe of the man, and the hauynge of the blody knife, he thereat reioysed, thankinge god that suche occasion was hapned, wherby he shulde suffre deth by the lawes and escape the violence of his owne handes. Wherfore he denied nothing that was laide to his charge, desiringe the officers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his lyfe. Whereat they meruayled. Anone reporte came to the senate that a man was slayne, and that

Et cum jam advesperasceret, esuritione confectus, pecuniâ defectus, mortis cupidus, ad locum urbis Romæ incultum desolatumque pervenit, ubi tenebricosam speluncam ingreditur illic eam noctem quieturus, ubique humi cubans, jugibus fletibus debilitatus, tandem somno succumbit. Forte ad hunc specum nocte intempestâ adventant fures duo cum prædâ quam eâ nocte compilaverant. Exortâque inter eos nocturnâ rixâ, alter qui valentior erat infirmiorem alterum trucidat; hoc sentiens videnque Gisippus existimavit se viam ad mortem optatissimam facillimè reperisse, neque opus esse ut sibimet necem gladio manu suâ consciscerat. Illicque se tantisper continuit donec familia prætoris eò re cognitâ pervenit, à quâ Gisippus

a straunger and a Greeke borne was founden in suche fourme as is before mencioned. They furthwith commaunded hym to be brought unto their presence, sittynge there at that tyme Titus, beinge than Consull or in other lyke dignitie. The miserable Gysippus was brought to the barre with billes and staues lyke a felon, of whome it was demaunded, if he slewe the man that was founden dedde. He nothynge denyed, but in moste sorowful maner cursed his fortune, namynge him selfe of all other most miserable. At the last one demaundynge him of what countray he was, he confessed to be an Atheniense, and therwith he cast his sorowfull eyen upon Titus with moche indignation, and braste out in to sighes and teares abundauntly. That beholdynge Titus, and espienge by a litle signe in his visage, whiche he knewe, that it was his dere frende Gysippus, and anone considerynge that he was brought into dispayre by some misaduenture, he anone rose out of his place where he sate, and fallinge on his knees before the iuges, sayde that he had slayne the man for olde malice that he bare towarde him, and that Gysippus beinge a straunger was giltles, and that all men mought perceyue that the other was a desperate person; wherfore to abbreuiate his sorowes he confessed the acte, whereof he was innocent, to the intent that he wolde finysshe his sorowes with dethe. Wherfore Titus desired the iuges to gyue sentence

tanquam reus homicidii vincitur, injectisque catenis furenter abducit, qui cum in quæstione de rebus singulis interrogaretur haud cunctanter se homicidam esse confessus est. Quamobrem prætor, cui Marco Varroni nomen erat, jussit ut ex more Romano in crucem tolleretur. Fortè id horæ venerat Titus ad prætorium tribunal, qui curiosissimè contemplans condemnati faciem, tanquam noscitabundus, ad hominem propius accedit, admiransque ærumnosam hominis amicissimi fortunam, cum vehementissimè cuperet Gisippo periclitanti opitulari, nec ullam rationem ipsius saluti accomodatam videret, tale commentum comminiscitur. Accedit proximè ad sellam prætoris et voce contentissimâ clamitans, ait, "Marce Varro, jube infortunatum hominem revocari quem tu morti adjudicasti; est enim insons et hujus homicidii penitus expers. Ego satis superque satis deos immortales offendi illum jugulando quem ministri tui matutino jugulatum repererunt, nec æquum sane est ut majori nunc injuriâ deos afficiam, permittens hominem innocentem trucidari." Varro vehementer admirans, maximo dolore affectus est, quod Titi verba ab omni-

on hym accordinge to his merites. But Gysippus perceyuinge his frende Titus (contrary to his expectation) to offre him selfe to the dethe, for his saulfe garde, more importunately cried to the senate to procede in their iugement on him that was the very offendar. Titus denyed it, and affirmed with reasons and argumentes that he was the murderer and nat Gysippus. Thus they of longe tyme with abundaunce of teares contended whiche of them shulde die for the other. Wherat all the senate and people were wonderly abasshed, nat knowinge what it ment. There hapned to be in the prease at that tyme he whiche in dede was the murdrer, who perceyuinge the meruaylous contention of these two persones, whiche were bothe innocent, and that it proceded of an incomparable frendshippe, was vehemently prouoked to discouer the trouthe. Wherfore he brake through the prease, and comminge before the senate he spake in this wyse. Noble fathers, I am suche a persone whom ye knowe haue beñ a commune baratour and thefe by a longe space of yeres. Ye knowe also that Titus is of a noble blode, and is a

bus palatinis excepta fuissent, qui cum non posset habitâ honoris sui ratione discedere ab eo quod leges ac jura præcipiunt, jubet Gisippum jam in orci familiâ numeratum revocari et coram Tito, "Quid tu," inquit, "tam stultus eras ut sine ullis tormentis te id fecisse fatereris quod nusquam perpetraveras, maximè cum talis causa foret capitalis, dicebas te illum esse qui proximâ nocte feceras homicidium? Ecce Titus adest qui ultro fatetur se esse paricidam, asserens illum non abs te sed à seipso fuisse peremptum." Gisippus curiosè prospectans Titum recognoscit et facilè intelligit istud à Tito fieri salutis suæ causâ, utpote homine non immemore pristini beneficii, quapropter præ nimiâ pietate lachrymabundus. "Varro," inquit "ego hominem occidi. Et jam Titi pietas nimis sera est." E contrario Titus, "Prætor," aiebat, "hic quemadmodum vides peregrinus est et sine telo juxta cadaver occisi repertus. Ex quo conjectare potes hunc hominem ærumnis oppressum mori cupere, proinde eum impunitum dimittito et me qui deliqui morte mulctato." Admirabatur non parum prætor istorum duorum maximam constantiam, et jam præsagebat animus neutrum sontem esse debere, et cum secum quo pacto uterque absolveretur animo agitaret, ecce supervenit quidam juvenis nomine Publius, homo vitæ profligatissimæ et apud cunctos Romanos ob furta cognitissimus, qui illud mehercule homicidium perpetraverat. Hic cum proculdubio sciret neutrum illorum esse conscium ejus criminis, cujus semetipsum participem esse uterque arguebat, tanti commiseratione affectus est propter utriusque insontis innocentiam, ut ipse suapte sponte prætorem adiverit, eumque his verbis sit allocutus. "Mea, prætor, facinora me impellunt ad difficillimam horum

proued to be alway a man of excellent vertue and wisedome, and neuer was malicious. This other straunger semeth to be a man full of simplicitie, and, that more is, desperate for some greuous sorowe that he hathe taken, as it is to you euident. I say to you, fathers, they bothe be innocent. I am that persone that slewe hym that is founden dedde by the barne, and robbed him of his money. And whan I founde in the barne this straunger lyenge on slepe, hauinge by hym a naked knife, I, the better to hyde myne offence, dyd put the knife in to the wounde of the dedde man, and so all blody laide it agayne by this straunger. This was my mischeuous deuise to escape your iugement. Where unto nowe I remitte me holy, rather than this noble man Titus and this innocent straunger shulde unworthely die.

Here at all the Senate and people toke comfort, and the noyse of reioysing hartes filled all the court. And whan it was further examined, Gysippus was discouered. The frendship betwene him and Titus was through out the citie publisshed, extolled, and magnified. Wherfore the Senate consulted of this mater, and finally, at the instaunce of Titus and the people discharged the felon. Titus recognised his negligence in forgettinge Gysippus, and Titus beinge aduertised of the exile of Gysippus, and the dispitefull crueltie of his kynrede, he was therewith wonderfull wrathe, and

quæstionem explicandam. Nescio quis deus præcordia intus exagitat et mentem extimulat ut ego meipsum deferam et crimen meum patefaciam. Scito igitur neutrum istorum esse hujus culpæ obnoxium. Ego mediusfidius is sum qui illum hominem de cujus cæde altercatio istæc exorta est occidi matutinâ horâ circiter diluculum, et istum infortunatum, qui hic adest, vidi ipse dormientem dum furta cum illo partiebar quem paulopost interimi. Non opus est ut ego Titum excusem; sua illum fama satis excusat, quæ ubique gentium splendidissima est, enim non tam turpi labe esse maculosum. Itaque utrumque absolvito et me sontem eâ pœnâ afficito quam leges præcipiunt." Jam hæc res pervenerat ad aures principis Octavii, qui cunctis accitis singula curiosè cognovit, et cum sigillatim quisque denarrasset, Princeps duobus, quia insontes erant, libentissimè pepercit et tertium qui sons erat causâ Gisippi ac Titi incolumem jussit abire. Titus cum Gisippi diffidentiam timiditatemque clementer objurgasset, mirâ lætitiâ hominem complexus ad ædes suas deducit, ubi Sophronia pientissimis lachrymis Gisippum proinde ac

hauinge Gysippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioye receiued of the lady, whome sometyme he shulde haue wedded) he was honorably apparailed, and there Titus offred to hym to use all his goodes and possessions at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Gysippus desirynge to be agayne in his propre countray, Titus by the consent of the Senate and people assembled a great armye and went with Gysippus unto Athenes. Where he hauinge deliuered to him all those whiche were causers of banisshinge and dispoilinge of his frende Gysippus, he dyd on them sharpe execu-

fratrem hospitaliter suscipit, et susceptum honorificentissimè prosequitur ac fovet, cum quo, jam refocillato, jam bene vestito, jam in habitum suæ virtuti congruentem reformato, Titus omnes suos thesauros prædiaque communicat, eique sororem nomine Fulviam adhuc virgunculam in matrimonium collocat. Post hæc cum Gisippo ita sermocinatur, "In tuâ jam manu atque arbitrio est, Gisippe, sive velis hìc apud nos commorari, sive Athenas remigrare cum rebus his omnibus quas tibi dono dedimus." Gisippus cum hinc exilium à patriâ procul ejus animum vellicaret inde benivolentia quâ Titum prosequebatur commoneret, tandem constituit Romæ vivere velle efficique Romanus. Ubi ipse cum Fulviâ, Titus cum Sophroniâ, in eâdem domo jucundissimè diutissimèque vixerunt, indies magis ac magis gliscente inter ipsos mutuâ benivolentiâ. Est mediusfidius sanctissima res amicitia, et non solum singulari veneratione digna, sed æternâ laudatione decoranda, utpote genetrix optima magnificentiæ et honestatis, germana beneficentiæ ac charitatis, inimica odii et avariciæ, semper prompta semperque propensa ad ea pro altero strenuè peragenda, quæ pro se alterum vellet operari, neque preces expectans neque blanditias expetens, cujus effectus probatissimi hodierno die rarenter inter mortales conspiciuntur, cujus rei causa est hominum cupiditas inexplebilis, quæ proprie tantummodo utilitatis rationem habentes amicitiam ad penitissimas orbis terras exterminarunt, extorremque fecerunt. Quæ res quæ divitiæ quæ affinitas efficere potuissent ut lachrymæ æstus suspiria Titi intra præcordia Gisippi ita penetrassent ut ipse sponsam suam formosissimam, generosissimam, optatissmam alteri condonaret? nisi amicitia. Quæ leges, quæ minæ, qui pavor potuisset cohibere brachia Gisippi in locis tenebricosis ab amplexibus speciosissimæ puellæ ipsum nonnunquam fortassis lacessentis? nisi amicitia. Quæ conditio, quæ merita, quid emolumentum Gisippo persuasissent ut jacturam suorum Sophroniæque propinquorum floccifaceret, ut tumusculos populares contemneret, ut convitia illusiones vellicationesque maledicentissimorum pro nihilo penderet, dummodo amico obsequeretur? nisi amicitia. Et contra quid Titum promptissimum paratissimumque facere potuisset ad mortem appetendam ut Gisippum liberaret à tormento patibuli cum præsertim posset honestè dissimulare se non novisse Gisippum? nisi amicitia. Quid Titum fecisset adeo munificum adeoque liberalem ut sine cunctatione suum patrimonium cum Gisippo divideret

tion, and restorynge to Gysippus his landes and substaunce stablysshed hym in perpetuall quietenes, and so retourned to Rome.

This example in the affectes of frendshippe expresseth (if I be nat deceyued) the description of frendship engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the conformitie of maners and studies, and confirmed by the longe continuaunce of company.[a]

[Seneca saieth that very frendeship is induced neither with hope ne with rewarde. But it is to be desired for the estimation of it selfe, which estimation is honestie, and what thinge is more honest than to be kynde, lyke as nothinge is so dishoneste as to be unkynde?[b] Perchaunce some wyll saye that frendshyppe is nat knowen but by receyuinge of benefites. Here what Seneca sayeth. Loke as of all other vertues, semblably of frendship, the estimation is referred to the mynde of a man. For if a frende persist in his office and duetie, what so euer lacketh in benefite, the blame is in fortune.[c] Like as a man may be a good synginge man, thoughe the noyse of the standers aboute letteth him to be harde. Also he may be eloquent, though he be let to speke, and a stronge man, though his handes be bounden. Also there may happen to fayle no

Seneca de beneficiis.

quem fortuna omnibus opibus spoliaverat? nisi amicitia. Quid Titum inflammare potuisset ut sororem Gisippo sine morâ desponsaret, homini egentissimo et in extremâ calamitate collocato? nisi amicitia. Optent itaque miseri mortales multas uxores, fratres copiosos, sobolem filiorum numerosam, et pecuniis augeant numerum famulorum, neque respiciant cogitentque quemlibet ex his magis seipsum amare quàm alterum magis proprium vel minimum formidare periculum, quàm curare ut maximum infortunium à patre aut à fratre aut à domino propulsent, cum amico erga amicum omnia secus fieri videamus.'

[a] What follows, down to the words 'all maner of beneficence,' is omitted in all the subsequent editions.

[b] 'Nempe hoc facis nullâ spe, nullo pretio inductus. Est ergo aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit: id est honestum. Quid est autem honestius, quàm gratum esse?'—Sen. *de Ben.* lib. iv. cap. 19.

[c] 'Nam ut omnium aliarum virtutum, ita hujus, ad animum tota æstimatio redit. Hic si in officio est, quidquid defuit, fortuna peccat.'—*De Benefic.* lib. iv. cap. 21.

parte of connynge, though there be a lette so that it is nat expressed. So kyndenesse may be in wille, all though there lacketh powar to declare it.[a]

Perchaunce some will demaunde this question, If frendship may be in wille without exterior signes, wherby shall it be perceyued or knowen? That I shall nowe declare.

Howe do we knowe the vertues of Socrates, Plato, Tulli, Agesilaus, Titus, Traiane, the two Antonines, and other like emperours and noble capitaynes and counsaylours? But onely by the fame of their nobilitie; and for those vertues we loue them, all though they were straungers, ne we hope to receyue any benefite by them.[b] Moche more if we be naturally inclined to fauour one of our owne contraye, of whome the assured fame is, and also we our selfe haue conuenient experience that in him is suche vertue wherin we delite, who also, for some semblable oppinion that he hathe in us, useth us with some speciall familiaritie, on suche one shall we employe all maner of beneficence.[c]]

It wolde be remembred that frendshippe is betwene good

[a] 'Nec minus canendi peritus, cujus vocem exaudiri fremitus obstrepentium non sinit. Quo modo est disertus etiam qui tacet, fortis etiam qui compressis manibus, vel et alligatis: quia consummatæ scientiæ nihil deest, etiam si quid obstat quo minus se utatur: ita gratus est etiam qui vult tantum, nec habet hujus voluntatis suæ ullum alium, quàm se, testem.'—Seneca. *de Ben.* lib. iv. cap. 21.

[b] 'Many,' says Archbishop Whateley in his Annotations upon *Bacon's Essays*, 'have lived in various and distant ages and countries, perfectly adapted (I mean not merely in their being generally estimable, but in the agreement of their tastes, and suitableness of dispositions) for friendship with each other, but who of course could never meet in this world. Many a one selects, when he is reading history, —a truly pious Christian, most especially in reading sacred history,—some one or two favourite characters, with whom he feels that a personal acquaintance would have been peculiarly delightful to him.'—P. 268, ed. 1857.

[c] 'A statesman or patriot, who serves our own country, in our own time, has always a more passionate regard paid to him, than one whose beneficial influence operated on distant ages or remote nations; where the good resulting from his generous humanity, being less connected with us, seems more obscure, and affects us with a less lively sympathy.'—Hume, *Philosoph. Works*, vol. iv. p. 302, ed. 1826.

men onely, and is ingendred of an oppinion of vertue.[a] Than may we reason in this fourme: A good man is so named, because that al that he willeth or dothe is onely good; in good can be none euill, therfore no thynge that a good man willeth or dothe can be euill. Lykewise vertue is the affection of a good man, whiche neither willeth nor dothe any thinge that is euill. And vice is contrary unto vertue, for in the oppinion of vertue is neither euill nor vice. And very amitie is vertue. Wherfore nothinge euill or vicious may happen in frendship. Therfore in the firste election of frendes resteth all the importaunce; wherfore it wolde nat be without a longe deliberation and profe,[b] and, as Aristotle sayeth, in as longe tyme as by them bothe beinge to gether con-uersaunt a hole busshell of salte mought be eten.[c]

None euil may be in frend-shippe.

Ethic.

[d] For often tymes with fortune (as I late sayd) is chaunged, or at the lest minisshed, the feruentnesse of that affection; ac-

[a] 'Of all attachments to an individual, that which is founded altogether upon esteem and approbation of his good conduct and behaviour, confirmed by much experience and long acquaintance, is by far the most respectable. Such friendships, arising not from a constrained sympathy, not from a sympathy which has been assumed and rendered habitual for the sake of convenience and accommodation, but from a natural sympathy, from an involuntary feeling that the persons to whom we attach ourselves are the natural and proper objects of esteem and approbation, can exist only among men of virtue.'—Ad. Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 330, ed. 1853.

[b] 'If we were sufficiently aware,' says Dr. Brown, 'how great a command over our whole life we give to any one whom we admit to our intimacy; how ready we are to adopt the errors of those whom we love; and to regard their very faults, not merely as excusable, but as objects of imitation, or, at least, to imitate them without thinking whether they ought to be imitated, and without knowing even that we are imitating them; we should be a little more careful than we usually are, in making a choice, which is to decide in a great measure whether we are to be virtuous or vicious, happy or miserable; or which, in many cases, if we still continue happy, upon the whole, must often disturb our happiness, and if we still continue virtuous, make virtue a greater effort.'—*Phil. of the Mind*, vol. iv. p. 265.

[c] Ἔτι δὲ προσδεῖται χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας· κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους πρὶν τοὺς λεγομένους ἅλας συναναλῶσαι.'—*Ethic. Nic.* lib. viii. cap. 3 (4).

[d] All the preceding part of this Chapter is omitted in Mr. Eliot's edition.

cording as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth, sayenge in this sentence:[a]

Oui. Tristia.

Whiles fortune the fauoureth frendes thou hast plentie,
The tyme beinge troublous thou arte all alone ;
Thou seest coluers[b] haunte houses made white and deintie,
To the ruynous towre all moste cometh none.
Of emotes[c] innumerable, uneth thou fyndest one
In empty barnes, and where fayleth substaunce
Hapneth no frende in whome is assuraunce.[d]

But if any hapneth in euery fortune to be constant in frendship he is to be made of aboue all thinges that may come unto man and aboue any other that be of bloode or kynrede (as Tulli sayeth) for from kynrede may be taken beneuolence, from frendship it can neuer be seuered. Wherfore beneuolence taken from kynrede yet the name of kinseman remayneth. Take it from frendship and the name of frendship is utterly perisshed.[e]

[a] The reference given by the author in the margin is to the Epistles from Pontus, but as the quotation is really taken from the Tristia, the necessary correction has been made in the present edition. It is not improbable that the marginal note was intended to have applied to the story of Orestes and Pylades, p. 131, *ante*, and was misplaced accidentally.

[b] Another form of the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for 'columba.' The word is used by Chaucer in the *Legende of Goode Women.*

'Or as the *colver* that of thegle ys smyten.'
Works, vol. v. p. 348, ed. 1866.

[c] This is another Anglo-Saxon form of which the word 'ant' is probably a contraction. Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says, 'Our villages are like mold hils, and men as so many *emots*, busie, busie still, going to and fro, in and out, and crossing one another's proiects, as the lines of seuerall sea-cardes cut each other in a globe or map.'—P. 95, 2nd ed. 1624.

[d] 'Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos :
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.
Aspicis, ut veniant ad candida tecta columbæ ;
Accipiat nullas sordida turris aves.
Horrea formicæ tendunt ad inania nunquam :
Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes.'
Ov. *Trist.* lib. i. 9, 5–10.

[e] 'Namque hoc præstat amicitia propinquitati, quòd ex propinquitate benevo-

But sens this liberte of speche is nowe usurped by flaterars,[a] where they perceyue that assentation and praises be abhorred, I am therfore nat well assured howe nowe a dayes a man shal knowe or discerne suche admonicion from flatery, but by one only meanes, that is to say, to remembre that frendship may nat be but betwene good men. Than consider, if he that dothe admonisshe the be hym selfe voluptuous, ambicious, couetous, arrogant, or dissolute, refuse nat his admonicion, but, by the example of the emperour Antonine,[b] thankefully take it, and amende suche default as thou perceyuest doth gyue occasion of obloqui, in suche maner as the reporter also by thyne example may be corrected.[c] But for that admonicion onely, accompt him nat immediatly to be thy frende, untill thou haue of hym a longe and suer experience,[d] for undoughtedly it is wonderfull difficile to fynde a man very ambitious or couetous to be assured in frendship. For where fyndest thou hym (saieth Tulli) that will nat preferre honoures, great offices, rule, autorite, and richesse before frendship? Therfore (sayeth he) it is very harde to fynde frendship in them that be occupied in acquirynge honour or about the affaires of the publike weale.[e] Whiche sayenge is

Howe to discerne a frend from a flaterer.

lentia tolli potest, ex amicitiâ non potest. Sublatâ enim benevolentiâ, amicitiæ nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 5.

[a] Bacon tells us that 'there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend.'—*Essays*, p. 264.

[b] *I.e.* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. See *ante*, p. 45.

[c] Bacon, however, says, 'Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case.'—*Essays*, p. 264.

[d] This was Bacon's advice: 'It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion.'—*Essays*, p. 438. And a distinguished modern writer says, 'Let us buy our entrance to this guild by a long probation.'—Emerson, *Essays*, vol. i. p. 89, ed. 1866.

[e] 'Ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiæ non anteponant?'—*De Amicit.* cap. 17. 'Itaque veræ amicitiæ difficilimè reperiuntur in iis, qui in honoribus, reque publicâ versantur.'—*Ibid.*

proued true by dayly experience. For disdayne and contempt be companions with ambition, lyke as enuye and haterede be also her folowers.[a]

CHAPTER XIII.

The diuision of Ingratitude and the dispraise therof.

THE moste damnable vice and moste agayne iustice, in myne oppinion, is ingratitude,[b] commenly called unkyndnesse. All be it, it is in diuers fourmes and of sondry importaunce, as it is discribed by Seneca in this fourme. He is unkynde whiche denieth to haue receyued any benefite that in dede he hathe receyued. He is unkynde that dissimuleth, he is unkynde that recompenseth nat. But he is moste unkynde that forgeteth. For the other, if they rendre nat agayne kyndnesse, yet they owe it, and there remayneth some steppes or tokens of desertes inclosed in an euill conscience, and at the last by some occasion may happe to retourne to yelde agayne thankes, whan either shame therto prouoketh

[a] Is not this a covert allusion to the author's own experience of the behaviour of Wolsey?

[b] Hume uses precisely similar language. 'Of all crimes that human creatures are capable of committing, the most horrid and unnatural is ingratitude . . . This is acknowledged by all mankind, philosophers as well as the people.'—*Philosoph. Works*, vol. ii. p. 232. And another writer on Ethics says, 'So ready is gratitude to arise in almost every mind, that ingratitude to a benefactor, in every age of the world, has been regarded almost with the same species of abhorrence as the violation of the dearest duties of consanguinity itself.'—Brown, *Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. iv. p. 276. 'Hardly any bad thing,' says a modern writer, 'is so much exclaimed against as ingratitude. It seems to be not only very ill taken by those who are its direct objects, but also by all who hear of any instance of it, as if every human being were interested in the exhibition of a contrary feeling, and felt injured when it was not shown. "Ingratitude!" nine out of every ten persons will cry, when the subject is but mentioned; "it is the basest of all sins. Do not let me ever hear the name of an ungrateful person." Certainly, to be so common a sin, it is one which meets with amazingly little excuse or allowance.'—Chambers, *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 14.

them, or sodayne desire of thinge that is honest, which is wont to be for a tyme in stomakes though they be corrupted, if a lyght occasion do moue them. But he that forgetteth kyndenesse may neuer be kinde, sens all the benefite is quite fallen from hym.[a] And where lacketh remembraunce there is no hope of any recompence. In this vice men be moche wars than beestes.[b] For diuers of them will remembre a benefite longe after that they haue receyued it. The courser, fierce and couragious, will gladly suffre his keper, that dresseth and fedeth him, to vaunt hym easely, and stereth nat, but whan he listeth to prouoke him; where if any other shulde ryde him, though he were a kinge, he will stere and plonge and endeuour hym selfe to throwe hym.[c]

Kyndnes in bestis.

[a] 'Ingratus est, qui beneficium accepisse se negat, quod accepit: Ingratus est qui dissimulat: ingratus, qui non reddit: ingratissimus omnium, qui oblitus est. Illi enim si non solvunt, tamen debent: et exstat apud illos vestigium certè meritorum intra malam conscientiam conclusorum; et aliquando ad referendam gratiam converti ex aliquâ causâ possunt, si illos pudor admonuerit; si subita honestæ rei cupiditas, qualis solet ad tempus etiam in malis pectoribus exsurgere; si invitaverit facilis occasio: hic nunquam fieri gratus potest, cui totum beneficium elapsum est.'—*De Benef.* lib. iii. cap. 1.

[b] A modern writer says, 'We assuredly place animals at too great a distance from us. We estimate their intellectual and moral character far too low. Their most sagacious and ingenious acts, their finest affections, even when we are ourselves the objects of them, we cannot allow to be allied to similar manifestations in ourselves, but must repudiate by a silly sophism, scrupulously declaring that they do not flow from mind, but from *instinct*, a phrase only rightly applied to a class of manifestations quite different and easily distinguishable . . . So far from being *brutish*, there is a striking moral respectability about animals. In the mass, they are far more moderate in all things than men.'—Chambers, *Essays*, vol. iii. pp. 214, 215, ed. 1847.

[c] This has been constantly remarked of the Arabian horses. M. de Lamartine says, 'We, Europeans, have no idea of the extent of intelligence and attachment to which the habit of living with the family, of being caressed by the children, fed by the women, and encouraged or reprimanded by the voice of the master, can raise the natural instinct of the Arabian horse . . . . The horse I had bought of the Scheik of Jericho, and which I rode, knew me as his master in a few days; he would no longer suffer another to mount him, but would break through the whole caravan to come at my call, though my voice and language were foreign to him. Gentle and kind to me, and soon accustomed to the attention of my Arabs, he marched peacefully and quietly in his place in the caravan so long as he

Suche kyndenesse haue ben founden in dogges, that they haue nat onely dyed in defendinge their maisters,[a] but also some, after that their maisters haue died or ben slayne, haue abstayned from meate, and for famine haue died by their maisters.[b]

Kyndnes in dogges.

Plini remembreth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a contray in Greece) so assaulted the murdrer of his maister in a great assembly of people, that, with barkynge and bitynge hym, he compelled him at the laste to confesse his offence.[c] The dogge also of one Jayson, his maister beinge slayne, wolde

saw only Turks, or Syrians, or Arabs dressed like Turks; but when, even a year after, he saw a Bedouin mounted on a horse of the Desert, he became in an instant another animal. His eyes flashed fire, his neck grew inflated, his tail lashed like whips upon his flanks, he reared on his hind legs, and marched in this way for some minutes under the weight of the saddle and his rider.'—*A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, vol. ii. p. 59, ed. 1835. Another writer says, 'Who does not know how soon the horse will meet every advance of kindness and attention you make to him? How grateful he will be, how studious of your will; how anxious to understand you; how happy to please and satisfy you? . . . All horses look to their masters, either in love or fear; they are attached to him or afraid of him.'—*Gent. Mag.* New Series, vol. iv. p. 502.

[a] Mr. Jesse tells the following story: 'A poodle dog followed his master, a French officer, to the wars. The latter was soon afterwards killed at the battle of Castella, in Valencia, when his comrades endeavoured to carry the dog with them in their retreat; but the faithful animal refused to leave the corpse, and they left him. A military marauder, in going over the field of battle, discovering the cross of the legion of honour on the dead officer's breast, attempted to capture it, but the poodle instantly seized him by the throat, and would have ended his career had not a comrade run the honest canine guardian through the body.'—*Anecdotes of Dogs*, p. 348, ed. 1858.

[b] The author last quoted mentions a circumstance which corroborates the above statement. 'The Marquis of Worcester (the late Duke of Beaufort), who served in the Peninsular war, had a poodle which was taken from the grave of his master, a French officer, who fell at the battle of Salamanca and was buried on the spot. The dog had remained on the grave until he was nearly starved, and even then was removed with difficulty; so faithful are these animals in protecting the remains of those they loved.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 347.

[c] 'Ab alio in Epiro agnitum in conventu percussorem domini, laniatuque et latratu coactum fateri scelus.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 61. An almost exact parallel to this incident is related by Mr. Jesse to have occurred at Dijon in France in 1764. See *Anecdotes of Dogs*, p. 320, ed. 1858.

neuer eate meate but died for hunger.[a] Many semblable tokens of kindnesse Plini reherceth, but principally one of his owne tyme worthie to be here remembred.

Whan execution shulde be done on one Titus Habinius[b] and his seruauntes, one of them had a dogge, whiche mought neuer be driuen from the prison, nor neuer wolde departe from his maisters body, and, whan it was taken from the place of execution, the dogge houled moste lamentably, beinge compased with a great nombre of people; of whome whan one of them had caste meate to the dogge, he brought and laide it to the mouthe of his maister. And whan the corps was throwen in to the ryuer of Tiber the dogge swamme after it, and, as longe as he mought, he inforced hym selfe to bere and sustayne it, the people scatering abrode to beholde the faithfulnesse of the beste.[c]

Also the Lyon, which of all other bestis is accounted moste fierce and cruell, hath ben founden to haue in remembraunce benefite shewed unto him.[d] As Gellius remembreth out of the historie of Appion[e] howe a lyon, out of whose fote a yonge man[f]

[a] 'Canis, Jasone Lycio interfecto, cibum capere noluit, inediâque consumptus est.'—Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 61.

[b] This is a mistake; the real name was Titius Sabinus, which was that of a distinguished Roman knight, and a friend of Germanicus, on which account he incurred the hatred of Sejanus.

[c] 'Sed super omnia in nostro ævo actis populi Romani testatum, Appio Junio et P. Silio coss., cum animadverteretur ex causâ Neronis Germanici filii, in Titium Sabinum, et servitia ejus, unius ex his canem nec à carcere abigi potuisse, nec à corpore recessisse abjecti in gradibus Gemitoriis, mœstos edentem ululatus, magnâ populi Romani coronâ: ex quâ cum quidam ei cibum objecisset, ad os defuncti tulisse. Innatavit idem cadaver in Tiberim abjecti sustentare conatus, effusâ multitudine ad spectandum animalis fidem.'—Plin. *ubi supra.*

[d] Mr. Chambers, in his *Essays* (vol. iv. p. 261), gives a curious instance of grateful recognition by a tiger of its former keeper after a long absence.

[e] Apion Pleistoneices was a Greek grammarian, who taught rhetoric at Rome in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. He was the author of a considerable number of works, all of which are now lost with the exception of some fragments, of which the present story forms one of the most considerable.

[f] Androclus.

had ones taken a stubbe and clensed the wounde, wherby he waxed hole, after knewe the same man [a] beinge cast to him to

[a] 'In circo maximo, inquit, venationis amplissimæ pugna populo dabatur. Ejus rei, Romæ cum fortè essem, spectator, inquit, fui. Multæ ibi sævientes feræ, magnitudines bestiarum excellentes, omniumque invisitata aut forma erat aut ferocia. Sed præter alia omnia leonum, inquit, immanitas admirationi fuit; præterque omnes ceteros unius. Is unus leo corporis impetu et vastitudine, terrificoque fremitu et sonoro, toris comisque cervicum fluctuantibus, animos oculosque omnium in sese converterat. Introductus erat inter complures ceteros ad pugnam bestiarum datus servus viri consularis. Ei servo Androclus nomen fuit. Hunc ille leo ubi vidit procul, repente, inquit, quasi admirans stetit: ac deinde sensim atque placidè tanquam noscitabundus ad hominem accedit: tum caudam more atque ritu adulantium canum clementer et blandè movet, hominisque sese corpori adjungit; cruraque ejus et manus prope jam exanimati metu linguâ leniter demulcet. Homo Androclus inter illa tam atrocis feræ blandimenta amissum animum receperat: paulatim oculos ad contuendum leonem refert. Tum, quasi mutuâ recognitione factâ, lætos, inquit, et gratulabundos videres hominem et leonem. Eâ re prorsus tam admirabili maximos populi clamores excitatos dicit, arcessitumque à Cæsare Androclum, quæsitumque causam cur ille atrocissimus leonum uni pepercisset. Ibi Androclus rem mirificam narrat atque admirandam. Cum provinciam, inquit, Africam proconsulari imperio meus dominus obtineret, ego ibi iniquis ejus et quotidianis verberibus ad fugam sum coactus; et ut mihi à domino terræ illius præside tutiores latebræ forent, in camporum et harenarum solitudines concessi: ac, si defuisset cibus, consilium fuit mortem aliquo pacto quærere. Tum sole, inquit, medio rapido et flagrante specum quandam nactus remotam latebrosamque, in eam me penetro et recondo. Neque multo post ad eandem specum venit hic leo, debili uno et cruento pede, gemitus edens et murmura dolorem cruciatumque vulneris commiserantia: atque illic primo quidem conspectu advenientis leonis territum sibi et pavefactum animum dixit. Sed postquam introgressus, inquit, leo uti re ipsâ apparuit, in habitaculum illud suum, vidit me procul delitescentem, mitis et mansues accessit: ac sublatum pedem ostendere ac porrigere, quasi opis petendæ gratiâ, visus est. Ibi, inquit, ego stirpem ingentem vestigio pedis ejus hærentem revelli: conceptamque saniem vulnere intimo expressi: accuratiùsque, sine magnâ jam formidine, siccavi penitus atque detersi cruorem. Ille tunc meâ operâ et medelâ levatus, pede in manibus meis posito recubuit et quievit. Atque ex eo die triennium totum ego et leo in eâdem specu eodemque victu viximus. Nam quas venabatur feras, membra opimiora ad specum mihi suggerebat; quæ ego, ignis copiam non habens, sole meridiano torrens edebam. Sed ubi me, inquit, vitæ illius ferinæ jam pertæsum est, leone in venatum profecto, reliqui specum: et viam fermè tridui permensus, à militibus visus apprehensusque sum, et ad dominum ex Africâ Romam deductus. Is me statim rei capitalis damnandum, dandumque ad bestias curavit. Intelligo autem, inquit, hunc quoque leonem, me tunc separato, captum gratiam mihi nunc etiam beneficii et medicinæ referre. Hæc Appion dixisse Androclum tradit, eaque omnia scriptâ circumlatâque tabellâ populo decla-

be deuoured, and wolde nat hurte him, but lickynge the legges and handes of the man, whiche laye dismayde lokynge for dethe, toke acquaintaunce of him, and euer after folowed him, beinge ladde in a small lyam;[a] wherat wondred all they that behelde it. Whiche historie is wonderfull pleasaunt, but for the lengthe therof I am constrayned nowe to abrege it.

Howe moche be they repugnaunt, and, (as I mought saye) enemies bothe to nature and reason, that suche one whome they haue longe knowen to be to them beneuolent, and ioyned to them in a syncere and assured frendship, approued by infallible

rat : atque ideo, cunctis petentibus, dimissum Androclum et pœnâ solutum, leonemque ei suffragiis populi donatum. Postea, inquit, videbamus Androclum et leonem *loro tenui* revinctum urbe totâ circum tabernas ire: donari ære Androclum ; floribus spargi leonem : omnes fere ubique obvios dicere : "Hic est leo hospes hominis, hic est homo medicus leonis."'—*Noct. Att.* lib. v. cap. 14.

[a] The word Lyam (= lorum) is not noticed by Richardson. Mr. Todd suggests the Saxon ligan = ducere as a derivation, but is it not rather connected with the French *lien*? Its meaning being a leash or thong. In a curious contemporary account of the boyhood of Sir Peter Carew, of Mohun Ottery, in Devonshire, we read that in consequence of his continually playing the truant at school, his father 'at his next comynge then to Excester, callinge his sonne before hyme, tyed hyme in a *lyem*, and delyuered hime to one of his seruauntes, to be caryed aboute the towne as one of his houndes, and they led hyme home to Mohones Otrey, lycke a dogge; and after that, he beinge come to Mohones Otrey, he copled hyme to one of his howndes, and so contynewed hyme for a tyme.'—*Archæol.* vol. xxviii. p. 97. The word is also used more than once by Drayton :—

> 'My Doghooke at my Belt, to which my *Lyam's* tyde,
> My sheafe of Arrowes by, my Woodknife at my syde,
> My Crosse-bow in my hand, my Gaffle or my Rack,
> To bend it when I please, or if I list to slack ;
> My Hound then in my *Lyam*, I by the Woodman's Art
> Forecast where I may lodge the goodly Hie-palm'd Hart.
>
> *The Muse's Elizium*, p. 52, ed. 1630.

And again in *The Battaile of Agincourt* :

> 'A youthful Hunter with a chaplet crown'd
> In a pyde *Lyam* leading foorth his Hound.'
>
> *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 21, ed. 1631.

Randle Holme in his *Academy of Armory*, speaking of the terms used with reference to dogs, says, "The string wherewith we lead them, for the Hound, is called a *Lyam*, for a grey-hound, a Lease, and for a spaniel, a Line.'—P. 186, ed. 1688.

tokens, ratified also with sondry kyndes of beneficence, they will contemne or neglecte, beinge aduaunced by any good fortune. I require nat suche excellent frendship as was betwene Pitheas and Damon, betwene Horestes and Pilades, or betwene Gysippus and Titus, of whome I haue before written (for I firmely beleue they shall neuer happen in payres or couples).[a] Nor I seke nat for suche as will alway preferre the honour or profite of their frende before their owne, ne (whiche is the leste parte of frendshippe) for suche one as desirously will participate with his frende all his good fortune or substaunce. But where at this day may be founden suche frendship betwene two, but that where fortune is more beneuolent to the one than to the other, the frendship waxeth tedious, and he that is aduaunced desireth to be matched with one hauinge semblable fortune.[b] And if any damage hapneth to his olde frende, he pitieth him, but he sorroweth nat, and though he seme to be sorowfull, yet he helpeth nat, and though he wolde be sene to helpe him, yet trauaileth he nat, and though he wolde be sene to trauaile, yet he suffreth nat.[c] For (let us laye a parte assistence with money, whiche is

Frendeshippe of tyme.

[a] Emerson however says, 'Friendship may be said to require natures so rare and costly, each so well tempered, and so happily adapted, and withal so circumstanced (for even in that particular, a poet says, love demands that the parties be altogether paired) that its satisfaction can very seldom be assured. It cannot subsist in its perfection, say some of those who are learned in this warm lore of the heart, betwixt more than two. I am not quite so strict in my terms, perhaps because I have never known so high a fellowship as others. I please my imagination more with a circle of godlike men and women variously related to each other, and between whom subsists a lofty intelligence. But I find this law of *one to one* peremptory for conversation, which is the practice and consummation of friendship.'—*Essays*, vol. i. p. 87, ed. 1866.

[b] Bacon says, 'There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.'—*Essays*, p. 439. On the other hand, Dr. Johnson says, 'Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals, or where the superiority on one side is reduced by some equivalent advantage on the other.'—*Rambler*, No. 64.

[c] Bacon says, 'Near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth up-

a very small portion of frendshippe,[a]) who will so moche esteme frendship, that therfore wyll entre into the displeasure, nat of his prince, but of them whome he supposeth may minysshe his estimation towardes his prince, ye and that moche lasse is, will displease his newe acquaintaunce, equall with him in autorite or fortune, for the defence, helpe, or aduauncement of his auncient and well approued frende? O the moste miserable astate at this present tyme of mankynde, that, for the thinge whiche is moste propre unto them, the example therof muste be founden amonge the sauage and fierce bestes.[b]

[But alas suche peruerse constellation nowe reigneth ouer men,[c] that where some be aptely and naturally disposed to amitie, and fyndeth one, in similitude of studie and maners, equall to his expectation, and therfore kendeleth a feruent

braid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame.'—*Essays*, p. 81.

[a] And indeed is very often destruction of it, for as a modern essayist says, 'To incur important obligations to a friend, is almost certain to destroy the friendship. The two are from that moment in a totally different relation to each other. Uneasy fears possess the one—a painful sense of humiliation occupies the other. They are no longer equals. Under such circumstances, a perfect confiding attachment can no longer exist.'—Chambers, *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 236. 'If I had inclination and ability to do the cruelest thing upon earth to the man I hated, I would lay him under the necessity of borrowing money of a friend.'—Chalmer's Brit. Essayists, *The World*, No. 3.

[b] What follows, to the end of this chapter, is omitted in all the subsequent editions; for what reason it is impossible to say, but probably for fear of its personal application to some 'friend at court' of the author.

[c] This was the age of credulity, and astrology exercised an important influence over the minds of the unlearned, whilst even the learned were not ashamed to admit the operation of the mysterious science. Thus Erasmus says, 'Affirmant Astrologi certis annis apparere stellas crinitas, quæ ingens adferant momentum ad publicam rerum mundanarum commutationem, vi quâdam fatali adficientes hominum et mentes et corpora, tum flumina, maria, terram, aera, et quidquid in his mirè penetrantes. At nullus Cometes exori queat orbi tam exitialis, quàm princeps flagitiosus, contra nullum tam salutare sidus, quàm dux inculpatus.'—*Opera*, tom. iv. col. 531, ed. 1703. And Bacon says, 'The Scripture calleth envy an evil eye, and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects, so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye.'—*Essays*, p. 80.

loue towarde that persone, puttinge all his ioye and delite in the praise and auauncement of him that he loueth, it hapneth that he whiche is loued, beinge promoted in honour, either of purpose neglecteth his frende,[a] therby suppressynge libertie of speche or familiar resorte; or els esteming his mynde with his fortune onely, and nat with the suertie of frendship, hideth from him the secretes of his harte, and either trusteth no man, or els him whome prosperous fortune hath late brought in acquaintaunce.[b] Wherby do ensue two great inconueniences; one is, that he which so entierly loued, perceyuinge his loue to be vaynely employed, withdraweth by litle and litle the fire whiche serueth to no use, and so amitie, the greattest treasoure that may be, finally perissheth. The other inconuenience is, that he whiche neglecteth suche a frende, either consumeth him selfe with solicitude, if he be secrete, or in sondry affaires for lacke of counsayle is after with repentaunce attached, or disclosinge his mynde to his newe acquaintaunce is soner betrayed than well counsaled.[c] Wise men knowe this to be true, and yet will they unethe be content to be thus warned.]

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[a] 'And what is friendship but a name,
A charm that lulls to sleep;
A shade that follows wealth or fame,
But leaves the wretch to weep?'
Goldsmith, *Edwin and Angelina.*

[b] Erasmus says, 'Ii quos nostri amantissimos existimamus, sicut hirundines exactâ æstate devolant, ita fortunâ reflante deficiunt. Nonnunquam recentior amicus veterem ejicit.'—*Opera*, tom. i. col. 420.

[c] Bacon says that the man who takes counsel 'by pieces,' i.e. who confides in many friends, 'runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled—for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it; the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning) and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy—even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body—and therefore, may put you in a way for present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient.'—*Essays*, p. 265.

CHAPTER XIV.

The election of frendes and the diuersite of flaterers.

A NOBLE man aboue al thinges aught to be very circumspecte in the election of suche men as shulde continually attende upon his persone at tymes vacant from busye affayres, whome he may use as his familiars, and saufely committe to them his secretes.[a] For as Plutarche saieth, what so euer he be that loueth, he doteth and is blynde in that thinge whiche he dothe loue, except by lerninge he can accustome him selfe to ensue and sette more price by those thinges that be honest and vertuous, than by them that he seeth in experience and be familiarly used.[b] And suerly as the wormes do brede moste gladly in softe wode and swete, so the moste gentill and noble wittes, inclined to honoure, replenisshed with moste honest and curtaise maners, do sonest

Plutarchus de cognoscendo amico ab adulatore.

[a] King James, in his advice to his son, says, 'It is not onely lawfull, but necessarie, that yee haue companie meete for euerything yee take on hand, as well in your games and exercises as in your graue and earnest affaires. But learne to distinguishe time according to the occasion, chesing your companye accordinglie. Conferre not with hunters at your counsell, nor in your counsell affaires; nor dispatche not affaires at hunting or other games.'—Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, lib. iii. p. 126. Patrizi enlarges upon the necessity of discrimination in the companions of royalty. 'Nam reges ac principes, homines multo humiliores vix conjunctâ consuetudine complecti dignarentur, et similes invenire, cum quibus versarentur, nequirent. Carebunt itaque hâc perfectiore amicitiâ qui imperant, quando inter pares æqualesque agitur. Ejusmodi tamen amicitiæ similitudinem, si optarit rex, virum aliquem virtute præstantem eligat, cujus consuetudine fruatur, quum à rebus magnis ac seriis ocium erit.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. viii. tit. 11. Bacon says, 'It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak—so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except, to make themselves capable thereof, they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience.'—*Essays*, p. 260.

[b] Τυφλοῦται γὰρ τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον, ἂν μή τις μαθὼν ἐθισθῇ τὰ καλὰ τιμᾷν καὶ διώκειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ συγγενῆ καὶ οἰκεῖα.—Plut. *de Adul. et Am.* cap. 1.

admitte flaterars, and be by them abused.[a] And it is no meruayle. For lyke as the wylde corne, beinge in shap and greatnesse lyke to the good, if they be mengled, with great difficultie will be tried out, but either in a narowe holed seeue they will stille abide with the good corne, or els, where the holes be large, they will issue out with the other; so flatery from frendship is hardely seuered, for as moche as in euery motion and affecte of the minde they be mutually mengled to gether.[b]

Of this peruerse and cursed people be sondry kyndes, some whiche apparauntly do flatter, praysinge and extollinge euery thinge that is done by their superior, and berynge hym on hande that in hym it is of euery man commended, whiche of trouthe is of all men abhorred and hated.[c] To the affirmaunce therof they adde to othes, adiurations, and horrible curses, offringe them selfes to eternall paynes except their reporte be true. And if they perceyue any parte of their tale misstrusted, than they sette furthe sodaynly an heuie and sorowfull countenaunce, as if they were abiecte and brought in to extreme desperation. Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme may be called Assentatours or folowers, whiche do awayte diligently what is the fourme of the speche and gesture of their maister,

[a] *"Ωσπερ οἱ θρῖπες ἐμφύονται μάλιστα τοῖς ἁπαλοῖς καὶ γλυκέσι ξύλοις, οὕτω τὰ φιλότιμα τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ χρηστὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ τὸν κόλακα δέχεται καὶ τρέφει προσφυόμενον.* —Plut. *de Adul. et Am.*, cap. 2.

[b] *"Ωσπερ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀγρίων σπερμάτων ὅσα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἔχοντα τῷ πυρῷ συμμέμικται, χαλεπὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀποκάθαρσιν· ἢ γὰρ οὐ διεκπίπτει τῶν στενωτέρων πόρων, ἢ συνεκπίπτει διὰ τῶν ἀραιῶν· οὕτως ἡ κολακεία τῆς φιλίας εἰς πᾶν πάθος καὶ πᾶν κίνημα καὶ χρείαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἑαυτὴν καταμιγνύουσα, δυσχώριστός ἐστιν.*—Plut. *ubi supra*, cap. 4.

[c] Bacon says, 'There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it in suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if it be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, spretâ conscientiâ . . . Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them.'—*Essays*, p. 483.

and also other his maners, and facion of garmentes, and to the imitation and resemblaunce therof they applie their studie, that for the similitude of maners they may the rather be accepted in to the more familiar acquaintaunce.[a] Lyke to the seruauntes of Dionyse, kynge of Sicile, whiche all though they were inclined to all unhappynes and mischiefe, after the commynge of Plato they perceyuinge that for his doctrine and wisedome the kynge had him in high estimation, they than counterfaited the countenaunce and habite of the Philosopher, thereby encreasinge the kynges fauour towardes them, who than was hooly giuen to studie of Philosophie. But after that Dionyse by their incitation had expelled Plato out of Sicile, they abandoned their habite and seueritie, and eftsones retourned to their mischeuous and voluptuous liuynge.[b]

The great Alexander bare his hedde some parte on the one side more than the other, whiche diuers of his seruauntes dyd counterfaite.[c] Semblably dyd the scholers of

[a] Puttenham recommends courtiers to adapt themselves to their Prince's habits in the matter of recreation, such as hunting, hawking, &c., and he adds 'in their other appetites wherein the Prince would seeme an example of vertue, and would not mislike to be egalled by others: in such cases it is decent their seruitours and subiects studie to be like to them by imitation, as in wearing their haire long or short, or in this or that sort of apparrell, such excepted as be only fitte for Princes and none els, which were undecent for a meaner person to imitate or counterfet; so is it not comely to counterfet their voice, or looke, or any other gestures that be not ordinary and naturall in euery common person.'—*Arte of English Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 248, ed. 1811.

[b] "Ωσπερ ἐν Συρακούσαις φασὶν, ὀπηνίκα Πλάτων ἀφίκετο, καὶ Διονύσιον ζῆλος ἔσχε περιμανὴς φιλοσοφίας, τὰ βασίλεια κονιορτοῦ γέμειν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν γεωμετρούντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέκρουσε Πλάτων, καὶ Διονύσιος ἐκπεσὼν φιλοσοφίας, πάλιν εἰς πότους καὶ γύναια, καὶ τὸ ληρεῖν καὶ ἀκολασταίνειν ἦκε φερόμενος, ἀθρόως ἅπαντας, ὥσπερ ἐν Κίρκης, μεταμορφωθέντας, ἀμουσία καὶ λήθη καὶ εὐηθεια κατέσχε.—Plut. *de Adul. et Am.* cap. 7.

[c] Καὶ γὰρ ἃ μάλιστα πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμίμοῦντο, τὴν τε ἀνάκλισιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἡσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.—Plut. *Alex.* 4. Smollett, who visited the famous Sculpture Galleries at Florence, in 1765, speaks of 'a beautiful head of Alexander the Great *turned on one side*, with an expression of languishment and anxiety in his countenance.'—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 87, ed. 1778. Puttenham says, 'It was misliked in the Emperor Nero, and thought uncomely for him to counter-

Plato, the moste noble Philosopher, whiche for as moche as their maister had a brode breste and highe shulders, and for that cause was named Plato,[a] whiche signifieth brode or large, they stuffed their garmentes and made on their shulders great bolsters, to seme to be of like fourme as he was;[b] wherby he shulde conceyue some fauour towardes them for the demonstration of loue that they pretented in the ostentation of his persone. Whiche kynde of flaterye I suppose Plato coulde right well laughe at. But these maner of flateres may be well founde out and perceyued by a good witte, whiche somtyme by him selfe diligently considereth his owne qualities and naturall appetite.[c] For the company or communication of a persone familiar, whiche is alway pleasaunt and without sharpnes, inclinyng to inordinate fauour and affection, is alway

fet Alexander the Great, by holding his head a little awrie, and neerer toward the one shoulder, because it was not his owne naturall.'—*Arte of Engl. Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 248.

[a] Diogenes Laertius, however, attributes the nickname to the breadth of his *forehead*, and says nothing about his breast or his shoulders. Ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἑρμηνείας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι· ἢ ὅτι πλατὺς ἦν τὸ μέτωπον, ὥς φησι Νεάνθης.—Lib. iii. cap. 4.

[b] Here again the author seems to have fallen into an error, for Plutarch expressly says that it was Plato's *stoop*, or crookedness, which his followers imitated; and he says nothing about the way in which they did this. Ὥς που καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀπομιμεῖσθαί φασι τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ ἐπίκυρτον.—*De Adul. et Am.* cap. 9. And again, Ὥσπερ οἱ τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀπομιμούμενοι κυρτότητα.'—*De Aud. Poetis*, cap. 8.

[c] So Patrizi says, 'Age, quis seipsum adeo ignorat, vel sui ipsius adeo oblitus est, quum ignavissimus sit, illos æquo animo audiat, qui se fortissimum prædicent, admirentur, et cunctis aliis præferant? Quo enim animo perpeti potest quispiam se Achillem vocari, quum Thersites manifestè sit? Nonne se irrideri et ludibrio haberi cognoscit ille, qui quum pauper et inops sit, se beatum ac locupletem vocari audit? Ille, de quo paulo ante dixi, Ithacensis mendicus, quem Homerus inducit, nihil roboris habentem præter linguæ procacitatem, gaudebit se potentiâ Agamemnoni, fortitudine autem Ajaci æquari? Nonne etiam mulier illa levissima ac temeraria habenda est, quæ quum deformis ac turpissima sit et aspectu fœda, ab amatoribus, qui illius gratiam blandiendo ac mentiendo inire cupiunt, pulcherrima dici gaudeat, et quasi altera Helena vel Hermione, ejus filia, cunctis aliis mulieribus formâ præferri? Viri autem graves et severi, qui ficta ac simulata de se dici animadverterunt, id ferunt iniquo animo, et adulatores illos odio habent, ut qui exprobrando ea laudent, quæ illis deesse manifestè cernant.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. iv. tit. 2.

to be suspected. Also there is in that frende small commoditie whiche foloweth a man lyke his shadowe, meuinge onely whan he meueth, and abidinge where he list to tary. These be the mortall enemyes of noble wittes and specially in youthe,[a] whan communely they be more inclined to glorie than grauitie. Wherfore that liberalitie, whiche is on suche flaterers imployed, is nat onely perisshed but also spilled and deuoured.[c] Wherfore in myne oppinion it were a right necessarye lawe that shulde be made to put suche persones openly to tortures, to the fearefull example of other: sens in all princes lawes (as Plutarche sayeth[d]) nat onely he that hathe slayne the kynges son and heire, but also he that counterfaiteth his seale, or adulterateth his coyne with more base metall, shall be iuged to die as a

Plutarchus de libe. educand.[b]

Flatery pernicious to gentil natures.

[a] Ἁπάντων μὲν γὰρ, ὅπερ ἔφην, τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάγειν δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κολάκων. Ὅπερ γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς τῶν πατέρων διατελῶ λέγων, καὶ νῦν ἂν εἴποιμι· γένος οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξωλέστερον, οὐδὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θᾶττον ἐκτραχηλίζον τὴν νεότητα, ὡς τῶν κολάκων.—Plut. *de Educ. Puer.* cap. 17.

[b] This side-note has been restored to the position which it was evidently intended by the author to occupy, and from which it was displaced probably *per incuriam*.

[c] A modern writer says, 'It is indeed a most lamentable truth that friends are more generally seen to be operative for evil than enemies, as if it were a law that that which is sweetest and best in this world should always carry in itself the greatest bitter. Respecting unfortunate princes, the remark has become almost an axiom. Laud and Strafford evidently did more to bring their master, Charles I., to the block than Pym and Hampden. James II. lost his throne, not through the manly English opposition of his enemies, the Whigs, but by those men who called themselves peculiarly his friends—the drivelling bigots who flattered him with their preachings of passive obedience, and changed their religion to please him.'—Chambers, *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 332.

[d] The Editor has been unable to verify this quotation, and there seems to be some confusion not only in the text but in the marginal references of this chapter, as will be more fully explained in a subsequent note. It is a curious circumstance, however, that there is a passage in another work of the author, intitled *The Image of Governance*, which bears a very strong resemblance to that in the text, and which is here subjoined for the purpose of comparison. 'If the ancient lawes of this cite iudgeth him to dye that spitefully pulleth down or defyleth the emperor's image, or counterfaiteth his coyne, seale, or signe manuel, of how moch congruence and more with iustice is it, that he shuld suffer deth, which with

traytour. In reason howe moche more payne (if there were any greatter payne than deth) were he worthy to suffre, that with false adulation dothe corrupt and adulterate the gentill and vertuous nature of a noble man, whiche is nat onely his image, but the very man hym selfe.[a] For without vertue man is but in the numbre of bestis. And also by peruerse instruction and flatery suche one sleeth bothe the soule and good renoume of his maister.[b] By whose example and negligence perissheth also an infinite numbre of persones, whiche domage to a realme neither with treasure ne with powar can be redoubed.[c]

selling of the administration of iustice, pluckith down and defyleth amonge the people the good renoume of the emperour, or counterfayteth and changeth the mynd of the emperour, which is his very image immortal, wherby bothe the prynce and the people suffrethe incomparably more damage than by forging of money?'—P. 32, ed. 1544. Compare, however, what is said by Demosthenes in his oration against Timocrates: Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμῖν κἀκεῖνο διηγήσασθαι, ὅ φασί ποτ' εἰπεῖν Σόλωνα κατηγοροῦντα νόμον τινὸς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον θέντος· λέγεται γὰρ τοῖς δικασταῖς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τἄλλα κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶν ἁπάσαις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐάν τις τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείρῃ, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι.'—Vol. ii. p. 572, Whiston's ed. Cf. Demosth. contra Leptinem, *ubi supra*, p. 230.

[a] Patrizi has a passage strongly resembling this; he says, 'Dion Prusensis multo pejus adulatores peccare censet, quàm falsos testes; quandoquidem illi blanditiis, quem laudant, corrumpunt, hi autem judicem tantummodo decipiunt, non autem corrumpunt. Nonne majore odio adulatores digni sunt, quòd homines ignavos vanosque faciunt, et ex stultis insanos reddunt?'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. iv. tit. 2.

[b] A modern writer says, 'How often is a really promising youth ruined because his friends have thought too well of him, and done too much for him. Compared with this evil, the utmost efforts of declared or even secret enemies would be as nothing; for, from the nature of things, such efforts can rarely be of much avail in any circumstances. But the dangers from a friend, who would make us aspire to that for which we are unfit, who would send us every hour of our lives into false positions from an overweening zeal for our interest, and whose flattering counsels tend to sap away every inclination to those exertions and self-denyings from which alone any good can be expected—these are indeed dangers.'—Chambers, *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 335.

[c] From the French *radouber*, to renew, repair, restore, amend. Thus Wolsey, in a letter to the King, dated 21 June, 1527, says, 'I perceyue that the same Frenche King is so occupied, not oonly aboutes matiers of justice and his fynances, but also for the spedy depeche of M. de Lotrect, and furniture of his renforcementes in Italy, and otherwise, that if he shulde, before the same were put in good ordre, leve those matiers unperfited, it shulde be long bifore he coude *redubbe* or conduce

But harde it is all way to exchewe these flaterers, whiche, lyke to crowes, do pyke out mennes eyes or they be dedde. And it is to noble men moste difficile, whome all men couayte to please and to displease them it is accounted no wysedome, perchaunce leste there shulde ensue thereby more parayle than profite.[a]

Also Carneades the Philosopher was wont to saye that the sonnes of noble men lerned nothing well but onely to ryde. For whiles they lerned lettres their maisters flatered them, praysinge euery worde that they spake; in wrastlynge their teachers and companions also flatered them, submittyng them selfes and fallinge downe to their fete; but the horse or courser nat understandynge who rydeth him, ne whether he be a gentyll man or yoman, a ryche man or a poore, if he sitte nat suerly and can skill of ridynge, the horse casteth him quickely. This is the sayenge of Carneades.[c]

Ex[b] *Plutarcho de cogn. amico ab adulatore. A notable example.*

them to good effect.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 193. And in another letter, dated 9 August of the same year, he writes: 'Som notable provision and expedicion, by commen consent of all Princes, might be had and made for the *redubbing* of the said calamities, repressing of heresies, and withstanding the malice of the Turke.' —*Ubi supra*, p. 242. Grafton recording the events of the year 1557, says, 'The losse of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes, with all the countrie on that side the sea, (which followed sone after) was suche a buffet to Englande as happened not in more then an hundred yere before, and a dishonor wherwith this realme shall be blotted, untyll God shall geue power to *redubbe* it with some like requitall to the French.'—*Chronicle*, p. 1353, ed. 1569.

[a] Erasmus speaks of the 'familiarium assentatio, cui pesti potissimum obnoxia est magnatum conditio.' —*Opera*, tom. v. col. 229, ed. 1704. And in another place he says that sentiments worthy of his position cannot be instilled into the mind of a Christian prince 'nisi modis omnibus arceantur assentatores, cui pesti maxime obnoxia est magnorum Principum felicitas.' And he adds, 'Jam ipsa ætatis simplicitas huic malo præcipue patet, partim quòd naturæ propensione blandis magis gaudeat quàm veris, partim ob rerum imperitiam, quo minus suspicatur insidias, hoc minus cavere novit.'—*Ins. Prin. Christ.* p. 74, ed. 1519.

[b] The marginal note in the original is 'Plutarchus de libe. educandi,' but this is obviously a mistake, and the reference has been transposed from the preceding page, to which it is now restored.

[c] Καρνεάδης δὲ ἔλεγε, ὅτι πλουσίων καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες ἱππεύειν μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν εὖ καὶ καλῶς μανθάνουσι· κολακεύει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος

There be other of this sorte, whiche more couertly lay their snares to take the hartes of princes and noble men. And as he which entendeth to take the fierse and mighty lyon pytcheth his haye[b] or nette in the woode, amonge great trees and thornes, where as is the moste haunte of the lyon, that beinge blynded with the thickenes of the couerte, or he be ware, he may sodainly tumble into the nette; where the hunter, seelynge[c] bothe his eyen and bindynge his legges strongly to gether, finally daunteth his

Subtyll flaterers.[a]

ἐπαινῶν, καὶ ὁ προσπαλαίων, ὑποκατακλινόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἵππος οὐκ εἰδὼς οὐδὲ φροντίζων, ὅστις ἰδιώτης ἢ ἄρχων, ἢ πλούσιος ἢ πένης, ἐκτραχηλίζει τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους ὀχεῖσθαι. Plut. *de Adul. et Am.* cap. 16. This apophthegm is also quoted by Erasmus in the 2nd chapter of his *Institutio Principis Christiani*, from which no doubt Sir Thos. Elyot borrowed the illustration.

[a] The marginal note opposite to this passage in the original is 'Ex Plutarcho de cogn. amico ab adulatore,' but as this evidently has reference to the story of Carneades, which is to be found in that treatise, and has been transposed by mistake, it has been restored to its proper place in the present edition.

[b] From the French word *haye*. John Harmar, who was Greek Professor at Oxford in the reign of Elizabeth, uses the word in this sense in his translation of the sermons of M. de Bèze. 'Go to then, saith the Bridegroome in this place, yee gardiens and keepers of my vineyard, be you continual in chase of these hurtfull beastes, and leaue not untill you haue rid and freed my vineyard of them. And by what means? Marie setting the toiles and pitching the *haies* of the word of God, to catch and entrap them therein.'—*Sermons on Canticles*, p. 293, ed. 1587. So too Mortimer tells us, that 'Coneys are destroyed or taken either by ferrets or purse nets in their burrows, or by *hayes*, curs, spaniels, or tumblers, bred up for that purpose, or by gins, pitfalls, or snares.'—*Art of Husbandry*, p. 244, ed. 1708.

[c] From the French *siller*. This word is more generally applied to falconry, where it is used to denote the act of hoodwinking the falcon. Bacon uses the word metaphorically. 'No man will take that part except he be like a *seeled* dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.'—*Essays*, p. 360. And Ford must have had this last passage in his mind when he wrote,

> 'Ambition, like a *seeled* dove, mounts upward,
> Higher and higher still, to perch on clouds,
> But tumbles headlong down with heavier ruin.'
> *Dramatic Works*, vol. i. p. 142, ed. 1831.

Randle Holme in his *Academy of Armoury*, says that '*Seeled* or *Seeling* is when a hawk, first taken, hath her eyes drawn so up, or blinded, with a thread run through her eyelids, that she sees not or very little, the better to make her indure the hood.' P. 240, ed. 1688.

fiercenesse and maketh him obedient to his ensignes and tokens.[a] Semblably there be some that by dissimulation can ostent or shewe a highe grauitie, mixte with a sturdy entretaynement and facion, exilinge them selfes from all pleasure and recreation, frowninge and grutchinge at euery thinge wherin is any myrthe or solace, all though it be honeste; tauntinge and rebuking immoderately them with whome they be nat contented; naminge them selfes therfore playne men, all though they do the semblable and often tymes wars in their owne houses.[b] And by a simplicitie and rudenes of spekynge, with longe deliberation used in the same, they pretende the high knowlege of counsayle to be in them onely. And in this wise pytchinge their nette of adulation they intrappe the noble and vertuous harte, which onely beholdeth their fayned seueritie and counterfayte wisedome, and the rather by cause this maner

[a] Whence did the author derive his notion of lion hunting? Certainly not from the pages of Plutarch, nor yet from Pliny, who merely says, 'Capere eos ardui erat quondam operis, foveisque maximè.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 21. But the use of nets is mentioned by Xenophon in his description of boar-hunting, which Sir Thos. Elyot had probably read, or the latter may have drawn altogether upon his imagination. It is curious that he should describe the capture of the 'king of beasts' as being effected by such an ignoble method, for Patrizi altogether repudiates such unsportsmanlike artifices, and says, 'Omitto insidias, retia, casses, plagas, et alia multa id genus, quæ feris tenduntur per varios multiplicesque dolos, *quibus quidem præda quæ capitur, vilior omnino, atque ignorabilior esse videtur*; sicut enim in re bellicâ præstantior victoria est, ubi collatis signis et aperto Marte decernitur, quàm ubi hostes dolis atque insidiis capiuntur, sic etiam in venatione gratior præda est quæ canum hominumque virtute cadit, quàm quæ laqueo aut aliâ fraude strangulatur.'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. iii. tit. 6, p. 123, ed. 1582.

[b] This seems to be almost the exact counterpart of the description given by Lord Macaulay of the Puritans in the following century. 'What were then considered as the signs of real godliness, the sad coloured dress, the sour look, the straight hair, the nasal whine, the speech interspersed with quaint texts, the abhorrence of comedies, cards, and hawking, were easily counterfeited by men to whom all religions were the same. The sincere Puritans soon found themselves lost in a multitude, not merely of men of the world, but of the very worst sort of men of the world. For the most notorious libertine who had fought under the royal standard might justly be thought virtuous when compared with some of those who, while they talked about sweet experiences and comfortable scriptures, lived in the constant practice of fraud, rapacity, and secret debauchery.'—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 165, 12th ed.

of flatery is mooste unlyke to that whiche is communely used. Aristotell in his politykes[a] exorteth gouernours to haue their frendes for a great numbre of eyen, earis, handes, and legges; considering that no one man may see or here all thinge that many men may see and here, ne can be in all places, or do as many thinges well, at one tyme, as many persons may do. And often tymes a beholder or loker on espieth a defaulte that the doer forgetteth or skippeth ouer.[b] Whiche caused the emperour Antonine[c] to enquire of many what other men spake of him; correctinge thereby his defautes, whiche he perceyued to be iustly reproued.[d]

Many frendes necessary for a gouernour.

[O[e] what an incomparable wisedome was in this noble prince that prouided suche punysshement, which was equal to the importaunce of the trespas, and terrible to all other semblably enclyned to flaterye and vayne promises; where els he was to all men of good, and specially men of great lernynge, excellent bounteous.]

This I truste shall suffyce for the expressinge of that incomparable treasure called amitie, in the declaration wherof I haue aboden the longer, to the intent to persuade the reders to

[a] Lib. iii. cap. 11 (16). See ante, Vol. I. p. 26, note a.

[b] Bacon may have had this passage in his mind when he wrote his essay 'Of Followers and Friends,' for he says, 'To take advice of some few friends, is ever honorable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters.'—*Essays*, p. 439, ed. 1857.

[c] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

[d] 'Erat enim famæ suæ curiosissimus, et requirens ad verum quid quisque de se diceret, emendans quæ bene reprehensa viderentur.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 365, ed. 1671.

[e] The passage within brackets has been omitted in all the subsequent editions, in accordance with the directions of the author himself, contained in the list of *errata* to the first edition. It has, however, been deemed advisable to retain it in the present edition, on account of the extreme scarcity of the earliest impression. The paragraph had evidently been misplaced, and on referring to another work of the author, entitled *The Image of Governance*, the editor is disposed to think that 'the prince' who is thus apostrophised was the Emperor Alexander Severus, and that the 'punishment' alluded to was that inflicted on Turinus. The passage in question would seem exactly to fit in with the concludin paragraph of Chapter XX. of the work last mentioned.

enserche therfore vigilauntly, and beinge so happy to finde it, accordynge to the said description, to embrace and honour it, abhorrynge aboue all thynges ingratitude, whiche pestylence hathe longe tyme raygned amonge us, augmented by detraction, a corrupt and lothely sickenesse, wherof I wyll trayte in the laste parte of this warke, that men of good nature espienge it nede nat (if they liste) be therwith deceyued.

Finis libri secundi.

The Thirde Boke.

CHAPTER I.

Of the noble and moste excellent Vertue named Justyce.

THE moste excellent and incomparable vertue called iustice is so necessary and expedient for the gouernour of a publike weale, that without it none other vertue may be commendable, ne witte or any maner of doctrine profitable. Tulli saith, that at the beginninge whan the multitude of people were oppressed by them that abounded in possessions and substaunce, they espienge some one whiche excelled in vertue and strength, to hym they repayred; who ministringe equitie, whan he had defended the poore men from iniurie, finally he retayned to gether and gouerned the greatter persones with the lasse, in an equall and indifferent ordre.[a] Wherfore they called that man a king, whiche is as moche to saye as a ruler. And as Aristotell sayeth, iustice is nat onely a portion or spice of vertue, but it is intierly the same vertue.[b] And therof onely (sayeth Tulli)

Offic. ii.

From whens the name of a kyng firste proceded.

[a] 'Mihi quidem, non apud Medos solum, ut ait Herodotus, sed etiam apud majores nostros, justitiæ fruendæ causâ videntur olim bene morati reges constituti. Nam cum premeretur inops multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant, virtute præstantem; qui cum prohiberet injuriâ tenuiores, æquitate constituendâ summos cum infimis pari jure retinebat.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

[b] Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ὅλη ἀρετή ἐστιν.—*Eth. Nic.* lib. v. cap. 1 (3).

men be called good men,[a] as who saieth that without iustyce all other qualities and vertues can nat make a man good.

The auncient Ciuilians do saye iustyce is a wille perpetuall and constaunt, whiche gyueth to euery man his right.[b] In that it is named constaunt, it importeth fortitude; in discernynge what is ryght or wronge, prudence is required; and to proporcion the sentence or iugement in an equalitie, it belongeth to temperaunce. All these to gether conglutinate and effectually executed maketh a perfecte definicion of iustyce.[c]

Justice all though it be but one entier vertue, yet is it described in two kyndes or spices. The one is named iustyce distributiue, which is in distribution of honour, money, benefite, or other thinge semblable;[d] the other is called commutatiue or by exchaunge, and of Aristotell it is named in Greeke *Diorthotice*, whiche is in englysshe correctiue.[e] *Diorthotica.*

[a] 'Justitia, ex quâ unâ virtute viri boni appellantur.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

[b] 'Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi.'—*Instit.* lib. i. tit. i. This definition was apparently borrowed from that attributed to Cicero, which is as follows, 'Justitia est æquitas, jus unicuique tribuens, pro dignitate cujusque.'—*Ad Herenn.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

[c] The author has evidently borrowed this idea from Plato, according to whose theory the perfect state was composed of four elements, viz., Wisdom, Courage, Temperance, and Justice, of which the three former being discovered, that which remains afterwards will be Justice. *Οἶμαι ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς γε ᾤκισται, τελέως ἀγαθὴν εἶναι. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Δῆλον δὴ ὅτι σοφή τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρων καὶ δικαία. Δῆλον. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι ἂν αὐτῶν εὕρωμεν ἐν αὐτῇ, τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἔσται τὸ οὔχ εὑρημένον; Τί μήν; Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἄλλων τινῶν τεττάρων, εἰ ἔν τι ἐζητοῦμεν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁτῳοῦν, ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο ἔγνωμεν, ἱκανῶς ἂν εἶχεν ἡμῖν, εἰ δὲ τὰ τρία πρότερον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, αὐτῷ ἂν τούτῳ ἐγνώριστο τὸ ζητούμενον· δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλο ἔτι ἦν, ἢ τὸ ὑπολειφθέν. Ὀρθῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις. . . . Εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· τὰ μὲν τρία ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατῶπται, ὡς γε οὐτωσὶ δόξαι· τὸ δὲ δὴ λοιπὸν εἶδος, δι' ὃ ἂν ἔτι ἀρετῆς μετέχοι πόλις, τί ποτ' ἂν εἴη; δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη. Δῆλον . . . . Ἐνάμιλλον ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς ἀρετὴν πόλεως τῇ τε σοφίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἡ τοῦ ἕκαστον ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττειν δύναμις. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν δικαιοσύνην τό γε τούτοις ἐνάμιλλον ἂν εἰς ἀρετὴν πόλεως θείης; Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.*—Plato, *De Rep.* lib. iv. cap. 6–10.

[d] *Τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν δικαίου ἓν μέν ἐστιν εἶδος τὸ ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τιμῆς ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα μεριστὰ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας.*—Arist. *Ethic. Nic.* lib. v. cap. 2 (5).

[e] *Ἓν δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι διορθωτικόν.*—*Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 2 (5) 'The

And that parte of iustyce is contayned in intremedlynge, and somtyme is voluntary, somtyme involuntary intermedlynge.[a] Voluntary is bienge and sellynge, loue, suertie, lettynge, and takynge, and all other thynge wherin is mutuall consent at the beginnyng; and therfore is it called voluntary.[b] Intermedlynge involuntary somtyme is priuely done, as stelynge, auoutry, poisonyng, falsehede, disceyte, secrete murdre, false wytnes, and periurye; somtyme it is violent, as batry, open murdre and manslaughter, robry, open reproche and other lyke.[c] Justice

word which expresses justice in the Greek language has several different meanings; and as the correspondent word in all other languages, so far as I know, has the same, there must be some natural affinity among those various significations. In one sense we are said to do justice to our neighbour when we abstain from doing him any positive harm, and do not directly hurt him, either in his person, or in his estate, or in his reputation. This is that justice, the observance of which may be extorted by force, and the violation of which exposes to punishment. In another sense we are said not to do justice to our neighbour unless we conceive for him all that love, respect, and esteem which his character, his situation, and his connection with ourselves, render suitable and proper for us to feel, and unless we act accordingly. It is in this sense that we are said to do injustice to a man of merit who is connected with us, though we abstain from hurting him in every respect, if we do not exert ourselves to serve him, and to place him in that situation in which the impartial spectator would be pleased to see him. The first sense of the word coincides with what Aristotle and the schoolmen call *commutative justice*, and with what Grotius calls the *justitia expletrix*, which consists in abstaining from what is another's, and in doing voluntarily whatever we can with propriety be forced to do. The second sense of the word coincides with what some have called *distributive justice*, and with the *justitia attributrix* of Grotius, which consists in proper beneficence, in the becoming use of what is our own, and in the applying it to those purposes, either of charity or generosity, to which it is most suitable in our situation that it should be applied. In this sense justice comprehends all the social virtues.' Dr. Smith adds: 'The *distributive justice* of Aristotle is somewhat different. It consists in the proper distribution of rewards from the public stock of a community.'—*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 397.

[a] Τούτου δὲ μέρη δύο· τῶν γὰρ συναλλαγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἑκούσιά ἐστι τὰ δ' ἀκούσια.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. v. cap. 2 (5).

[b] Ἑκούσια μὲν τὰ τοιάδε οἷον πρᾶσις, ὠνή, δανεισμός, ἐγγύη, χρῆσις, παρακαταθήκη, μίσθωσις· ἑκούσια δὲ λέγεται, ὅτι ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων τούτων ἑκούσιος.—Arist. *ubi supra.* The reader will observe that the author's inclusion of 'love' amongst the obligations enumerated is not due to the original authority.

[c] Τῶν δ' ἀκουσίων τὰ μὲν λαθραῖα, οἷον κλοπή, μοιχεία, φαρμακεία, προαγωγεία,

distributiue hathe regarde to the persone; iustyce commutatiue hathe no regarde to the persone, but onely considerynge the inequalitie wherby the one thynge excedeth the other, indeuoureth to brynge them bothe to an equalitie. Nowe wyll I retourne agayne to speke firste of Justice distributiue,[a] leauinge Justice commutatiue to an other volume, whiche I purpose shall succede this warke, god giuynge me tyme and quietnes of mynde to perfourme it.[b]

CHAPTER II.

The firste parte of Justyce distributiue.

IT is nat to be doughted but that the firste and princypall parte of Justyce distributyue is, and euer was, to do to god that honour whiche is due to his diuine maiestie; whiche honour (as I before said in the firste boke, where I wrate of the motion called honour in daunsinge) consisteth in loue, feare, and reuerence.[c] For sens all men graunte that iustyce is to gyue to

δουλαπατία, δολοφονία, ψευδομαρτυρία· τὰ δὲ βίαια, οἷον αἰκία, δεσμός, θάνατος, ἁρπαγή, πήρωσις, κακηγορία, προπηλακισμός.—Arist. *ubi supra.*

[a] Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning*, says, 'Is there not a true coincidence between *commutative* and *distributive justice*, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion?'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 348, ed. 1857. And it was probably the recollection of the above passage which caused Dr. South to say, 'Although, according to the common division of justice into *commutative* and *distributive*, that which is called *commutative* be employed only about the strict value of things according to an arithmetical proportion (as the schools speak) which admits of no degrees, and the other species of justice, called *distributive* (as consisting in the distribution of rewards and pnnishments), admits of some latitude and degrees in the dispensation of it; yet, in truth, even this distribution itself must so far follow the rules of commutation, that the good to be dispensed by way of reward ought in justice to be equivalent to the work or action which it is designed as a compensation of; so as by no means to sink below it, or fall short of the full value of it.'—*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 233, ed. 1823.

[b] The author's intention, however, appears unfortunately not to have been carried out.

[c] See Vol. I. p. 242.

euery manne his owne, moche more to rendre one good dede for a nother, mooste of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thinge, and without hym we were nothing, and beinge perysshed we were eftsones recouered, howe ought we (to whome is gyuen the very light of true fayth) to embrace this parte of iustyce more, or at the leste no lesse, than the gentilles; whiche wandring in the darkenes of ignoraunce knewe nat god as he is, but deuidynge his maiestie in to sondry portions imagined Idols of diuers fourmes and names, assigned to them particuler autorites, offices and dignities. Nat withstandynge, in the honourynge of those goddes, suche as they were, they supposed all way to be the chiefe parte of iustice.

The honour that the gentels bare to their goddes

Romulus (the firste kynge of Romanes) for his fortune and benefites, whiche he ascribed to his goddes, made to the honoure of them great and noble Temples, ordaynynge to them images, sacrifices, and other ceremonyes.[a] And more ouer (whiche is moche to be meruayled at) he also prohibited that any thing shulde be radde or spoken reprocheable or blasphemous to god. And therfore he excluded all fables made of the aduoutryes and other enormityes that the Greekes had fayned their goddes to haue commytted; inducinge his people to speke and also to coniecte nothinge of god but onely that whiche was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commaunded by Plato in the firste boke of his publike weale.[b]

Plutarchus in vita romuli.

Dionisius Halicarn. lib. ii.

[a] Ὧν πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν, τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν· ἱερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ξοάνων ἱδρύσεις μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις, καὶ δωρεὰς, αἷς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐηργέτησαν, ἑορτάς τε ὁποίας τινὰς ἑκάστῳ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων ἄγεσθαι προσήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἷς χαίρουσι γεραιρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκεχειρίας τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι νομίμων. Τοὺς δὲ παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασφημίαι τινὲς ἔνεισι κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγορίαι, πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους, ἅπαντας ἐξέλαβε καὶ παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κρατίστα περὶ θεῶν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσάπτοντας ἀνάξιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως.—Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 18.

[b] The author is mistaken; the passage referred to occurs not in the first but in

Numa Pompilius, whiche was the nexte kinge after Romulus, and therto electe by the Senate, all though he were a straunger borne, and dwellynge with his father in a litle towne of the Sabynes, yet he considerynge from what astate he came to that dignitie, he beinge a man of excellent wisedome and lernyng thought that he coulde neuer sufficiently honour his goddes for that benefite by whose prouidence he supposed that he had attayned the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citie. He therfore nat onely increased within the citie Temples, alters, ceremonyes, preestes, and sondry religions,[a] but also with a wonderfull wisedome and policie (whiche is to longe to be nowe rehersed) he brought all the people of Rome to suche a deuocion, or (as I mought saye) a superstition, that where all way before, duryng the tyme that Romulus reigned, whiche was xxxvii yeres,[b] they euer were continually occupied in warres and rauine, they by the space of xliii yeres (so longe reigned Numa)[c] gaue them selfe all as it were to an obseruaunce of religyon, abandonynge warres, and applyenge in suche wise their studie to the honouring of their goddes and increasinge their publike weale, that other people adioyninge wondringe at them, and for their deuocion hauynge

Deuocion cause of tranquilitie.

the second book of the *Republic*. Κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον φάναι θεόν τινι γίγνεσθαι ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, διαμαχητέον παντὶ τρόπῳ μήτε τινα λέγειν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πόλει, εἰ μέλλει εὐνομήσεσθαι, μήτε τινὰ ἀκούειν, μήτε νεώτερον μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε ἐν μέτρῳ μήτε ἄνευ μέτρου μυθολογοῦντα, ὡς οὔθ' ὅσια ἂν λεγόμενα, εἰ λέγοιτο, οὔτε ξύμφορα ἡμῖν οὔτε σύμφωνα αὐτὰ αὑτοῖς.—*De Rep.* lib. ii. cap. 19.

[a] Νομᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὓς Ποντίφικας καλοῦσι, διάταξιν καὶ κατάστασιν ἀποδιδόασι καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἕνα τούτων τὸν πρῶτον γεγονέναι . . . Νομᾷ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ ὅλως τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὃ φυλάττουσιν αὗται, θεραπείαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδιδόασιν . . . Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας Νομᾶ καταδείξαντος ἱερωσύνας ἔτι δυεῖν μνησθήσομαι, τῆς τε Σαλίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φιτιαλίων, αἳ μάλιστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐμφαίνουσιν.—Plut. *Numa*, 9, 12.

[b] According to Plutarch he reigned *thirty-eight years*. Λέγεται δὲ Ῥωμύλος τέσσαρα μὲν ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονὼς, ὄγδοον δὲ βασιλεύων ἐκεῖνο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.—*Romulus*, 29.

[c] Plutarch speaking of the temple of Janus, says, Ἀλλ' ἐπί γε τῆς Νομᾶ βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεῳγμένος ὤφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος· οὕτως ἐξῄρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πανταχόθεν.—*Numa*, 20.

the citie in reuerence, as it were a palace of god, all that season neuer attempted any warres agayne them or with any hostilitie inuaded their countray.[a] Many mo princes and noble men of the Romanes coulde I reherce who for the victories had againe their enemyes raysed Temples and made solempne and sumptuouse playes in honour of their goddes, rendringe (as it were) unto them their duetie, and all wayes accountynge it the firste parte of Justyce. And this parte of iustyce towarde god in honouringe him with conuenient ceremonyes is nat to be contemned; example we haue amonge us that be mortall. For if a man beinge made riche, and aduaunced by his lorde or maister, will prouide to receyue him a faire and pleasaunt lodginge,[b] hanged with riche Aresse or tapestrie, and with goodly plate and other thinges necessary most fresshely adourned, but, after that his maister is ones entred, he wyll neuer enter-

[a] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἡμέρωτο καὶ κατακεκήλητο τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις, ὥσπερ αὔρας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἢ πνεύματος ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος εἰσερρύη πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ σέβεσθαι θεούς.—Plut. *Numa*, 20.

[b] This term was very frequently applied to denote the royal apartments. Thus Harrison, enumerating the various Palaces in England, says, 'White Hall, at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large and principall of all the rest), was first a *lodging* of the Archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by Cardinall Woolseie, and finallie inlarged and finished by King Henrie the Eight. By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by King Henrie the Eight into a palace roiall and *lodging* for the prince.'—*Descript. of Engl.* p. 195. Hall, speaking of the reception of the Emperor Charles V. in London A.D. 1522, says, 'They came to the Blacke Friers, where the Emperor was lodged, in great royaltie. All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Brydewell, out of the whiche was made a gallery to the Emperor's *lodgyng*, whiche gallery was very long; and that gallery and all other galleries there wer hanged with Arras.'—*Chronicle*, vol. ii. fo. xcviii. b. ed. 1548. Again we are told 'the kyng lay at Hitchyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flye, and by chaunce there the kynge's *lodgyng* was on fyer, and he in great feare, but in no ieopardie.'—*Ibid.* fo. cv. And Bacon, in his *History of Hen. VII.*, says, 'About this time a great fire in the night time suddenly began at the King's palace of Sheen, near unto the King's own *lodgings*, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household-stuff.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 355, ed. 1825.

tayne or countenaunce him but as a straunger, suppose ye that the beautie and garnisshinge of the house shall onely content him, but that he will thinke that his seruaunt brought hym thither onely for vayne glorie, and as a beholder and wonderer at the riches that he hym selfe gaue hym, whiche the other unthankefully dothe attribute to his owne fortune or policie?[a] Moche rather is that seruaunt to be commended, whiche haueinge a litle rewarde of his maister, will in a small cotage make him hartie chere with moche humble reuerence.[b] Yet wolde I

[a] It would seem likely that the author had Wolsey in his mind when he wrote this, for we know that the latter constantly entertained the King with more than regal pomp. And not only the King, but, according to Hall, 'lordes, ladies, and all other that would come with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner.' Yet, as Mr. Turner remarks, all this superb state 'created none of that genuine admiration which, on the omission of this, his other qualities might have attracted, and for this reason, that 'his mind became as haughty and as offensive as his dramatic costume. It was a personal punishment to address him. While his royal master was distinguished for his free-hearted affability, he was himself avoided, and hated for his repulsive arrogance. He had not heart enough in himself to interest it in others; and he strove to daunt what he was unable to win, and would not stoop to sooth.'—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. ix. pp. 193, 194. Puttenham has some remarks very nearly akin to those in the text, for, in speaking of the way in which a Prince should be treated by his subjects, he says, the latter ought 'not to feast him with excessiue charge, for that is both vaine and enuious, and therfore the wise Prince, King Henry the Seuenth, her Maiesties grandfather, if his chaunce had bene to lye at any of his subiects houses, or to passe moe meales then one, he that would take upon him to defray the charge of his dyet, or of his officers and houshold, he would be maruelously offended with it, saying, what priuate subiect dare undertake a Princes charge, or looke into the secret of his expence?' *Arte of Engl. Poesie*, lib. iii. p. 247, ed. 1811. This is confirmed by independent testimony, for Bacon, in his Life of the last mentioned King, tells a story of his entertainment by the Earl of Oxford at his castle of Henningham, when the King thanked the latter 'for his good cheer,' but rebuked him for breaking the law by displaying an excessive number of personal retainers. 'And it is part of the report,' says Bacon, 'that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 383, ed. 1825.

[b] It is easy to imagine that the author intended in this passage to contrast the sumptuous entertainments of Wolsey with the homely simplicity of More. Of the former we are told by a contemporary, 'When it pleased the King's Majesty, for his recreation, to repaire unto the Cardinalls house, as he did diverse times in the yeare, there wanted no preparation or goodly furniture, with viandes of the finest sorte that could be gotten for money or friendshippe.'—*Life of Wolsey*, by Caven-

nat be noted that I wolde seme so moche to extolle reuerence by it selfe, that churches and other ornamentes dedicate to god shulde be therfore contemned. For undoughtedly suche thinges be nat onely commendable, but also expedient for the augmentacion and continuinge of reuerence. For be it either after the opinion of Plato, that all this worlde is the temple of god,[a] or that man is the same temple, these materiall churches where unto repaireth the congregation of christen people, in the whiche is the corporall presence of the sonne of god and very god, aught to be lyke to the sayde temple, pure, clene, and well adourned;[b] that is to saye, that as the heuyn visible is mooste pleasauntly garnisshed with planettes and sterres resplendisshinge in the moste pure firmament of asure colour, the erthe furnisshed with trees, herbes, and floures of diuers colours, facions, and sauours, bestis, foules, and fisshes of sondry

dish, in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 494; whilst the latter, we are told, found attendance at Court so irksome, because it involved separation from his wife and children, that he dissembled his nature, and 'began by little and little to disuse himselfe from his accustomed myrth, so that he was not from thenceforth so ordinarilie sent for. Yet the King took such pleasure in his companie, that he would oftentymes *on a suddaine* come to his house at Chelsey, to talke and be merrie with him.'—Wordsworth, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 64.

[a] Apparently the author refers to the following passage: Γῆ μὲν οὖν ἑστία τε οἰκήσεως ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν.—*De Legg.* lib. xii. cap. 7, which Cicero has translated, 'Est enim mundus quasi communis Deorum atque hominum domus, aut urbs utrorumque.'—*De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. cap. 62; and Plutarch has a very similar expression, 'Ιερὸν μὲν γὰρ ἁγιώτατον ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ, καὶ θεοπρεπέστατον.—*De Tranquill. Animi*, cap. 20.

[b] This was evidently the opinion of Sir Thomas More, for we are told that 'in his parish church at Chelsey he builded a faire chapel, and endowed it with many rich ornaments; and to the church where he dwelt he gave copes, chalices, images, &c. And he would often say, "Let good folkes give apace, for there will be found too many that will take away as fast." So much he loved the beautie and glorie of the house of God, that if he had seene a faire and comelie man of personage, he would say, "It is pittie yonder man is not a priest, he would become an aultar well." The like he would say of jewels and precious stones; and in his *Aunswere to the Supplication of Beggars* he exhortes gentlemen and ladies to give to the Church their rings, bracelets, borders, and the like, "for by keeping them," quoth he, "they but minister matter for vanitie, and so for punishment; in giving them, procure merit and spiritual benediction."—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 68.

kyndes, semblably the soule of man of his owne kinde beinge incorruptibill, nete, and clere, the sences and powars wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it contayned noble and riche, the fourme excellent and royall, as that which was made to the similitude of god. Moreouer the body of man is of all other mortall creatures in proporcion and figure moste perfecte and elegant. What peruerse or frowarde opinion were it to thinke that god, still beinge the same god that he euer was, wolde haue his maiestie nowe contempned, or be in lasse estimation? but rather more honoured for the benefites of his glorious passion, whiche may be well perceyued, who so peruseth the holy historie of the Euangelistes, where he shall finde in ordre that he desired clennesse and honour. Firste in preparation of his commynge, whiche was by the wasshinge and clensinge of the body of man by baptisme in water, the soule also made clene by penaunce, the election of the moste pure and clene virgine to be his mother, and she also of the lyne of princes moste noble and vertuous. It pleased him moche that Mary humbly kneled at his fete and wasshed them with precious balme and wyped them with her heare.[a] In his glorious transfiguration his visage shone lyke the sonne, and his garmentes weie wonderfull white, and more pure (as the Euangeliste saieth) than any warkeman coulde make them.[b] Also at his commynge to Jerusalem towarde his passion, he wolde than be receyued with great routes[c] of people, who layinge their gar-

[a] See Luke vii. 38.

[b] See Mark ix. 3.

[c] From the French word *route*, a company, or multitude of persons. Thus Lord Berners, in his translation of *Froissart's Chronicle*, says, 'The men of warr thus assembled with the lorde of Bourbon, beyng at Lyons, understode that the *route* of the companyons aproched faste towardes them, and had wonne the towne and castell of Brunay, and dyuerse other holdes, and howe they sore wasted and exiled the countrey.'—Cap. ccxv. ed. 1525. Bacon, in his *History of King Hen. VII.*, tells us that 'Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in *routs* and unlawful assemblies.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 227, ed. 1825; and he also uses a verb formed from the same substantive.

mentes on the way as he rode, other castynge bowes abrode went before him in fourme of a triumphe.[a] All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection, whan he was in the fourme of humilitie. Than howe moche honour is due to him nowe that all power is gyuen to hym, as well in heuin as in erthe, and beinge glorified of his father, sitteth on his right hande, iugynge all the worlde?[b]

In redynge the bible men shall fynde that the infinite numbre of the sturdye harted Jues coulde neuer haue ben gouerned by any wisedome, if they had nat ben brideled with ceremonyes.[c]

'Whereupon the meaner sort *routed* together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him and divers of his servants.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 229. The word is used by Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene.*

'A while they fled, but soone retournd againe
With greater fury then before was fownd
And euermore their cruell capitaine
Sought with his raskall *routs* t'enclose them rownd.'
Works, vol. ii. p. 171, ed. 1866.

Hall, speaking of the entertainment provided for Henry VIII. by Francis I. in 1520, says, 'Duryng this triumph so muche people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Guysnes to see the kyng of England and his honor, to whom vitailes of the Court were in plentie, the conduicte of the gate ranne wyne alwaies; there were vacaboundes, plowmen, laborers, and of the bragery, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkennes lay in *routes* and heapes; so great resorte thether came, that bothe knightes and ladies that wer come to see the noblenes, were faine to lye in haye and strawe.'—*Chronicle*, vol. ii. fo. 84, ed. 1548.

[a] See Matt. xxi. 8.

[b] See Matt. xxviii. 18.

[c] This is quite in accordance with the views of modern writers; thus, Dean Milman speaking of the law requiring all the tribes to assemble three times a year wherever the tabernacle of God was fixed, says, 'This regulation was a masterstroke of policy, to preserve the bond of union indissoluble among the twelve federal republics, which formed the early state.' Again, he regards the law which provided that at the jubilee all estates were to revert to their original owners as 'one which effectually prevented the accumulation of large masses of property in one family, to the danger of the national independence, and the establishment of a great landed oligarchy.' And he shows that 'over all classes alike, the supreme and impartial law exercised its vigilant superintendence. It took under its charge the morals, the health, as well as the persons and the property of the whole people . . . The chastity of females was guarded by statutes which, however severe and cruel according to modern notions, were wise and merciful in that state of society. . . .

The superstition of the gentilles preserued often tymes as well the Greekes as the Romanes from finall distruction.[a] But we wyll laye all those histories a parte and come to our owne experience.

For what purpose was it ordayned that christen kynges (all though they by inheritaunce succeded their progenitours kynges) shulde in an open and stately place before all their subiectes receyue their crowne and other Regalities,[b] but

The health of the people was a chief, if not the only object of the distinction between clean and unclean beasts, and the prohibition against eating the blood of any animal . . . Cleanliness, equally important to health with wholesome diet, was maintained by the injunction of frequent ablutions . . . by regulations concerning female disorders, and the intercourse between the sexes; provisions which seem minute and indelicate to modern ideas, but were doubtless intended to correct unseemly or unhealthful practices, either of the Hebrew people or of neighbouring tribes.'—Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 117–133, ed. 1830.

[a] Gibbon, in the famous passage in which he describes the advantage to the State arising from the universal spirit of toleration, confirms the view taken by Sir Thomas Elyot. 'The policy of the emperors and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened, and by the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the magistrate as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Empire*, vol. i. p. 165.

[b] More commonly called *Regalia*, *i.e.* the ensigns of royalty. Fabyan has yet another form of the same word. 'Then the kyng (Ed. I.) sped him to Edenborow, and in processe of time wanne the towne with the Castell. In whiche were founde the *regalies* of Scotland, that is to meane the crowne, with the septer and cloth of estate, the whiche after were offered by Kyng Edward at the shrine of S. Edwarde, upon the morow after the feast of saynt Botholfe, or the xviii. daye of June in the yere following.'—*Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 140, ed. 1559. From time immemorial, down to the reign of Hen. VIII., who in 1540 dissolved the monastery and erected the abbey into a cathedral, the regalia were deposited at Westminster. The right to their custody had been first conceded by Edward the Confessor in A.D 1065, whose charter declares the Abbey to be 'in perpetuum regiæ constitutionis et consecrationis locus, atque repositorium *regalium insignium*' (see Dugdale's *Monast.* vol. i. p. 296); and this was recognised by a Bull of Pope Innocent II. about A.D. 1140 to the Abbot Gervase de Blois: 'Regalia quoque gloriosi Regis Edwardi, quæ apud vos habentur Insignia, ita in eodem Monasterio intacta et integra decernimus observari' (Dart's *Antiq. of West.* vol. ii. Append. p. xii. ed. 1723). From an unpublished chronicle succeeding that of

that by reason of the honorable circumstaunces than used shulde be impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetuall reuerence,[a] whiche (as I before sayde) is fountayne of obedience; or els mought the kynges be enoynted[b] and receyue their charge in a place secrete, with lasse payne to them and also their ministers? Lette it be also considered that we be men and nat aungels, wherfore we knowe nothinge but by outwarde significations. Honour, wherto reuerence pertayneth, is (as I haue said) the rewarde of vertue, whiche honour is but the estimation of people,[c] which estimacion is nat euery where

Rishanger in the Cottonian collection (*MS. Faustina*, B. IX. fo. 238), containing a more detailed account of the coronation of Rich. II. than that given by Walsingham in his *History*, we are told that the Abbot of Westminster took precedence of all others, and carried the royal sceptres, 'non quòd primus est inter abbates, sed quòd *regalium insignium est repositorium locus suus*.'

[a] The public ceremonies prescribed for the royal coronation are doubtless a survival from the earliest ages. The elected king of an ancient Gothic tribe was placed on a shield or target and carried about on men's shoulders, while the multitude saluted him with shouts and applause. The Scandinavian nations, on the other hand, formed a circle of large stones surrounding one still larger, and on this, as on a seat of superior dignity, was placed the elected king. In such a manner Eric, King of Sweden, was enthroned as late as A.D. 1396. A similarly rude ceremonial is known to have prevailed among the Celtic tribes; and to turn to our own country, Athelstane, as Stow tells us, 'was crowned at Kingstone by Athelmus, Archbyshop of Canterbury. His coronation was celebrated in the market-place, upon a stage erected on hie, that the King might be seene the better of the multitude.'—*Annales*, p. 81, ed. 1615. Thus we have, as Mr. Arthur Taylor says, 'a curious instance of the wide diffusion of a most ancient practice, which may be said still to form part of the inauguration of our English kings.'—*Glory of Regality*, p. 32, ed. 1820.

[b] Selden traces the custom of anointing kings at their coronation from the instances recorded in the Old Testament. Thence descending to later times, he says that, 'In the Empire (as it is conceiued by some) it began first at Constantinople, and that about Justinian's or his successor Justin's time . . . They that suppose it so ancient there, draw the use of it from thence into the Western Empire, where it began in Charles the Great, although before his being Emperor it were used to some kings of the western parts.'—*Titles of Honor*, p. 146, ed. 1631.

[c] The author has adopted Cicero's definition, 'Cum honos sit præmium virtutis, judicio studioque civium delatum ad aliquem, qui eum sententiis, qui suffragiis adeptus est, is mihi et honestus et honoratus videtur.'—*De Claris Oratoribus*, cap. 81. A modern writer says 'One who is treated with marks of general esteem among men, is brought to *Honour*. But Honour likewise indicates subjectively

perceyued, but by some exterior signe, and that is either by laudable reporte, or excellencie in vesture, or other thinge semblable. But reporte is nat so commune a token as apparayle. For in olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde,[a] and knightes onely ware chaynes.[b] Also the moste noble of the

the sensibility of the man to those indications of general Esteem. In Civil Society are established marks of Public Honour, as Rank, Titles, Decorations, and the like.'—Whewell, *Elem. of Morality*, p. 90, 4th ed.

[a] Selden, who has written a learned discourse on this subject, says, 'Th diadem strictly was a very different thing from what a crown now is or was. And it was no other than only a fillet of silk, linnen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used for a Royal Ensigne, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, untill the beginning of Christianitie in the Roman Empire.' After referring to the crown of gold which David is said (2 Sam. xii. 30) to have taken from the spoils of the Ammonites, and to those worn by the Persian kings, he says that in the Roman Empire the laurel or fillet was the usual mark of dignity, and that Aurelian was the first to adopt the diadem. 'But not long after Aurelian the diadem became in Constantine the Great a continuall wearing. Habitum regium gemmis, et caput exornans perpetuo diademate, saies Victor (*Epit.* cap. xli. 14). After Constantine this kind of diadem was in common use, but so that his neerer successors did not so scrupulously alwaies reject the Laurel as he had done; at least, in their coins it is not alwaies omitted. But the fashion of their Diadems (as farre as I haue obserued) continued most usually the same with that of Constantine. And thence it is that S. Hierom speaks of ardentes Diadematum gemmas regum in his time. But afterward the Imperiall diadem became to be ordinarily increast with additions of other parts that went from eare to eare ouer the crown of the head, and at length over a gold Helme on a cap, which made it somewhat like the close crowns of later time worn upon caps. And of the Helme together with this Diadem was the close crown of the Eastern Empire (as I think) since composed . . . The use of crowns and coronations thus deduced from Constantine the Great was an example which the rest of the Kings of Europe followed. The Kings of France had crowns in their inaugurations before the beginning of the Western Empire . . . Among the English kings Geoffrey of Monmouth saies that King Athelstan first used it.'—*Titles of Honor*, cap. viii. pp. 156–169.

[b] Segar, Norroy king-at-arms in the reign of Elizabeth, deduces the custom of Knights being invested with chains or collars from the Romans, and says, 'It hath bene also a custome ancient, that Princes did giue collars as a singular demonstration of fauour and honour. Plinie reporteth that the Romanes did giue unto their confederates a collar of gold, and to their owne citizens a collar of siluer. (*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 10.) When Manlius in single combat had slaine a French man (*sic*), he tooke from him a collar of golde, all bloodie, and put the same about his owne necke in token of victorie. After which time he was

Romanes ware sondry garlandes, whereby was perceyued their merite.[a] O creatures moste unkynde and barrayne of Justyce that will denie that thinge to their god and creatour, whiche of very duetie and right is gyuen to hym by good reason afore all princes, whiche in a degree incomparable be his subiectes and vassals. By whiche oppinion they seme to despoyle hym of reuerence, which shal cause all obedience to cease, wherof

surnamed *Torquatus*, because *Torques* in the Latine signifieth a collar or chaine . . . It is also seene that Princes soueraigne doe at this day bestow chaines or small collars upon men of vertue or fauour, and in token thereof (for the most part) a picture or model of the giuer is thereat pendant, which collar the Knight or Gentleman that receiueth it ought carefully to keepe during his life.'—*Honor*, p. 61, ed. 1602. Ashmole, who was Windsor Herald in Charles the Second's reign, denies that the collar or chain was an emblem of the Equestrian Order among the Romans, but quotes authorities to prove that it was an ensign of knightly dignity among the Germans, and says, 'It may be safely presumed that collars were badges of knighthood among the ancient Gauls, since they were bestowed upon valiant men, and such as had rendered themselves conspicuous by acts of prowess and chivalry, as a worthy recompense of their virtue. And from Pliny it appears that the ancient Gauls were wont to wear them in fight, for as Scheffer notes upon his words, no other thing can be understood by the word "auro" than torques. The like may be said of the ancient Britons, Danes, and Goths, among whom it was customary to wear them, as denoting such as were remarkable for their valour. But in later times it was the peculiar fashion of Knights among us to wear *golden collars*, composed of SS or other various works, so that those monuments are known to belong to Knights, on whose portraitures such ornaments are now found.'—*Order of the Garter*, p. 30, ed. 1672.

[a] Aulus Gellius devotes a chapter of the *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. v. cap. 6, to the description of the various wreaths, and the causes for which they were bestowed, whilst Tertullian examines at some length in his book *De Coronâ Militis*, the origin and object of this form of decoration, and condemns it as savouring of idolatry. At a still earlier date the Greeks were in the habit of bestowing olive garlands as rewards for distinguished merit. 'Athenienses hoc invento gloriantur, ut qui primi oleaginâ coronâ de Republicâ bene meritos cives, et fortes Imperatores ac duces decoraverint, quam quidem ex oleâ ad honorem Palladis, virtutis ac sapientiæ Deæ, fieri voluerunt. Et coronatus dicitur Thrasybulus, qui patriam à tyrannis liberavit, quem fide, constantiâ, et animi magnitudine, nemo Atheniensium unquam vicit, duxitque satis pro meritis suis in patriam oleaginam coronam esse, cum magna munera et patriæ prope imperium ei deberetur.'—Patrizi, *De Instit. Reipub.* lib. ix. tit. 6. In Sparta such garlands were held in particular esteem, as being the emblems of emancipation; thus, in the account of the enfranchisement of the 2,000 Helots who were afterwards assassinated in the eighth year of the Peloponn-

will ensue utter confusion, if good christen princes meued with zeale do nat shortely prouide to extincte utterly all suche opinions.

CHAPTER III.

The thre noble counsayles of reason, societie, and knowlege.

VERELY the knowlege of Justyce is nat so difficile or harde to be attayned unto by man as it is communely supposed, if he wolde nat willingly abandone the excellencie of his propre nature, and folisshely applicate him selfe to the nature of creatures unreasonable, in the stede of reason embrasinge sensualitie, and for societie and beneuolence folowinge wilfulnesse and malice, and for knowlege, blynde ignoraunce and forgetfulnesse.[a] Undoughtedly reason, societie called company, and knowlege remayninge, Justice is at hande,[b] and as she were called for, ioyneth her selfe to that company, which by her feloship is made inseperable; wherby hapneth (as I mought

nesian war, we read that *οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανώσαντό τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον ὡς ἠλευθερωμένοι*.—Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 80.

[a] The view held by Hume was 'that this virtue (Justice) derives its existence entirely from its *necessary use* to the intercourse and social state of mankind,' but this notion is now generally rejected. 'That justice is highly useful and necessary in society, and, on that account, ought to be loved and esteemed by all that love mankind, will readily be granted. And as justice is a social virtue, it is true also, that there could be no exercise of it, and perhaps we should have no conception of it, without society. But this is equally true of the natural affections of benevolence, gratitude, friendship, and compassion, which Mr. Hume makes to be the natural virtues.'—Reid's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 652, ed. 1863.

[b] Mr. Hume, in arguing that public utility is the sole origin of justice, supposes a state of human nature in which all society and intercourse between man and man is cut off, and thence infers 'that so solitary a being would be as much incapable of justice as of social discourse and conversation,' but the answer to this is that a being so situated would be equally incapable of all such virtues of the affections as friendship, generosity, compassion. 'If this argument,' says Dr. Reid, 'prove justice to be an artificial virtue, it will, with equal force, prove every social virtue to be artificial.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 660, ed. 1863.

saye) a vertuous and moste blessed conspiracie.[a] And in thre very shorte preceptes or aduertisementes man is persuaded to receyue and honoure iustyce. Reason bedynge him do the same thinge to an other that thou woldest haue done to the.[b] Societie (without which mannes lyfe is unpleasaunt and full of anguisshe[c]) sayeth, Loue thou thy neighbour as thou doest

[a] This is in accordance with the theory of Plato, who by analogy to the constitution of the perfect state before alluded to, considered the soul as tripartite, and composed of three faculties or elements : (1) Reason, the governing principle ; (2) Energy or the irascible passions ; (3) Appetite, or the concupiscible passions. When each of these three faculties of the mind confined itself to its proper office, without attempting to encroach upon that of any other ; when Reason governed, and the Passions obeyed, then the result was that complete virtue which Plato denominated Justice. *Καὶ ἀνδρεῖον δὴ, οἶμαι, τούτῳ τῷ μέρει καλοῦμεν ἕνα ἕκαστον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τὸ θυμοειδὲς διασώζῃ διά τε λυπῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου παραγγελθὲν δεινόν τε καὶ μή. Ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη. Σοφὸν δέ γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ σμικρῷ μέρει τῷ ὅ ἦρχε τ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ταῦτα παρήγγελλεν, ἔχον αὖ κἀκεῖνο ἐπιστήμην ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ξυμφέροντος ἑκάστῳ τε καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ κοινῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν ὄντων. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Τί δέ ; σώφρονα οὐ τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ξυμφωνίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν τούτων, ὅταν τό τε ἄρχον καὶ τὼ ἀρχομένω τὸ λογιστικὸν ὁμοδοξῶσι δεῖν ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ στασιάζωσιν αὐτῷ ; Σωφροσύνη γοῦν, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν, ἢ τοῦτο, πολεώς τε καὶ ἰδιώτου. Ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ δίκαιός γε, ᾧ πολλάκις λέγομεν, τούτῳ καὶ οὕτως ἔσται. Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη. Τί οὖν ; εἶπον ἐγώ· μή πη ἡμῖν ἀπαμβλύνεται ἄλλο τι δικαιοσύνη δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἢ ὅπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐφάνη ; Οὐκ ἔμοιγε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ.*—*De Rep.* lib. iv. cap. 16.

[b] The idea contained in this sentence was expanded by Hobbes in the following manner. 'There is an easy rule to know upon a sudden, whether the action I be to do, be against the law of nature or not. And it is but this, *That a man imagine himself in the place of the party with whom he hath to do, and reciprocally him in his.* Which is no more but changing (as it were) of the scales. For every man's passion weigheth heavy in his own scale, but not in the scale of his neighbour. And this rule is very well known and expressed in this old dictate : 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.'—*Works*, p. 46, ed. 1750. According to Gibbon this maxim of justice was promulgated, four hundred years before the publication of the Gospel, in a moral treatise of Isocrates : *ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε.*—See *Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vol. vii. p. 61, note, ed. 1855.

[c] 'Man,' says the writer so often quoted, 'is a gregarious, or more properly a social animal. He is nowhere found, nor can he exist, in any other state than in Society of some form or other . . . Men desire to act, and are fitted to act, in common ; declaring and enforcing rules by which the conduct of all shall be governed : they thus act as governors, legislators, judges, subjects, citizens. Without such community of action, and such common rules really enforced, there can be no tolerable comfort, peace, or order. Without civil society, man cannot act as man.'—Whewell, *El. of Mor.* pp. 36, 37.

thy selfe. And that sentence or precept came from heuyn, whan societie was firste ordayned of god, and is of suche autoritie that the onely sonne of god beinge demaunded of a doctor of lawe whiche is the great commaundement in the lawe of god, aunswered, Thou shalte loue thy lorde god with all thy harte, and in all thy soule, and in all thy mynde, that is the firste and great commaundement. The seconde is lyke to the same Thou shalte loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. In these two commaundementes do depende all the lawe and prophetes.[a] Beholde howe our sauiour Christe ioyneth beneuolence with the loue of god, and nat onely maketh it the seconde precept, but also resembleth it unto the firste?

Mat. xxii.

Knowlege also, as a perfeyte instructrice and mastresse, in a more briefe sentence than yet hath ben spoken, declareth by what meane the sayd preceptes of reason and societie may be well understande, and therby iustice finally executed.[b] The words be these in latine, *Nosce te ipsum*, whiche is in englysshe, know thy selfe. This sentence is of olde writars supposed for to be firste spoken by Chilo or some other of the seuen auncient Greekes called in latin *Sapientes*, in englysshe sages or wise men.[c] Other do accomodate it to Apollo, whome the paynimes ho-

That this sentence nosce te ipsum knowe thy selfe induceth to the verye knowlege of iustyce.

[a] See Matt. xxii. 35–40.

[b] By the expression 'knowledge,' or 'self-knowledge,' the author probably intended to designate Conscience or a Moral Sense or Moral Faculty. So interpreted, the explanation of Justice given in the text would seem to anticipate the definition of that virtue proposed by modern intuitive moralists. Thus Dr. Reid says, 'It may be granted to Mr. Hume, that men have no conception of the virtue of justice till they have lived some time in society. It is purely a *moral conception*, and our moral conceptions and moral judgments are not born with us. They grow up by degrees, as our reason does. Nor do I pretend to know how early, or in what order, we acquire the conception of the several virtues. The *conception of justice supposes some exercise of the moral faculty*, which, being the noblest part of the human constitution, and that to which all its other parts are subservient, appears latest.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 653, ed. 1863.

[c] 'Rursus mortales oraculorum societatem dedere Chiloni Lacedæmonio, tria præcepta ejus Delphis consecrando, aureis literis, quæ sunt hæc: Nosse se quemque; et nihil nimium cupere; comitemque æris alieni atque litis esse miseriam.'—Plin.

noured for god of wisedome.[a] But to saye the trouthe, were it Apollo that spake it, or Chilo, or any other, suerly it proceded of god, as an excellent and wonderfull sentence.[b] By this counsaile man is induced to understande the other two preceptes, and also wherby is accomplisshed nat onely the seconde parte, but also all the residue of Justyce, whiche I before haue rehersed. For a man knowinge him selfe shall knowe that which is his owne and pertayneth to him selfe. But what is more his owne than his soule?[c] or what thynge more appertayneth to hym thanne his body? His soule is undoughtedly and frely his owne. And none other persone may by any meane possede it or clayme it.[d] His body so pertayneth unto him, that none other without his consent may vendicate therein any propretie.[e] Of what

Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 32. But Diogenes Laertius attributes the saying to Thales: Τούτου ἐστὶ τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόης εἶναί φησιν, ἐξιδιοποιήσασθαι δὲ ἀυτὸ Χείλωνα.—*Thales*, 13.

[a] 'Est illud quidem vel maximum, animo ipso animum videre: et nimirum hanc habet vim præceptum Apollinis, quo monet, ut se quisque noscat.'—Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. I. cap. 22.

[b] This was the opinion of Juvenal:

> 'E cœlo descendit Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν,
> Figendum, et memori tractandum pectore, sive
> Conjugium quæras, vel sacri in parte Senatus
> Esse velis.' *Sat.* xi. 27–30.

[c] 'The Soul is the central and fundamental unity in which all the internal elements of human action inhere, reside, act upon each other, and are moulded and modified by all which happens to the man.'—Whewell, *Elem. of Mor.* p. 45.

[d] It is curious to note this expression in favour of liberty of conscience, and as a straw serves to show the direction of the current, we may view it as a not unimportant symptom of the temper of the times. We may compare it with the utterances of a great modern writer. 'The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.'—Mill, *On Liberty*, Introduct. p. 22, ed. 1864.

[e] Yet this statement, though theoretically true, was not practically recognised even in this country in the author's lifetime. 'The ancient condition of villenage expired about the commencement of the seventeenth century; and no other form of slavery was recognised by our laws. In Scotland, however, negro slaves continued to be sold as chattels, until late in the last century; and, startling as it may sound, the slavery of native Scotchmen

valour or price his soule is, the similitude where unto it was made, the immortalitie and lyfe euerlastynge, and the powars and qualities therof, abundauntly do declare. And of that same mater and substaunce that his soule is of, be all other soules that nowe are, and haue ben, and euer shall be, without singularitie or preeminence of nature.[a] In semblable astate is his body, and of no better claye (as I mought frankely saye) is a gentilman made than a carter,[b] and of libertie of wille as moche is gyuen of god to the poore herdeman, as to the great and mighty emperour.[c] Than in knowinge the condicion of his soule and body, he knoweth

The equalite in soules and corporall substaunce.

continued to be recognised, in that country, to the very end of last century. The colliers and salters were unquestionably slaves. They were bound to continue their service during their lives, were fixed to their places of employment, and *sold with the works to which they belonged.* So completely did the law of Scotland regard them as a distinct class, not entitled to the same liberties as their fellow subjects, that they were excepted from the Scotch Habeas Corpus Act of 1701. But at length, in 1799, their freedom was absolutely established by law. The last vestige of slavery was now effaced from the soil of Britain; but not until the land had been resounding for years with outcries against the African slave trade. Seven years later that odious traffic was condemned; and at length colonial slavery itself, so long encouraged and protected by the legislature, gave way before the enlightened philanthropy of another generation.'—May's *Constit. Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii. pp. 284–287, ed. 1865.

[a] 'The notions of the ancients were very various with regard to the seat of the soul. Since it has been discovered, by the improvements in anatomy, that the nerves are the instruments of perception, and of the sensations accompanying it, and that the nerves ultimately terminate in the brain, it has been the general opinion of philosophers that the brain is the seat of the soul; and that she perceives the images that are brought there, and external things, only by means of them.'—Reid's *Works*, vol. i. p. 255.

[b] So Bishop Pilkington, who was one of the most zealous promoters of the Reformation, said: 'All the difference that is betwixt us is this: that one is higher in authority, better clad or fed, hath a prouder coat or a softer bed, or more store of money, lands, or servants than another hath; which thing helps not to salvation. . . . If the poor and rich man's blood were both in one basin, how should the one be known to be better than the other, seeing we crack so much of it?'—*Works*, pp. 124–126, ed. 1842. Parker Soc.

[c] 'Though in fact men are not born equal, they are all born with a capacity for being moral agents: and this Idea is the basis of all Morality. And we may lay it down as a universal principle, from which we may hereafter reason, that *All men are moral beings.*'—Whewell, *Elem. of Mor.*, p. 224.

him selfe, and consequently in the same thinge he knoweth euery other man.

If thou be a gouernour, or haste ouer other soueraygntie, knowe thy selfe, that is to saye, knowe that thou arte verely a man compacte of soule and body, and in that all other men be equall unto the.[a] Also that euery man taketh with the equall benefite of the spirite of life, nor thou haste any more of the dewe of heuyn, or the brightnes of the sonne, than any other persone.[b] Thy dignitie or autorite, wherin thou onely differest from other, is (as it were) but a weighty or heuy cloke, fresshely glit-eringe in the eyen of them that be poreblynde,[c] where unto

[a] This was the principle which Erasmus was at so much pains to enforce on princes: 'Cum natura genuerit omnes homines liberos, et præter naturam inducta sit servitus, quod Ethnicorum etiam leges fatentur, cogita quàm non conveniat Christianum in Christianos usurpare dominium, quos nec leges servos esse voluerunt, et Christus ab omni servitute redemit. Siquidem Paulus Onesimum servum natum à Baptismo fratrem prioris heri Philemonis appellat. Quàm absurdum est eos pro servis habere, quos Christus eodem redemptos sanguine in communem asseruit libertatem, quos iisdem secum alit Sacramentis, quos ad eamdem immortalitatis vocavit hæreditatem, et iis servitutis jugum inducere, qui communem tecum habent Dominum ac Principem Jesum Christum?'—*Inst. Prin. Christ.* p. 56, ed. 1519.

[b] The sentiment here expressed seems to anticipate the famous proposition contained in the American Declaration of Independence which declared 'that all men are created equal, that they are endued by the Creator with certain unalienable rights, that amongst those are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

[c] Purblind is a more modern form of this word, which is no doubt derived from the Greek πωρὸς = τυφλὸς, cæcus. Chaucer frequently uses the verb 'to pore,' with which the compound adjective seems to be closely connected. Thus, speaking of the friar in *The Sompnoures Tale* he says, 'In every hous he gan to *pore* and prye.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 260. And again in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, 'But I may say in sory houre stode I to loken on to *poure*.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 50. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle we find the adjective used, 'Me ssolde pulte oute bothe hys eye and make hym *pur blynd*.'—Vol. ii. p. 376, ed. 1724. And so Nicholas Udall in his translation of Erasmus's paraphrase upon the 8th chapter of S. Mark says, 'Thys manne was not *purblynde* or a lyttle appayred and decayed in syght, but as bysome as was possible to be.'—Vol. i. fo. clxii. b. ed. 1551, where the original has, 'Non erat iste *lusciosus* aut leviter cæcutiens, sed profundissimâ cæcitate obrutus,' ed 1524. Bacon, in his *Natural History*, says, '*Pore-blind* men see best in the dimmer lights: and likewise have their sight stronger near hand, than those that are not *pore-blind*; and can read and write

the it is paynefull, if thou weare hym in his right facion, and as it shal best become the. And from the it may be shortely taken of him that dyd put it on the, if thou use it negligently, or that thou weare it nat commely, and as it appertaineth. Therfore whiles thou wearest it, knowe thy selfe, knowe that the name of a soueraigne or ruler without actuall gouernaunce is but a shadowe, that gouernaunce standeth nat by wordes onely, but principally by acte and example; that by example of gouernours men do rise or falle in vertue or vice. And, as it is said of Aristotell, rulers more greuously do sinne by example than by their acte.[a] And the more they haue under their gouernaunce, the greatter accounte haue they to rendre, that in their owne preceptes and ordenaunces they be nat founde negligent. Wherfore there is a noble aduer- *Lampridius.* tisement of the emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called Seuerus. On a tyme one of his noble men exhorted hym to do a thinge contrary to a lawe or edicte, whiche he hym selfe had inacted; but he firmely denyed it. The other

smaller letters. The cause is, for that the spirits visual in those that are pore-blind, are thinner and rarer than in others; and therefore the greater light disperseth them. For the same cause they need contracting; but being contracted, are more strong than the visual spirits of ordinary eyes are; as, when we see through a level, the sight is the stronger; and so is it when you gather the eye-lids somewhat close; and it is commonly seen in those that are *pore-blind*, that they do much gather the eye-lids together. But old men, when they would see to read, put the paper somewhat afar off; the cause is, for that old men's spirits visual, contrary to those of *pore-blind men*, unite not but when the object is at some good distance from their eyes.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 470, ed. 1826. This last passage shows conclusively that by 'pore blind' was meant what we should now call a person of short sight.

[a] The author is mistaken in attributing this saying to Aristotle, for it occurs in Cicero's treatise *On the Laws*. The whole passage is as follows: 'Quo perniciosius de republicâ merentur vitiosi principes, quòd non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi, sed ea infundunt in civitatem: neque solum obsunt, quòd ipsi corrumpuntur, sed etiam quòd corrumpunt, plusque exemplo, quàm peccato nocent.'—*De Legg.* lib. iii. cap. 14. It is curious that Patrizi has fallen into a similar error and has quoted the same passage on the double authority of Plato and Socrates. He says: 'Principum enim exempla facilè omnes sequuntur. Unde verum esse cernimus, quod a Platone, Socrateque dicitur: *Principes longe magis exemplo quàm culpâ peccare.*'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. i. tit. 7.

still persistynge sayde, that the emperour was nat bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Where unto the sayde emperour displeasauntly answering, said in this maner, God forbede that euer I shulde deuise any lawes wherby my people shulde be compelled to do any thynge whiche I my selfe can nat tollerate.[a] Wherfore ye that haue any gouernaunce, by this moste noble princis example knowe the boundes of your autorite, knowe also your office and duetie, beinge your selfes men mortall amonge men, and instructours and leaders of men. And that as obedience is due unto you, so is your studie, your labour, your industrie with vertuous example due to them that be subiecte to your autoritie. Ye shall knowe all way your selfe, if for affection or motion ye do speke or do nothing unworthy the immortalitie and moste precious nature of your soule, and remembringe that your body is subiecte to corruption, as all other be, and life tyme uncertayne.[b] If ye forgette nat this commune astate, and do also remembre that in nothinge but onely in vertue ye are better than an other inferior persone, accordynge to the sayeng of Agesilaus kyng of Lacedemones, who hering the great king of Persia praised, asked howe moche that great king was more than he in iustice.[c] And Socrates beinge demaunded if the kynge of Persia semed to him happy, I can nat tell (said he) of what estimation he is in vertue and lerning.[d] Consider

Agesilaus.

Socrates.

[a] The Editor has been unable to verify this anecdote, and the only passage in the life of the Emperor by Lampridius that gives any countenance to it is the following: 'Leges in annos firmavit, easque etiam ipse diligentissimè servavit.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 995. The probability is that the story has been unintentionally attributed to the wrong person.

[b] Bacon, in his essay upon 'Empire,' says much the same thing. 'All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances: "Memento quod es homo," and "Memento quod es Deus," or "vice Dei"—the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.'—*Essays*, p. 188, ed. 1857.

[c] Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι ταῦτα δοκεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, 'Τί δαὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμοῦ, εἶπε, μείζων, εἰ μὴ δικαιότερος;'—Plut. *Agesilaus*, 23. The reader will observe that the sense of the original is hardly preserved in the translation.

[d] Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος, ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν, μοὶ δοκεῖ, Γοργίου, ἣν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπόληψιν, καὶ εἰ νομίζοι τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, Οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφησε, πῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ παιδείας ἔχει.—Plut. *De Educat. Puer.* cap. 8.

also that auctorite, beinge well and diligently used, is but a token of superioritie, but in very dede it is a burden and losse of libertie.

And what gouernour in this wise knoweth him selfe he shall also by the same rule knowe all other men,[b] and shall nedes loue them for whome he taketh labours and forsaketh libertie.

Obedience due to gouernours.

In semblable maner the inferior persone or subiecte aught to consider, that all be it (as I haue spoken) he in the substaunce of soule and body be equall with his superior, yet for als moche as the powars and qualities of the soule and body, with the disposition of reason, be nat in euery man equall, therfore god ordayned a diuersitie or preeminence in degrees to be amonge men[c] for the necessary derection and preseruation of them in conformitie of lyuinge.[d] Whereof nature ministreth to us examples abundauntly, as in

[a] It was doubtless his own experience of office which caused Bacon to complain that 'Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times.' And he adds, 'It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty, or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self.'—*Essays*, p. 92, ed. 1857.

[b] This, too, was the advice of Martial:

'Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.'—*Epig.* lib. viii. 15, 8.

[c] The early Christians were expressly enjoined to submit themselves to the magistrates. And these 'powers' are declared to be 'of God,' to be 'ordained of God,' to be 'the ministers of God;' to resist them is to resist the ordinance of God, and to incur danger of damnation. The powers to which this applied, as appears by the condition of the early Christians, and by the facts, are the powers of the established government; they are called by St. Paul 'the powers that be,' and by St. Peter, 'every ordinance of man.'—Whewell's *El. of Mor.* p. 286.

[d] Dr. Hooker uses very similar language: 'Without order there is no living in publick society, because the want thereof is the mother of confusion, whereupon division of necessity followeth, and out of division destruction. The apostle therefore giving instruction to publick societies, requireth that all things be orderly done. Order can have no place in things, except it be settled, amongst the persons that shall by office be conversant about them. And if things and persons be ordered, this doth imply that they are distinguished by degrees. For order is a gradual disposition.'—*Eccles. Polity*, p. 411, ed. 1723.

bees,[a] (wherof I haue before spoken in the firste boke) cranes, redde dere, wolfes, and diuers other foules and bestis, whiche herdeth or flocketh, (to longe here to be rehersed), amonge whom is a gouernour or leader, towarde whome all the other haue a vigilant eye, awaytinge his signes or tokens, and according therto preparinge them selfe moste diligently.[b] If we thinke that this naturall instinction of creatures unreasonable is necessary and also commendable, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge them to be that wolde exterminate all superioritie,[c] extincte all gouernaunce and

[a] From the days of Plato and Aristotle, of Virgil and Cicero, the natural order preserved among the members of the animal kingdom has supplied political theorists with an obvious, if incomplete, analogy. John of Salisbury quotes Virgil's description of the bee community with approval, and thinks that states should be organised in conformity with the example thus afforded. And Patrizi, following the same line of argument, says, 'Ut ad minora descendam, nonne bruta animalia nonnulla sunt quæ imperio unius obtemperant? Munera imperata non detrectant, et tanquam sub Imperatore pugnant? Regem suum apes habere quis ambigit, qui populum nutu et arbitrio regat, et sedulas apes ad munera obeunda favosque componendos reddat? Hæc cogitatio principio fortasse vagis ac dispersis hominibus ferarum more persuasit, ut ab agresti vitâ discederent, et in unum locum congregarentur, Principemque sibi præficerent fortitudine, prudentiâ atque eloquentiâ præcellentem, cujus arbitria pro legibus observarent.'—*De Instit. Reipub.* lib. i. tit. 1. p. 12, ed. 1594. Erasmus advises that the attention of the youthful prince should be directed to the habits of bees and ants, and that moral lessons should be drawn from them: 'Quis non libenter auscultet apum et formicarum politiam?'—*Instit. Prin. Christ.* p. 19, ed. 1519.

[b] Dr. Reid, speaking of the particular benevolent affection which is denominated esteem for the wise and good, says, 'There is indeed a subordination in a herd of cattle, and in a flock of sheep, which, I believe, is determined by strength and courage; as it is among savage tribes of men. I have been informed that in a pack of hounds, a stanch hound acquires a degree of esteem in the pack; so that, when the dogs are wandering in quest of the scent, if he opens, the pack immediately closes in with him, when they would not regard the opening of a dog of no reputation. This is something like a respect to wisdom.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 563.

[c] We may refer to Locke's definition of a 'state of nature,' as one not only of perfect freedom, but 'also of *equality*, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one against another, without subordination or subjection, unless the

lawes,[a] and under the coloure of holy scripture, whiche they do violently wraste to their purpose, do endeuour them selfes to bryng the life of man in to a confusion ineuitable, and to be in moche wars astate than the afore named beestes?[b] Sens without gouernaunce and lawes the persones moste stronge in body shulde by violence constraigne them that be of lasse strength and weaker to labour as bondemen or slaues for their sustinaunce and other necessaries, the stronge men beinge without labour or care.[c] Than were all our equalitie dasshed,

lord and master of them all should, by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty. This *equality* of men by nature the judicious Hooker looks upon as so evident in itself, and beyond all question, that he makes it the foundation of that obligation to mutual love amongst men, on which he builds the duties they owe one another, and from whence he derives the great maxims of *justice* and *charity*. The *state of nature* has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all *equal and independent*, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions.'—*On Government*, pp. 189, 191, ed. 1821.

[a] Bentham says: 'We know what it is for men to live without government, and living without government, to live without rights; we know what it is for men to live without government, for we see instances of such a way of life. We see it in many savage nations, or rather races of mankind; for instance, among the savages of New South Wales, whose way of living is so well known to us. No habit of obedience, and thence no government; no government, and thence no laws; no laws, and thence no such things as rights; no security, no property; liberty, as against regular controul, the controul of laws and government, perfect; but as against all irregular controul, the mandates of stronger individuals, none.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 500, ed. 1843.

[b] 'Men always knew,' says Hooker, 'that, when force and injury was offered, they might be defenders of themselves; they knew that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withstood; finally, they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon.'—*Eccles. Polity*, p. 18, ed. 1723.

[c] 'Unless,' says Blackstone, 'some superior be constituted, whose commands and decisions all the members are bound to obey, they would still remain

and finally as bestes sauage the one shall desire to slee a nother. I omitte continuall manslaughters, rauisshementes, aduoutries and enormities horrible to reherce, whiche (gouernaunce lackynge) muste nedes of necessitie ensue,[a] except these euangelicall[b] persones coulde perswade god or compelle him to chaunge men in to aungels, makinge them all of one disposition and confirminge them all in one fourme of charitie. And as concerninge all men in a generaltie, this sentence, knowe thy selfe, whiche of all other is moste compendious,[c] beinge made but of thre wordes, euery worde beinge but one sillable, induceth men sufficiently to the knowlege of iustyce.

The necessite that is in gouernaunce.

as in a state of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their several rights and redress their several wrongs.'—*Comment.* vol. i. p. 48, 9th ed. We have here a picture of the 'state of nature,' which was afterwards a distinguishing feature the theories of Hobbes, Locke, and other philosophers. According to thes writers, 'On the first origin of mankind, their ignorance and savage nature were so prevalent that they could give no mutual trust, but must eac depend upon himself and his own force or cunning for protection and security. No law was heard of; no rule of justice known; no distinction of property regarded. Power was the only measure of right; and a perpetual war of all against all was the result of men's untamed selfishness and barbarity.'—Hume's *Philosoph. Works*, vol. iv. p. 260.

[a] But according to Godwin, anarchy, though 'it is undoubtedly a horrible calamity, is less horrible than despotism. Where anarchy has slain its hundreds, despotism has sacrificed millions upon millions, with this only effect, to perpetuate the ignorance, the vices, and the misery of mankind. Anarchy is a short-lived mischief, while despotism is all but immortal. It is unquestionably a dreadful remedy, for the people to yield to all their furious passions, till the spectacle of their effects gives strength to recovering reason; but, though it be a dreadful remedy, it is a sure one. No idea can be supposed more pregnant with absurdity, than that of a whole people taking arms against each other till they are all exterminated.'—*Political Justice*, vol. ii. p. 175, ed. 1796.

[b] The word 'gospeller' was very commonly used in the same kind of ironical sense as the words in the text. Thus Archbishop Whitgift alludes to 'the weak gospellers' in the preface to his answer to Cartwright, and Dr. John Harding speaks somewhat contemptuously of Bishop Jewel 'and the rest of our gospellers.' —Works of Jewel, vol. i. p. 148, ed. 1845. Parker Society.

[c] Dr. South says: 'Has it not been noted by the best observers and the ablest judges both of things and persons, that the wisdom of any people or nation has been most seen in the proverbs and short sayings commonly received amongst them? And what is a proverb, but the experience and observation of several ages

CHAPTER IV.

Of fraude and disceyte, whiche be agayne Justyce.

TULLI saieth that the fundation of perpetuall praise and renoume is iustyce, without the whiche no thynge may be commendable.[a] Whiche sentence is verified by experience. For be a man neuer so valiaunt, so wise, so liberall or plentuous, so familiare or curtaise, if he be sene to exercise iniustyce or wronge it is often remembred.[b] But the other vertues be seldome rekened without an exception, whiche is in this maner. As in praysinge a manne for some good qualitie, where he lacketh iustyce, men will communely saye, he is an honorable man, a bounteous man, a wise man, a valiaunt man, sauynge that he is an oppressour, an extorcioner, or is deceytefull or of his promyse unsure.[c] But if he be iuste with the other vertues, than is it sayde he is good and worshipfull, or he is a good man and an honorable,[d] *Ci. Offi. ii.*

gathered and summed up into one expression? The Scripture vouches Solomon for the wisest of men : and they are his Proverbs that prove him so. The seven wise men of Greece, so famous for their wisdom all the world over, acquired all that fame each of them by a single sentence, consisting of two or three words : and γνῶθι σεαυτὸν still lives and flourishes in the mouths of all, while many vast volumes are extinct, and sunk into dust and utter oblivion.'—*Sermons*, vol. i. p. 437, ed. 1823.

[a] 'Fundamentum enim perpetuæ commendationis et famæ est justitia, sine quâ nihil potest esse laudabile.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 20. The reference in the original side-note is to the *first* book of the Offices, but as this is manifestly incorrect, the proper number has been inserted in the present edition.

[b] 'Beneficence,' says Adam Smith, 'is less essential to the existence of society than justice. Society may subsist, though not in the most comfortable state, without beneficence; but the prevalence of injustice must utterly destroy it.' —*Theory of Moral Sent.* p. 125.

[c] 'The command of fear, the command of anger, are always great and noble powers. When they are directed by justice and benevolence, they are not only great virtues, but increase the splendour of those other virtues. They may, however, sometimes be directed by very different motives, and in this case, though still great and respectable, they may be excessively dangerous. The most intrepid valour may be employed in the cause of the greatest injustice.'—Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sent.* p. 354.

[d] But the writer last quoted says: 'Though the breach of justice exposes to

good and gentill, or good and hardy, so that Justyce onely bereth the name of good,[a] and lyke a capitayne or leader precedeth all vertues in euery commendation.[b] But where as the said Tulli saieth, that iniurie, which is contrary to iustice, is done by two meanes, that is to say, either by violence or by fraude, fraude semeth to be proprely of the foxe, violence or force of the lyon, the one and the other be farre from the nature of man, but fraude is worthy moste to be hated.[c] That maner of iniurie, whiche is done with fraude and disceyte, is at this present tyme[d] so communely prac-

Iniury bi two meanes done.

Fraude and deceyte

punishment, the observance of the rules of that virtue seems scarce to deserve any reward. There is, no doubt, a propriety in the practice of justice, and it merits upon that account, all the approbation which is due to propriety. But as it does no real positive good, it is entitled to very little gratitude. Mere justice is, upon most occasions, but a negative virtue, and only hinders us from hurting our neighbour. The man who barely abstains from violating either the person, or the estate, or the reputation of his neighbours, has surely very little positive merit. He fulfils, however, all the rules of what is peculiarly called justice, and does everything which his equals can with propriety force him to do, or which they can punish him for not doing. We may often fulfil all the rules of justice by sitting still and doing nothing.'—*Theory of Mor. Sen.* p. 117.

[a] 'There is no virtue so truly great and godlike as justice. Most of the other virtues are the virtues of created beings, or accommodated to our nature as we are men. Justice is that which is practised by God himself, and to be practised in its perfection by none but him. Omniscience and omnipotence are requisite for the full exertion of it. The one to discover every degree of uprightness or iniquity in thoughts, words, and actions. The other to measure out and impart suitable rewards and punishments. As to be perfectly just is an attribute of the Divine Nature, to be so to the utmost of our abilities is the glory of a man.'—*Guardian*, No. 99, and by Montaigne it is called 'la vertu royale.'

[b] The author has borrowed this idea from Cicero, who says: 'Hæc enim una virtus omnium est domina et regina virtutum.'—*De Off.* lib. iii. cap. 6.

[c] 'Cum autem duobus modis, id est, aut vi aut fraude fiat injuria; fraus quasi vulpeculæ, vis, leonis videtur: utrumque homine alienissimum: sed fraus odio digna majore.'—Cic. *De Off.* lib. i. cap. 13.

[d] Montaigne makes the same complaint: 'Quant à cette nouvelle vertu de feinctise et dissimulation, *qui est à cette heure si fort en credit*, je la hais capitalement; et de touts les vices je n'en treuve aulcun qui tesmoigne tant de lascheté et bassesse de cœur. C'est une humeur couarde et servile de s'aller desguiser et cacher soubs un masque, et de n'oser se faire veoir tel qu'on est.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 71, ed. 1854.

tised, that if it be but a litle, it is called policie,[a] and if it be moche and with a visage of grauitie, it is than named and accounted for wisedome. And of those wise men speketh Tulli, saieng of al iniustice none is more capitall than of those persones that, whan they disceyue a man moste, they do it as they wolde seme to be good men.[b] And Plato sayeth that it is extreme iniustice he to seme rightwise which in dede is uniuste.[c] Of those two maner of fraudes wil I seuerally speke. But firste will I declare the mooste mischeuous importaunce of this kynde of iniurie in a generalte. Like as the phisicions calle those diseases moste perilous againe whome is founden no preseruatiue and ones entred be seldome or neuer recouered. Semblably those iniuries be moste to be feared agayne the whiche can be made no resistence, and beinge taken, with great difficultie or neuer they can be redressed. Iniurie apparaunt and with powar inforced eyther may be with lyke powar resisted, or with wisedome eschued, or with entreatie refrained.[d] But where it is by craftie engynne imagined, sub-

Plato de repub. ii.

[a] So that the common maxim 'honesty is the best policy' involves really a paradox if this interpretation be put upon the word 'policy.' Bacon says: 'Dissimulation is but a faint kind of *policy* or wisdom, for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it; therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers. Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son," attributing arts of *policy* to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius.'—*Essays*, p. 63, ed. 1857. And Dr. Robert South says, 'The wisdom of this world is sometimes taken in Scripture for such a wisdom as lies in practice, and goes commonly by the name of *policy*, and consists in a certain dexterity, or art of managing business for a man's secular advantage.'—*Sermons*, vol. i. p. 230, ed. 1823.

[b] 'Totius autem injustitiæ nulla capitalior est, quàm eorum, qui, cum maximè fallunt, id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 13.

[c] Ἐσχάτη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.—*De Rep.* lib ii. cap. 4.

[d] This proposition is quite in accordance with the views of modern jurists. Thus Bentham says: 'The greatest crimes are those for which the slightest degree of knowledge is sufficient; the most ignorant individual always knows how to commit them. Inundation is a greater crime than incendiarism, incendiarism greater than murder, murder than robbery, robbery than cheating. . . . The most atrocious of all only requires a degree of information which is found among the most barbarous and savage of men. Rape is worse than seduction or adultery; but rape is more frequent in times of ignorance, seduction and adultery in times of

tilly prepared, couertly dissembled, and disceytefully practysed, suerly no man may by strength withstande it, or by wisedome eskape it, or by any other maner or meane resiste or avoyde it. Wherfore of all iniuries that which is done by fraude[a] is moste horrible and detestable, nat in the opinion of man onely, but also in the sight and iugement of god. For unto hym nothing may be acceptable wherin lacketh verite, called communely trouth, he him selfe being all verite,[b] and all thinge con-

civilization. . . . That the crimes of refinement have been considered more hateful than the crimes of ignorance is not surprising. . . . The greater the knowledge and refinement indicated by a crime, the greater the reflection exhibited on the part of its author, the greater the depravation of moral dispositions indicated also.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 536. In another place the same writer says: 'The mind at once is led to compare the means of attack and defence; and accordingly as the crime is considered more or less easy of commission, the alarm is more or less lively. This is one of the reasons which raise the mischief of an act of robbery so far above the mischief of a simple theft. Force can accomplish many things which would be beyond the reach of cunning.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 76.

[a] 'Falsehood,' says Bentham, 'stamps a character with a deep and degrading stain, which even the most brilliant qualities cannot efface. Public opinion is right in this respect. Truth is one of the first wants of man; it is one of the elements of our existence; necessary as the light of the day to us. At every moment of our lives, we are obliged to build our judgments, and to direct our conduct, upon the knowledge of facts, of which there are only a few that can pass under our own observation. Hence there follows the most absolute necessity for our trusting to the reports of others. If falsehood is mingled with these reports, our judgments become erroneous, our progress faulty, our hopes deceived; we live in a state of unquiet distrust, and know not where to seek for security. In a word, falsehood includes the principle of every evil, since it would bring in its train the dissolution of human society. The importance of truth is so great, that the least violation of its laws, even in trifling matters, always draws after it a certain danger. The slightest wandering is an attack upon the respect due to it; the first transgression facilitates the second, by familiarizing the odious idea of a lie. If the evil of falsehood is so great in things which are unimportant in themselves, what will it be in those greater occasions when it serves as an instrument of crime? Falsehood is sometimes an essential circumstance in a crime; sometimes simply an accessory. It is necessarily comprised in perjury, in fraudulent acquisition, and all its modifications.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 78, ed. 1843.

[b] See Deut. xxxii. 4: 'He is the Rock, his work is perfect: for all his ways are judgment: a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.' And John i. 17: 'For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' Id. xviii. 37: 'To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.'

tayninge untruthe is to him contrarious and aduerse. And the deuill is called a lyer,[a] and the father of leasinges. Wherfore all thinge, which in visage or apparaunce pretendeth to be any other than verely it is, may be named a leasinge ;[b] the execution wherof is fraude, whiche is in effecte but untrouthe, enemie to trouthe, and consequently enemye to god. For fraude is (as experience teacheth us) an euill disceyte, craftely imagined and deuised, whiche, under a colour of trouthe and simplicitie, indomageth him that nothing mistrusteth.[c] And because it is euill it can by no meanes be lefull; wherfore it is repugnaunt unto iustice.[d]

[a] See John viii. 44. 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do . . . When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own : for he is a liar, and the father of it.'

[b] This is the word actually used in Wiclif's translation of the verse quoted in the last note : 'Whanne he spekith *lesynge*, he spekith of his owne, for he is a liare, and fadir of it.' The word is frequently used by Chaucer, e.g. 'Hasard is verray moder of *lesynges*.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 94, ed. 1866. Again,—

> 'Many men sayen that in swevenynges
> Ther nys but fables and *lesynges*.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. vi. p. 1.

In Huloet's *Dict.* 'A lyer, or leasing maker,' is rendered into the Latin equivalents Falsidicus, Falsiloquus, Mendax, Vanidicus, Vaniloquus, Vanus, Sycophanta.—Is there not in this word a close connexion with the French *losengier*, which Cotgrave translates 'a flatterer, cogger, foister, pickthanke, prater, cousener, guller, beguiler, deceiver'? Holinshed, in his *Historie of Scotland*, has the following expression, which seems to connect these two words : 'There to end their liues with shame as a number of such other *losengers* had often done before them.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 63, ed. 1587.

[c] 'Pothier says that the term *fraud* is applied to every artifice made use of by one person for the purpose of deceiving another. "On appelle Dol toute espèce d'artifice, dont quelqu'un se sert pour en tromper un autre." Servius, in the Roman law, defined it thus : "Dolum malum machinationem quandam alterius decipiendi causâ cum aliud simulatur, et aliud agitur." To this definition Labeo justly took exception, because a party might be circumvented by a thing done without simulation ; and, on the other hand, without fraud one thing might be done, and another thing be pretended. And therefore he defined *fraud* to be any cunning, deception, or artifice, used to circumvent, cheat, or deceive another. "Dolum malum esse omnem calliditatem, fallaciam, machinationem ad circumveniendum, fallendum, decipiendum alterum, adhibitam." And this is pronounced in the Digest to be the true definition ; "Labeonis Definitio vera est." '—Story's *Eq. Jurisprud.* vol. i. p. 189, ed. 1870.

[d] 'Lies and Deceit are often used as means of *Fraud*; which is an offence

The fraude of an arbitrour in discending a controuersi.

The Neapolitanes and Nolanes (people in Italye) contended to gether for the limities and boundes of their landes and feldes. And for the discussinge of that controuersie either of them sent their ambassadours to the senate and people of Rome (in whome at that tyme was thought to be the moste excellent knowlege and execution of iustice), desiringe of them an indifferent Arbitour and suche as was substantiallye lerned in the lawes Ciuile, to determine the variaunce that was betwene the two cities, compromittinge[a] them selfes in the name of all their contray to abyde and perfourme all suche sentence and awarde as shulde be by hym giuen. The senate appointed for that purpose one named Quintus Fabius Labeo, whome they accounted to be a man of great wisedome and lerninge. Fabius after that he was come to the place whiche was in controuersie, he separatinge the one people from the other, communed with them bothe a parte, exhortinge the one and the other that they wolde nat do or desire any thinge with a couetise mynde, but in tredinge out of their boundes rather go shorte thereof than ouer. They doynge accordinge to his exhortacion there was lefte betwene bothe companyes a great quantitie of grounde, whiche at this day we calle batable.[b] That perceyuinge Fabius,

against Property, and therefore contrary to Justice as well as Truth. A person who defrauds, circumvents, cheats anyone, must be destitute both of Justice and of Truth. Property and Language may both be considered as Universal Contracts, to which the whole human race are parties. Fraud by means of Falsehood violates both these contracts.'—Whewell's *El. of Mor.* p. 85.

[a] The Latin word 'compromittere' is rarely used by Cicero. It occurs, however, in the following passage : 'Tribunitii candidati *compromiserunt*, H.-S. quingenis in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere ejus arbitratu, ut, quid contra fecisset ab eo condemnaretur.'—*Epistolæ ad Q. Fratrem*, lib. ii. 15. Another instance of its use similar to that in the text is to be found in the articles preferred against Cardinal Wolsey in Parliament in 1529. 'Art. 24. Also the same Lord Cardinal at many times, when any houses of religion have been void, he hath sent his officers thither, and with crafty persuasions hath induced them to *compromit* their election in him.'—State Trials, vol. i. col. 376, ed. 1809.

[b] The French *batable* = *debatable*, the subject of dispute and contention. Thus Fuller says, 'But now the question will be, what is to be thought of those Prelates, Writers, and Benefactors which lived in the aforesaid interval betwixt the beginning

he assigned to euery of them the boundes that they them selfes had appointed. And all that lande, whiche was lefte in the middes, he adiuged it to the senate and people of Rome. That maner of dealinge (saieth Tulli) is to disceiue and nat to gyue iugement.[a] And verely euery good man will thinke that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, beinge a noble man and well lerned, was a great reproche to his honour.

Fraudein confederacies.

It was a notable rebuke unto the Israhelites that whan they besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receyued them in to a perpetuall leage.[b] But after that the Gabaonites had yelded them, the Jewes perceyuinge that they were restrayned by their othe to slee them or cruelly entreate them, they made of the Gabaonites, beinge their confederates, their skullions and drudges;[c] wherwith all mighty god was no thinge con-

and perfecting of this Reformation? For these appear unto us like unto the *Batable* ground lying betwixt England and Scotland (whilest as yet two distinct kingdomes) in so dubious a posture, it is hard to say to which side they do belong.' —*Worthies of England*, p. 40, ed. 1662.

[a] 'Ne noster quidem probandus, si verum est; Q. Fabium Labeonem, seu quem alium, (nihil enim præter auditum habeo) arbitrum Nolanis et Neapolitanis de finibus à senatu datum, cum ad locum venisset, cum utrisque separatim locutum, ut ne cupidè quid agerent, ne appetenter, atque ut regredi quàm progredi mallent. Id cum utrique fecissent, aliquantum agri in medio relictum est. Itaque illorum fines, sicut ipsi dixerant, terminavit: in medio relictum quod erat, populo Romano adjudicavit. Decipere hoc quidem est, non judicare.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. i. cap. 10.

[b] See Joshua ix. 15.

[c] See Joshua ix. 27. The first of these words seems to be merely an Anglicised form of the French word *souillon*. M. Lacombe in his *Dictionnaire du vieux langage François* mentions the word *sculier*, which he explains as 'officier qui a soin de la vaisselle et des plats.' The word is used by Shakspeare in *Hamlet*—

> 'And fall a cursing, like a very drab!
> A scullion! fye upon 't.'—Act ii. sc. 2.

In Huloet's *Dictionary*, published in 1572, we find, 'Drudge, or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house, whiche doth all the vyle seruice,' and *souillon* given as the French equivalent. Brende, in his translation of Quintus Curtius, lib. x. cap. 1, says, 'They added besydes that suche mariners as caried the merchauntes, and the *drudges* of tharmye, through couetousnes of the gold which had bene reported unto them, landed in the Iland and were neuer seene after.'—Fo. 207, ed. 1561.

tented.[a] For the leage or truce wherein frendship and libertie was intended (whiche caused the Gabaonites to be yolden[b]) was nat duely obserued, whiche was clerely agayne Justice.

Simplicitie in couenant or promise.

Trewely in euery couenaunt, bargayne, or promise aught to be a simplicitie, that is to saye, one playne understandinge or meaning betwene the parties.[c] And that simplicitie is properly iustice. And where any man of a couaytous or malicious minde will digresse[d] pur-

Chaucer has the phrase 'To *drugge* and drawe,' which seems to be closely allied with the substantive.

[a] There seems to be some confusion of thought here, and probably the author had in his mind the account of the famine given in 2 Sam. xxi., which is there stated to have been sent as a judgment on the land for Saul's cruelty to the Gibeonites, but, as Mr. Scott says, in his notes on the chapter referred to, the history of Saul gives no account of the transaction which was declared to be the cause of this calamity.

[b] This participial form of the verb to yield is not uncommon with early English writers. Thus Chaucer in *The Knighte's Tale* says—

> 'And glader ought his freend ben of his deth,
> Whan with honour is *yolden* up the breth,
> Thanne whan his name appalled is for age;
> For al forgeten is his vasselage.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 94, ed. 1866.

And again in *The Romaunt of the Rose*—

> 'Curtesie certeyn dide he me,
> So mych that may not *yolden* be.'
>
> *Ubi supra*, vol. vi. p. 139.

And Fabyan in his account of Britain says, 'In this while the hunger encreased, and the people were so ouersette with their enemies, that manye of them were as *yolden*, and tooke partie againe their owne neighboures.'—*Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 62, ed. 1559.

[c] 'It is a rule in Equity that all the material facts must be known to both parties to render the agreement fair and just in all its parts. And it is against all the principles of Equity that one party knowing a material ingredient in an agreement should be permitted to suppress it and still call for a specific performance.'—Kent's *Comment.* p. 490, 4th ed. Dr. Whewell says, 'The Mutual Understanding of the two parties, at the time of making the promise, is the sense in which it is the Promiser's Duty to fulfil it. This is the right Interpretation of the promise, because the promise expressed and established this Mutual Understanding. If the Promiser, intending deceit to the Promisee, or to other persons, has used expressions with a view to their being misunderstood, he has already violated the Duty of Truth.'—*El. of Mor.* p. 155.

[d] 'Where the party intentionally or by design misrepresents a material fact,

posely from that simplicitie, takinge aduauntage of a sentence or worde, whiche mought be ambiguous or doubtefull, or in some thinge either superfluous or lackinge in the bargaine or promise, where he certainly knoweth the trouthe to be otherwise,[a] this in myne opinion is damnable fraude, beinge as playne agayne Justice[b] as if it were enforced by violence. Finally all disceyte and dissimulation, in the opinion of them whiche exactely honoure iustyce, is nerre to dispraise[c] than commendation, all though that therof mought ensue some thinge that were good. For in vertue may be nothing fucate[d] or counter-

or produces a false impression, in order to mislead another, or to entrap or cheat him, or to obtain an undue advantage of him ; in every such case there is a positive fraud in the truest sense of the terms. There is an evil act with an evil intent : *dolum malum ad circumveniendum.* And the misrepresentation may be as well by deeds or acts, as by words ; by artifices to mislead, as well as by positive assertions. The civil law has well expressed this, when it says, "Dolo malo pactum fit, quotiens circumscribendi alterius causâ, aliud agitur, et aliud agi simulatur." And again, "Dolum malum à se abesse præstare venditor debet, qui non tantum in eo est, qui fallendi causâ obscurè loquitur, sed etiam qui insidiosè obscurè dissimulat." '—Story's *Eq. Jurisp.* vol. i. p. 194, ed. 1870.

[a] 'Whether the party, thus misrepresenting a material fact, knew it to be false, or made the assertion without knowing whether it were true or false, is wholly immaterial ; for the affirmation of what one does not know or believe to be true is equally, in morals and law, as unjustifiable as the affirmation of what is known to be positively false.'—*Ibid.* p. 195.

[b] 'The general theory of the law, in regard to acts done and contracts made by parties, affecting their rights and interests is, that in all such cases there must be a free and full consent to bind the parties. Consent is an act of reason, accompanied with deliberation, the mind weighing, as in a balance, the good and evil on each side . . . And hence it is, that, if consent is obtained by meditated imposition, circumvention, surprise, or undue influence, it is to be treated as a delusion, and not as a deliberate and free act of the mind.'—*Ibid.* p. 223.

[c] Paley says, '*Pious* frauds, as they are improperly enough called, pretended inspirations, forged books, counterfeit miracles, are impositions of a more serious nature. It is possible that they may sometimes, though seldom, have been set up and encouraged, with a design to do good ; but the good they aim at, requires that the belief of them should be perpetual, which is hardly possible ; and the detertion of the fraud is sure to disparage the credit of all pretensions of the same nature. Christianity has suffered more injury from this cause, than from all other causes put together.'—*Mor. Phil.* p. 119, ed. 1825.

[d] The dictionaries give no other examples of the use of this word by English writers, but it is constantly found in the best classical authors, and is quite Cice-

fayte. But therein is onely the image of veritie, called simplicitie.[a] Wherefore Tulli beinge of the opinion of Antipater the Philosopher saieth, To councell any thynge whiche thou knowest, to the intent that for thyne owne profite thou woldest that another who shall take any damage or benefite therby shulde nat knowe it, is nat the acte of a persone playne or simple, or of a man honest, iuste, or good ; but rather of a persone crafty, ungentill, subtille, deceytefull, malicious, and wilie.[b] And after he saieth, That reason requireth that nothing be done by treason, nothing by dissimulation, nothing by disceite.[c] Which he excellently (as he dothe all thinge) afterwarde in a briefe conclusion proueth, sayenge, Nature is the fountayne wherof the lawe springeth, and it is accordinge to nature no man to do that wherby he shulde take (as it were) a praye of a nother mannes ignoraunce.[d] Of this matter Tulli writeth many propre examples and quicke solutions.[e]

But nowe here I make an ende to wrytte any more at this tyme of fraude, whiche by no meanes may be ioyned to the vertue named iustyce.

ronian. The following is a good instance of the way in which it was employed by the latter : 'Secerni autem blandus amicus à vero, et internosci tam potest, adhibitâ diligentiâ, quàm omnia *fucata* et simulata à sinceris atque veris.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 25.

[a] Bacon says, 'Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it—the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it—and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it—is the sovereign good of human nature.'—*Essays*, p. 2, ed. 1857.

[b] 'Neque enim id est celare, quicquid reticeas : sed cum, quod tu scias, id ignorare emolumenti tui causâ velis eos, quorum intersit id scire. Hoc autem celandi genus quale sit, et cujus hominis, quis non videt? Certe non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, non justi, non viri boni ; versuti potiùs, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. iii. cap. 13.

[c] 'Ratio igitur postulat, ne quid insidiosè, ne quid simulatè, ne quid fallaciter.' —*De Off.* lib. iii. cap. 17.

[d] 'Ex quo intelligitur, quoniam juris natura fons sit, hoc secundum naturam esse, neminem id agere, ut ex alterius prædetur inscientiâ.'—*De Off.* lib. iii. cap. 17.

[e] Paley adopts Cicero's doctrine in its full extent, as a duty of moral and religious obligation. He says, 'The rule of justice, which wants with most anxiety to

CHAPTER V.

That iustyce aught to be betwene enemyes.

SUCHE is the excellencie of this vertue iustice, that the practise therof hathe nat onely optayned digne commendation of such persones as betwene whome hathe ben mortall hostilitie, but also it hath extincte often tymes the same hostilitie. And fierce hartes of mutuall enemyes hathe ben therby rather subdued than by armure or strength of people. As it shall appere by examples ensuynge.

Whan the valyaunt kynge Pyrrus warred moste asprely againe the Romanes, one Timochares, whose sonne was yoman for the mouthe with the kynge, promysed to Fabricius, thanne beinge consull, to sle kynge Pyrrus, whiche thinge beinge to the senate reported, they by their ambassade warned the kynge to be ware of suche maner of trayson, sayenge that the Romanes maintayned their warres with armes and nat with poyson.[a] And yet nat withstandynge they discouered nat the name of Timochares, so that they embraced equitie as well in that that they slewe nat their enemye by treason, as also that they betraied nat him whiche pur-

be inculcated in the making of bargains, is, that the seller is bound in conscience to disclose the faults of what he offers to sale. Amongst other methods of proving this, one may be the following: I suppose it will be allowed that to advance a direct falsehood in recommendation of our wares, by ascribing to them some quality which we know that they have not, is dishonest. Now compare with this the designed concealment of some fault, which we know that they have. The motives and the effects of actions are the only points of comparison, in which their moral quality can differ; but the motive in these two cases is the same, viz., to procure a higher price than we expect otherwise to obtain: the effect, that is, the prejudice to the buyer, is also the same; for he finds himself equally out of pocket by his bargain, whether the commodity, when he gets home with it, turn out worse than he had supposed, by the want of some quality which he expected, or the discovery of some fault which he did not expect. If therefore actions be the same, as to all moral purposes, which proceed from the same motives, and produce the same effects; it is making a distinction without a difference, to esteem it a *cheat* to magnify beyond the truth the virtues of what we have to sell, but none to conceal its faults.'—*Moral Philos.* p. 95.

[a] 'Timochares Ambraciensis Fabricio consuli pollicitus est, "se Pyrrhum

posed them kyndnes. In so moche was iustice of olde tyme estemed, that without it none acte was alowed were it neuer so noble or profitable.

What tyme that Xerxes, kynge of Persia, with his army, was expulsed out of Greece, all the nauye of Lacedemonia laye at rode in an hauen called Gytheum, within the dominion of the Atheniensis. Themistocles, one of the princes of Athenes, a moche noble capitayne, said unto the people that he had aduised him selfe of an excellent counsayle, where unto if fortune inclyned, nothinge mought more augment the powar of the Atheniensis, but that it aught nat to be diuulgate or publisshed: he therfore desired to haue one appointed unto him, unto whome he mought secretely discouer the enterprise. Where upon there was assigned unto him one Aristides, who for his vertue was surnamed rightwise. Themistocles declared to him that his purpose was to put fire in the nauie of the Lacedemones, whiche laye at Gytheum, to the intent that it beinge brenned, the dominion and hole powar ouer the see shulde be onely in the Atheniensis. This deuise herde and perceyued, Aristides commynge before the people sayde that the counsayle of Themistocles was very profitable, but the enterprise was dishonest and agayne iustice.[a] The people

veneno per filium suum, qui potionibus ejus præerat, necaturum." Ea res cum ad senatum esset delata, missis legatis Pyrrhum monuit, "ut adversus hujus generis insidias cautius se gereret:" memor Urbem à filio Martis conditam armis bella non venenis gerere debere. Timocharis autem nomen suppressit, utroque modo æquitatem amplexus: quia nec hostem malo exemplo tollere, neque eum, qui bene mereri paratus fuerat, prodere voluit.'—Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 5, § 1. The story is told also by Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap. 8, and Plutarch, who however merely calls him *τοῦ Πύῤῥου ἰατρὸς*.

[a] Themistocles, post victoriam ejus belli quod cum Persis fuit, dixit in concione, se habere consilium reipublicæ salutare, sed id sciri opus non esse. Postulavit, ut aliquem populus daret, quicum communicaret: datus est Aristides. Huic ille, classem Lacedæmoniorum, quæ subducta esset ad Gytheum, clam incendi posse; quo facto frangi Lacedæmoniorum opes necesse esset. Quod Aristides cum audisset, in concionem magnâ expectatione venit; dixitque, perutile esse consilium, quod Themistocles afferret, sed minimè honestum. Itaque Athenienses, quod honestum non esset, id ne utile quidem putaverunt: totamque eam rem,

heringe that the acte was nat honest or iuste, all cryed with one voyce, nor yet expedient. And furthwith they commaunded Themistocles to cesse his enterprise. Wherby this noble people declared that in euery acte speciall regarde and, aboue all thinge, consideration aught to be had of iustyce and honestie.

CHAPTER VI.

Of faythe or fidelitie, called in latyne Fides *whiche is the fundation of iustyce.*

THAT whiche in latyne is called *Fides*, is a parte of iustice and may diuersely be interpreted, and yet finally it tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Some tyme it may be called faythe, some tyme credence, other whyles truste. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latyne it

quam ne audierant quidem, auctore Aristide, repudiaverunt.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. iii. cap. 11. Hume, who quotes this story as illustrating the influence of the imagination, says, 'A late celebrated historian (M. Rollin) admires this passage of ancient history as one of the most singular that is anywhere to be met with. "Here," says he, "they are not philosophers, to whom 'tis easy in their schools to establish the finest maxims and most sublime rules of morality, who decide that interest ought never to prevail above justice. 'Tis a whole people interested in the proposal which is made to them, who consider it as of importance to the public good, and who, notwithstanding, reject it unanimously, and without hesitation, merely because it is contrary to justice." For my part I see nothing so extraordinary in this proceeding of the Athenians. The same reasons which render it so easy for philosophers to establish these sublime maxims, tend, in part, to diminish the merit of such a conduct in that people. Philosophers never balance betwixt profit and honesty, because their decisions are general, and neither their passions nor imaginations are interested in the objects. And though, in the present case, the advantage was immediate to the Athenians, yet as it was known only under the general notion of advantage, without being conceived by any particular idea, must have had a less considerable influence on their imaginations, and have been a less violent temptation, than if they had been acquainted with all its circumstances; otherwise 'tis difficult to conceive, that a whole people, unjust and violent as men commonly are, should so unanimously have adhered to justice, and rejected any considerable advantage.'—*Philosoph. Works*, vol. ii. p. 181, ed. 1826.

is often called fidelitie. All whiche wordes, if they be intierly and (as I mought saye) exactely understanden, shall appere to a studious reder to signifie one vertue or qualitie, all thoughe they seme to have some diuersitie. As beleuynge the preceptes and promyse of god it is called faythe.[a] In contractes betwene man and man it is communely called credence.[b] Betwene persones of equall astate or condition it is named truste.[c] Fro the subiecte or seruaunt to his souerayne or

[a] Locke defines belief as 'the assenting to any proposition as probable.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 330, ed. 1823. And Dr. Whewell says, 'Religious Belief or Faith includes an act of the Intellect by which Truths regarding man's relation to God are assented to and accepted.'—*El. of Mor.* p. 303, 4th ed. Dr. South, however, says that, 'the Scripture makes mention of three several sorts of faith: 1. The first is a faith of simple credence, or bare assent; acknowledging and assenting to the historical truth of everything delivered in God's word. 2. The second sort is a temporary faith, and (as I may so call it) a faith of conviction. 3. The third and last sort is a saving, effectual faith, wrought in the soul by a sound and real work of conversion. It takes in both the former kinds, and superadds its own peculiar perfection besides. . . . It is not a bare persuasion or conviction resting upon the heart . . . it is a living, active principle, wonderfully produced and created in the heart by the almighty working of God's Spirit, and which does as really move and act a man in the course of his spiritual life, as his very soul does in the course of his natural.'—*Sermons*, vol. v. pp. 300, 301, ed. 1823.

[b] Or, according to Paley, 'confidence,' for in speaking of the obligation to perform promises, he says, 'Men act from expectation. Expectation is in most cases determined by the assurances and engagements which we receive from others. If no dependence could be placed upon these assurances, it would be impossible to know what judgment to form of many future events, or how to regulate our conduct with respect to them. *Confidence* therefore in promises, is essential to the intercourse of human life; because, without it the greatest part of our conduct would proceed upon chance. But there could be no *confidence* in promises, if men were not obliged to perform them; the obligation therefore to perform promises, is essential to the same ends and in the same degree.'—*Mor. Phil.*, vol. ii. p. 84, ed. 1825.

[c] It may be remarked that the author does not allude to the legal sense of this word, though it was about this time that it first came to be introduced into the technical language of the law. For the word appears as synonymous with 'use' and 'confidence' in the statute 27 Henry VIII. cap. 10. Lord Coke says, 'An use is a trust *or* confidence reposed in some other.'—*Co. Lit.* 272. b. But in the passage in the text the author employs it in the same sense as that which Dr. South speaks of it when he says, 'The great instrument and engine for the carrying on of the commerce and mutual intercourse of the world is *trust*.—*Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 487, ed. 1823.

maister it is proprely named fidelitie, and in a frenche terme loyaltie.[a]

Wherefore to hym that shall eyther speke or wryte, the place is diligently to be obserued where the propre signification of the worde may be beste expressed.

Consyderynge (as Plato sayethe) that the name of euery thynge is none other but the vertue or effecte of the same thinge conceyued firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed and finally in letters signified.[b] *Plato in Cratylo.*

But nowe to speke in what estimacion this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whiche nowe (alas, to the lamentable reproche and perpetuall infamie of this present tyme), is so neglected throughout christendome[c] *Faithe neglected.*

[a] *I.e.* loyaulté, which is itself derived from the Latin word legalitas, according to Spelman, who says that the latter 'occurrit aliquando pro purâ illâ erga Regem fide, Gallis et Anglis *loyaulté*.' A French writer on Ethics of the sixteenth century, with whose work Sir Thomas Elyot was probably acquainted, after discussing at great length the virtue of Truth, says, 'Nous auons longuement parle de verite, mais encores reste ung article qui en despend, duquel nous n'auons touche si non en glissant en aucuns lieux cy dessus et pour tant est conuenable en parler plus amplement au plaisir de dieu. C'est l'article de foy ou fidelite que vulgairement nous appellons *loyaute*, laquel le chascun homme veritable doit a autre s'il veult viure es termes de verite; ie ne parlerai que de la foy ou fidelite que l'homme doit a l'autre, que nous appellons *loyaulte* en tant qu'elle tient l'homme en verite enuers autre comme homme veritable doit faire. I'entens icy ceste vertu de foy procedant de verite une vertu par laquelle les hommes tiennent et accomplissent ce quilz promettent a autruy, et comme verite conserue ung homme quil ne decoyue autre par parolles. Ainsi foy et *loyaulte* le conseruent quil ne decoyve autruy de fait.'—*La Toison d'Or*, tom ii. fo. 229, ed. 1516. The following is a modern definition of this duty. 'The conformity of our actions to our engagements, whether express or implied, is Fidelity, Good Faith. Thus a subject is faithful to the engagement which binds him to the Sovereign of the State. If, in such a case, Love is added to Fidelity it becomes *Loyalty*.'—Whewell, *El. of Mor.* p. 85.

[b] The author probably refers to the following definitions: Ὄνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικόν τί ἐστιν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας, Plato, *Cratyl.* cap. 8, and Ὄνομα ἄρ' ἐστὶν, ὡς ἔοικε, μίμημα φωνῇ ἐκείνου, ὃ μιμεῖται καὶ ὀνομάζει ὁ μιμούμενος τῇ φωνῇ ὅταν μιμῆται.—*Ubi supra*, cap. 34, ed. Didot.

[c] Montaigne, speaking of the military operations of the sixteenth century, says that practices which would formerly have been regarded as treacherous were considered excusable, according to the notions of his own time. 'Toutesfois ie veis dernierement en mon voisinage de Mussidan, que ceulx qui en feurent deslogez à

that neither regarde of religion or honour, solemne othes, or terrible cursis can cause hit to be obserued.[a] And that I am moche ashamed to write, but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it. Neyther seales of armes,[b] signe manuels,[c] sub-

force par nostre armee, et aultres de leur party, crioyent, comme de trahison, de ce que pendant les entremises d'accord, et le traicté se continuant encores, on les avoit surprins et mis en pieces : *chose qui eust eu à l'adventure apparence en aultre siecle. Mais, comme ie viens de dire, nos façons sont entierement esloignees de ces regles ; et ne se doibt attendre fiance des uns aux aultres, que le dernier sceau d'obligation n'y soit passé, encores y a il lors assez à faire.*'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 35, ed. 1854.

[a] Latimer attributed the prevalence of perjury in England at this time to the course pursued by Wolsey. 'In the Cardinal's time men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would wish not to be followed. O Lord, what perjury was in England by that swearing! I think this realm fareth the worse yet for that perjury ; for doubtless, many a one willingly and wittingly forsware themselves at that time.'—*Sermons*, vol. i. p. 301, ed. 1844. Whilst in the preamble to the Statute of Uses, made in 1535, it is stated that many hereditaments have been conveyed from one to another 'by fraudulent feoffementes, fynes, recoveryes, and other assurances craftely made to secrete uses, intentes, and trustes ; and also by wylles and testamentes for the moste parte made by such persones as be visited with sykenes in theyr extreme agonyes and peynes, by reason wherof scantlye any persone can be certaynly assured of any landes by them purchasid, and manyfest perjuryes by triall of such secrete willes and uses have been commyttid.'—27 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

[b] Nicolson, the learned Bishop of Carlisle, was doubtful 'whether the Norman nobility brought their use of large seals into this kingdom or found it here,' but Lord Coke maintains that it was much more ancient. 'The most usual impresses,' according to Nicolson, 'were an armed knight on horseback, with a drawn sword and the bearer's name, but sometimes instead of the horseman we have a Lion, Leopard, Greyhound, Bird, or other device, part of the arms of the family ; but always the person of honour's own proper name encircling his paternal coat, or whatever other impression he was pleased to fancy. If the grantor's quality was mean, and his family too inconsiderable to bear arms, the conveyances were usually ratify'd under the authentick seal of some publick officer or corporation, the reason being alleg'd in these or the like words, 'quia sigillum meum penitus est ignotum, sigillum officialis de N. apponi procuravi.'—*English Historical Library*, p. 241, ed. 1714. The object of the grantor sealing with his own seal is made very clear by the following passage from Glanville, quoted by Nicolson, 'Ubi sigillum suum esse publicè recognoverit in Curiâ, cartam illam præcise tenetur warrantizare et conventionem in ipsâ cartâ expressam, sicut in eâ continetur, omnino servare sine contradictione. Et suæ malæ custodiæ imputet, si damnum incurrat per sigillum suum malè custoditum.'—*Tractatus de Legibus Angliæ*, lib. x. cap. 12.

[c] Madox says : 'In the Saxon times, before the reign of King Edward the

scription,[a] nor other specialties, ye, uneth a multitude of wytnesses,[b] be nowe sufficient to the obseruynge of promises. O what publike weale shulde we hope to haue there, where lacketh fidelitie, whiche as Tulli saieth is the fundation of iustyce?[c] What meruayle is it though there be in all places contention infinite, and that good lawes be tourned in to

Confessour, the usage in this kingdom was (for ought I know) to ratify their charters by subsigning their names with holy crosses. This was done both by the parties and the witnesses.' And he adds, that 'for a good while after the Conquest the usage of subsignation with crosses was sometimes retained.'—*Formulare Anglicanum*, pp. xxvi, xxvii, ed. 1702. He throws some doubt however upon the genuineness of these Anglo-Norman charters. The words *signum* and *sigillum* inserted in deeds did not necessarily imply that they were *sealed*, for these words were used, at least in Anglo-Saxon charters, to signify the mark of the cross. It is stated in the Introduction to *Rotuli Chartarum* that 'the simple cross was not the only sign by which the Anglo-Saxons ratified their charters; they also employed various monograms of Jesus Christ. The Anglo-Normans also signed the cross with oblique lines in the shape of the letter X; they also drew them within circles and quadrangular figures, and in various whimsical shapes, very different from the simple forms of the Saxon crosses, p. xxxvi.

[a] Mr. Kemble, speaking of the early Saxon charters says: 'It is evident enough, from the handwriting of such original charters as survive, that no one ever dreamed of subscribing with his own hand; few could have done so. The signitures accordingly were written by the same person as wrote the body of the charter.'—*Codex Diplom. Ævi Sax.* tom. i. p. xciii. ed. 1839. The deed generally concluded with 'Hiis testibus,' a form which Lord Coke tells us 'continued until and in the reign of Hen. VIII.;' after which time it was 'wholly omitted, and the fashion was brought in of subscribing the names of the witnesses under the deed or endorsing them thereupon.'—See 2 Inst. p. 78, ed. 1681.

[b] Mr. Kemble says: 'The witnesses to Saxon charters vary with the circumstances of the time and country. The earliest instruments are distinguished by the small number of signatures, the presence of one bishop, or at most two, and the simple manner of the subscription.'—*Codex Diplom.* tom. i. p. xcii. But after the Norman Conquest the number of witnesses was increased. Thus the witnesses to Magna Charta were 63, 'of which there were of the Clergy 31, whereof there were 12 Bishops and 19 Abbots, and Hugh de Burgo, Chief Justice, and 31 Earls and Barons.'—2 Inst. p. 78. In *Rotuli Chartarum* it is stated that 'to Charters there were usually many witnesses, but to Letters Patent and Letters Close there was seldom more than one witness.'—P. xxix. Introd.

[c] 'Fundamentum est autem justitiæ fides.'—*De Off.* lib i. cap. 7.

Sophemes[a] and insolubles,[b] sens euery where fidelitie is constrayned to come in triall, and credence (as I mought saye) is becomen a vagabunde?

Of what autorite fidelitie is.

To Josue, whiche succeded Moyses in the gouernaunce and leadinge of the Jewes, almighty god gaue in commaundement to sle as many as he shulde happen to take of the people called Cananees. There hapned to be nyghe to Jerusalem a contraye called Gabaon,[c] and in dede the people therof were Cananees, who,

[a] Richardson does not mention this form in his Dictionary. It occurs, however, in Chaucer. Thus in *The Clerk of Oxenforde's Prologe*:

> 'This day ne herd I of your mouth a word.
> I trowe ye study aboute som *sophime*;
> But Salomon saith, every thing hath tyme.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 278, ed. 1866.

And again in *The Romaunt of the Rose*:

> 'For men may fynde alwaye *sopheme*
> The consequence to enveneme,
> Who so that hath had the subtelté
> The double sentence for to see.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. vi. p. 227.

[b] The same phrase occurs also in the writings of Sir Thos. More: 'Then after that I haue so clerely confuted Tyndal concerning that point, and shall haue playnely proued you the sure and stedfast authoritie of Christes catholique knowen churche, agaynste all Tyndalles tryflinge sophisticacions, whyche he woulde shoulde seeme so solempne subtile *insolubles*, whiche ye shall se proued very frantique folyes—after this done I say, before I go ferther with Tindall, I purpose to aunswere good yong father Fryth.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 355, ed. 1557. The word was a technical one in the mouths of the schoolmen, and was specially employed by Pierre d'Ailly, otherwise known as Petrus de Alyaco, one of the most famous theologians of the 14th century, who was raised to the dignity of cardinal by Pope John XXIII., and who died about 1420. He wrote a treatise entitled *Conceptus et Insolubilia*, published at Paris in 1498. Ailly was followed by John Major or Mair, the learned Scotch divine and historian, who died about 1550, and was therefore a contemporary of Sir Thomas Elyot. He was a free thinker in politics, but we are told that 'in all other respects he was completely subservient to the opinions of his age; and with a mind deeply tinctured with superstition, defended some of the absurdest tenets of popery by the most ridiculous and puerile arguments.' Major, like his predecessors, wrote a treatise, *Insolubilium et Obligationum*, which was printed at Paris in 1516.

[c] *I.e.* Gibeon, which appears in the Septuagint as Γαβαών, and is called by Josephus Γαβαώ.

herynge of the precept gyuen to Josue, as men (as it semed) of great wisedome, they sent an ambassade to Josue which approched their contray, sayenge that they were ferre distaunt from the Cananees, and desired to be in perpetuall leage with him and his people: and to dissemble the length of their iournay, as their contray had been ferre thens, they had on them olde worne garmentes and torne shone.[a] Josue supposinge all to be true that they spake, concluded peace with them and confirmed the leage. And with a solemne othe ratified bothe the one and the other. Afterwarde it was discouered that they were Cananees, whiche if Josue had knowen before the leage made, he had nat spared any of them. But whan he reuolued in his mynde the solemne othe that he had made, and the honour which consisted in his promyse, he presumed that faythe beinge obserued unperisshed shulde please all mighty god aboue all thinges. Which was than proued. For it appereth nat that god euer dyd so moche as in any wise imbraied[b] him for brekynge of

Cananees preserued by Iosue.

[a] See Joshua ix. 1–27.

[b] The modern equivalent for this word is *upbraid*. Richardson does not notice this passage, but quotes the following from Hall: 'Of thys the erle of Warwycke was nothyng ignorant, which although he loked for better thankes and more ample benefites at Kyng Edwardes handes, yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter, tyll such a time were come, as he might fynd the kyng without strength, and then to *imbrayd* him with the pleasure that he had done for him.'—*Chronicle*, vol. i. fo. cxcv. b. ed. 1548. Huloet's *Dictionary*, printed in 1572, gives not only the forms imbrayde, imbrayder, imbrayding, but the still more uncommon forms of braide, brayder, braiding = exprobratio. And probably this is the sense in which it is used by Chaucer in the following passage in *Troylus and Crysede*:

> 'Lith Toilus, byraft of eche welfare,
> Ybounden in the blake barke of care,
> Disposed wode out of his wit *to brayde*,
> So soore hym sat the chaungynge of Cryseyde.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 309, ed. 1866.

It occurs also in the *Mirour for Magistrates*, which was first published in 1559:

> 'In case of slander, lawes require no more,
> Saue to amend that seemed not well said:

his commaundement. By this example it appereth in what estimation and reuerence leages and trues[a] made by princes aught to be had; to the breache where of none excuse is sufficient. But lette us leaue princes affayres to their counsailours. And I will nowe wryte of the partes of fidelitie whiche be more frequent and accustomed to be spoken of. And first of loyaltie and truste: and laste of credence, whiche principally

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Or to unsay the slanders said afore,
And aske forgiuenesse for the hastie *braid*.'

P. 461, ed. 1610.

Becon, who was chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, in one of his treatises uses the very same phrase as our author: 'Sara, the daughter of Raguel, desiring to be delivered from the impropery and *imbraiding*, as it would appear, of a certain default wherewith one of her father's handmaidens did *imbraid* and cast her in the teeth, forsook all company, and went straight into an upper chamber of her house.' —*Works*, vol. i. p. 131, ed. 1843, Parker Society.

[a] Richardson, in quoting this passage, erroneously prints *truces*, but in the original the older form of the word appears, which is evidently merely the French *trève* Anglicised, which again is derived from the Low Latin *treuga*, *treva*. The same form of the word is used by Chaucer. Thus in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

'In tyme of *trewes* on haukynge wold he ryde.'

And again in the same poem:

'Of Priamus was yeve, at Grek requeste,
A tyme of *trewes*.'

And also:

'This town is ful of lordes al aboute,
And *trewes* lasten al this mene-qwyle.'

Poet. Works, vol. iv. pp. 297, 302; vol. v. p. 17.

Fabyan gives the ancient and also more modern form in the same passage: 'He (Charles the Simple) therefore sente him (the Bishop of Rouen) in Ambassade to the said Rollo, to require a *true* or *truse* for iii monthes, the whiche was graunted.'—*Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 227, ed. 1559. And shortly after the same writer says: 'When Rollo had receyued this tydynges frome the kynge by the mouthe of his friende Franke, he somwhat attempred his fury and cruelty, and condescended to a *true* by the counsayle of his Lordes for the terme of iii monethes.'—*Ibid.* p. 228. Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart's account of the capture of Bergerac by the English in 1344, says: 'The Englysshmen dyd so moche, that they brake downe a great pane of the pales; than they within reculed backe, and desyred a treaty and a *trewse*, the which was granted, to endur all that day and the next nyght, so that they shulde nat fortify in the meane season.'—Froissart's *Chron.* vol. i. p. 124, ed. 1812.

resteth in promise. In the moste renoumed warres betwene the Romaynes and Anniball (duke of Charthaginensis), a noble citie in spayne called Saguntum, whiche was in amitie and leage with the Romaynes, was by the said Anniball strongely besieged; in so moche as they were restrayned from vitayle and all other sustenaunce. Of the whiche necessitie by their priuie messages they assertayned the Romanes. But they beinge busyed about the preparations for the defence of Italye and also of the citie agayne the intollerable powar of Anniball, hauinge also late two of their moste valiaunt capitaynes, Publius Scipio and Lucius Scipio, with a great hooste of Romaynes slayne by Anniball in Spayne,[a] deferred to sende any spedy socours to the Saguntynes. But natwithstandyng that Anniball desired to haue with them amitie, offringe them peace with their citie, and goodes at lybertie, consideringe that they were brought in to extreme necessitie, lackynge vitayle, and dispayringe to haue socours from the Romaynes, all the inhabitauntes confortynge and exhortynge eche other to die, rather than to violate the leage and amitie that they of longe tyme had contynued with the Romaynes, by one hole assent, after that they hadde made sondry great pyles of wode and of other mater to brenne, they layde in it all their goodes and substaunce, and laste of all, conuayenge them selfes in to the saide pyles or bonefires with their wyfes and children, sette all on fire, and there were brenned or Annyballe coulde entree the citie.[b]

The loialty of the Saguntines.

Titus Liuius. Valerius max.

[a] There is a good deal of confusion in this statement, for it was Cneius and not Lucius Scipio who co-operated with his brother Publius, and both survived the capture of Saguntum, which took place B.C. 218, whilst the two Scipios fell within a few days of each other six years after that event; but it will be seen from the next note that the author was not altogether responsible for the mistake.

[b] 'Nam post duorum in Hispaniâ Scipionum, totidemque Romani sanguinis exercituum miserabilem stragem, Saguntini victricibus Hannibalis armis intra mœnia urbis suæ compulsi, cum vim Punicam ulterius nequirent arcere, collatis in forum, quæ unicuique erant carissima, atque undique circumdatis accensisque ignis nutrimentis, ne à societate nostrâ desciscerent, publico et communi rogo semetipsi superjecerunt.'—Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6. ext. 1.

Semblable loyaltie was in the inhabitauntes of Petilia the same tyme; who, being lyke wyse besieged by Anniball, sent for socoures to Rome. But for the great losse that a little erste the Romaynes had sustayned at the batayle of Cannas they coulde in no wise delyuer them; wherfore they discharged them of their promise, and licensed them to do that thinge which mought be moste for their saufegarde. By whiche answere they semed to be discharged, and lefully mought haue entred in to the fauour of Anniball. Yet natwithstandynge, this noble people, preseruing loyalte before life, puttynge out of their citie their women and all that were of yeres unhabill for the warres, that they mought more frankely sustayne famyne, they obstinately defended their walles, that in the defence they all perysshed. So that whan Anniball was entred, he founde that he toke nat the citie, but rather the sepulchre of the loyall citie Petilia.[a]

O noble fidelitie, whiche is so moche the more to be wondred at, that it was nat onely in one or a fewe persones, but in thousandes of men, and they nat beinge of the blode or aliaunce of the Romanes, but straungers, dwellynge in ferre contrayes from them, beinge onely of gentill nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to be constant in their assuraunce.[b]

[a] 'Idem præstando Petellini eundem laudis honorem meruerunt. Ab Hannibale, quia deficere à nostrâ amicitiâ noluerant, obsessi, legatos ad senatum auxilium implorantes miserunt. Quibus propter recentem cladem Cannensem succurri non potuit; ceterum permissum est, uti facerent quod utilissimum incolumitati ipsorum videretur. Liberum ergo erat Carthaginiensium gratiam amplecti. Illi tamen fœminis, omnique ætate imbelli urbe egestâ, quo diutius armati famem traherent, pertinacissimè in muris perstiterunt; expiravitque prius eorum tota civitas, quàm ullâ ex parte Romanæ societatis respectum deposuit. Itaque Hannibali non Petelliam, sed fidei Petellinæ sepulcrum capere contigit.'—Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6 ext. 2.

[b] Bullinger, whose writings were held in high esteem by the English Reformers, in insisting upon the necessity of religiously keeping oaths, cites these citizens as an example to be imitated. 'Unless we do this,' (*i.e.* keep our oaths) then terrible threatenings and sharpe revengement of God's just judgment are thundered from heaven against us transgressors. The very heathens shall rise up and condemn us in the day of judgment. For the Saguntines, the Numantines, and they of Petilia,

Nowe will I wryte from hensforthe of particuler persones whiche haue showed examples of loyaltie, which I praye god may so cleue to the myndes of the reders, that they may be all way redy to put the semblable in experience.

The commendation of loyalte.

Howe moche aught all they, in whome is any portion of gentill courage, endeuoure them selfes to be all wayes trustye and loyall to their souerayne, who putteth them in truste, or hathe ben to them beneficiall, as well reason exhorteth, as also sondrye examples of noble personages, whiche, as compendiously as I can, I will nowe bringe to the reders remembraunce.

What tyme that Saull for his greuous offences was abandoned of all mighty god, who of a very poore mannes sonne did auaunce him to the kyngedome of Israell, and that Dauid, beinge his seruaunt and as poore a mannes son as he, was elected by god to reigne in Israell, and was enointed kynge by the prophet Samuell, Saulle beinge therfore in a rage, hauinge indignacion at Dauid, pursued hym with a great hooste to haue slayne hym, who (as longe as he mought) fledde and forbare[a] Saule, as his soueraygne lorde. On a tyme Dauid was so inclosed by the armie of Saule, that he mought by no wayes escape, but was fayne to hyde hym and his men in a great caue whiche was wyde and depe in the erthe. Durynge the tyme that he was in the caue, Saull nat knowinge therof entred

chose rather to die with fire and famine, than to break or violate their promise once bound with an oath.'—*The Second Decade*, p. 252, ed. 1849. Parker Soc. It would almost seem, from the order in which these examples are mentioned, as if Bullinger had made himself acquainted with Sir Thos. Elyot's work. Even if we reject such an hypothesis as too improbable, yet the passage affords an interesting illustration of the way in which the first Reformers turned their newly-acquired knowledge of the classics to account in the interest of religion.

[a] *I.e.* avoided, shunned. The word is used in this sense by Shakspeare in the following passage. '*Forbear* his presence, till some little time hath qualified the heart of his displeasure.'—*King Lear*, Act i. Sc. 2, Reed's ed. 1803 ; and also by Waller the poet :

'So angry bulls the combat do *forbear*,
When from the wood a lion does appear.'
Poetical Works, p. 107, ed. 1857.

into the caue, to the intent to do his naturall easement; whiche the people of Dauid perceyuinge, exhorted him to sle Saulle, hauynge suche oportunitie; sayenge that god hadde brought his enemye in to his handes, and that Saull beinge slayne, the warre were al at an ende, considerynge that the people loued better Dauid than Saulle. But Dauid refusinge their counsayle, saide that he wolde nat laye violent handes on his soueraygne lorde, beinge a kynge enoynted of god: but softely he approched to Saulle, and dyd cut of a peace of the nether parte of his mantell. And after that Saull was departed out of the caue towarde his campe Dauid called after hym sayenge, Whome pursuest thou, noble prince? (with other wordes rehersed in the bible in the firste boke of kinges[a]), and than shewed to hym the parte of his mantell. Wherat Saull beinge abasshed, recognised his unkyndnesse, callyng Dauid his dere sonne and trusty frende, recommendynge to hym his children and progenie, sens by the wyll of god he was elected to succede hym in the kyngdome of Israell. And so departed Saulle from Dauid. Yet nat withstandinge, afterwarde he pursued hym in Gaddy.[b] And in a night, whan Saull and his armye were at reste, and that Dauid by an espiall knewe that they were all faste on slepe, he toke with him a certayne of the moste assured and valiaunt personages of his hoste, and in most secrete wise came to the pauilion[c] of

[a] This is a mistake on the part of the author. The facts alluded to here are narrated in the first book of Samuel, chapters xxiv. and xxvi.

[b] *I.e.* En-gedi, called in the Septuagint Ἐγγαδδί and Ἐγγαδδαὶ. Its original name was Hazazon-Tamar, meaning 'the pruning of the palm,' doubtless as Josephus says, on account of the palm-groves which surrounded it. There is a curious reference to it in Mandeville, who says that the district between Jericho and the Dead Sea is 'the land of Dengadda' (Fr. *d'Engadda*) and that the palm trees were 'still called vines of Gady.'

[c] From the French *pavillon*. Thus Hall, speaking of the meeting of Henry VIII. with Francis I. in 1520, says, 'Fraunces, the Frenche kyng, was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce come to the toune of Arde, which was prepared for his commyng. Many tentes, hales, and *pauilions* were set and pight in the felde.'—*Chronicle*, vol. ii. fo. 74. And again, 'Thursdaie the seuenth day of June, in the vale of Andren, within the lordeship royall of Guysnes, before daie, was set

king Saul, where he founde hym suerly slepynge, hauinge by him his speare and a cuppe with water. Wherfore one of the company of Dauid sayde that he with the speare of Saulle, wolde stryke hym through and slee hym. Nay, sayd Dauid, our lorde forbede that I suffre my soueraigne lord to be slayne, for he is enointed of god. And therwith he toke the speare with the cuppe of water, and whan he was a good distaunce from the hoste of Saulle, he cried with a loude voyce to Abner, which was than marshall of the armye of Saul. Who answered and sayde, What arte thou that thus disseasest [b] the

and pight a royall rich tent, all of clothe of gold and riche embroudery of the kyng of Englandes, and diuerse other hales and *pauilions*.'—*Ibid.* fo. 75. Lord Berners in his translation of Froissart's account of the relief of Auberoche by the Earl of Derby in 1444, says: 'Thenglysshmen cryed a Derby, a Derby, and ouerthrewe tentes and *pauylions*, and slewe and hurte many.'—Froissart's *Chron.* vol. i. p. 128, ed. 1812.

[b] *I.e.* Troublest, from the French word *desaise*, one of the meanings of which according to Cotgrave, is the 'being ill at ease.' He also gives a participial form, *desaisé*, from which one may infer the existence of a verb, although none such appears in his Dictionary. In Edward VI.'s Bible, printed in 1552, verse 35 of the gospel of S. Mark, chap. v., is translated, 'Whyle he yet spake there came from the ruler of the synagoges house certayne which sayd, thy doughter is dead, why *diseasest* thou the master any further.' But in Coverdale's Bible of 1535 the word is translated as now, 'troublest.' Chaucer uses the same expression in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

> 'Nyl I nought swere, although he lay softe
> That in his thought he nas somwhat *disesed*.'

and again:

> 'The sothe is, the twynnynge of us tweyne
> Wol us *disese*, and crueliche anoye.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. pp. 243, 353.

Chillingworth, in the *Religion of Protestants*, says: 'That I should *disease* myself or my reader with a punctuall examination of it (*i.e.* the question in dispute) may seeme superfluous.'—P. 200, ed. 1638; and Locke in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, employs the word in the same sense as our author, viz. as an equivalent for 'to disturb.' Thus he says: 'Pain is often produced by the same objects and ideas that produce pleasure in us. . . . Thus heat, that is very agreeable to us in one degree, by a little greater increase of it proves no ordinary torment, and the most pleasant of all sensible objects, light itself, if there be too much of it, if increased beyond a due proportion to our eyes, causes a very painful sensation. Which is wisely and favourably so ordered by nature that when any object does by the vehemency of its operation disorder the instruments of sensation, whose struc-

kyng, which is nowe at his reste? To whome Dauid said, Abner, thou and thy company are worthy dethe, that haue so negligently watched youre prince; where is his speare and the cuppe of water that stode at his beddes hede? suerly ye be but dede men whan he shall knowe it. And there with he shewed the speare and cuppe with water. Whiche Saulle perceyuinge and hearynge the voyce of Dauid, cried unto him saienge, Is nat this the voice of my dere sonne Dauid? I uncurtaisely do pursue him, and he nat withstandinge doth to me good for euill. With other wordes, whiche to abbreuiate the mater I do passe ouer. This noble historie and other semblable, eyther wrought in Aresse, or connyngly painted, will moche better be seme the houses of noble men than the Concubines and voluptuous pleasures of the same Dauid and Salamon [a] his sonne, whiche be more frequently expressed in the hangynges of houses and counterpointes,[b] than the vertue

tures cannot but be very nice and delicate, we might by the pain be warned to withdraw before the organ be quite put out of order, and so be unfitted for its proper function for the future. The consideration of those objects that produce it may well persuade us, that this is the end or use of pain. For though great light be insufferable to our eyes, yet the highest degree of darkness does not at all *disease* them; because that causing no disorderly motion in it leaves that curious organ unharmed in its natural state.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1823.

[a] See note *ante* p. 25. Though such subjects were specially in request, yet there were not wanting others of a higher order, for Peacham in a short notice of Raphael and his works, refers to 'those stately hangings of Arras, containing the historie of S. Paul out of the Acts (then which eye neuer beheld more absolute Art, and which long since you might haue seene in the banqueting house at Whitehall)' which 'were wholly of his inuention, bought (if I be not deceiued) by King Henrie the eight of the State of Venice, where Raphaell Urbine dyed.'—*Compleat Gentleman*, p. 137, ed. 1622.

[b] This is simply the French word *contrepoinct* Anglicised, and is represented by the modern 'counterpane.' Cotgrave translates it 'a quilt, or quilted covering.' Strype, in an inventory of furniture belonging to the Lady Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Seymour and the ex-queen Catherine Parr, taken A.D. 1548, mentions 'A testor of scarlet embroidered with a *counterpoint* of silksay belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta, two *counterpoints* of imagery for the nurse's bed, six pair of sheets, six fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber, four carpets for windows, ten pieces of hangings of the twelve months within the utter chamber, two cushions of cloth of gold, one chair of cloth of gold, two wrought stools, a bedstead gilt, with a testor and *counterpoint*, with curtains belonging to

and holynesse of the one, or the wise experimentes of the other. But nowe will I passe ouer to histories whiche be more straunge, and therfore I suppose more pleasaunt to the reder.

Xerxes[a] beinge kynge of Persia, the great citie of Babilon rebelled againe him, which was of suche strength that the kynge was nat of powar to subdue it; that perceyuinge a gentilman, one of the counsayle of kynge Xerxes, named Zopirus, a man of notable wisedome, unwittynge to any persone, dyd cut of his owne eares and nose, and preuely departed towarde Babilon, and beynge knowen by them of the citie, was demaunded who hadde so disfygured hym. Unto whome he answered with apparaunt tokens of heuinesse, that for as moche as he hadde giuen to Xerxes counsayle, and aduise to be reconsiled unto their citie, he beinge meued with

the same.'—*Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 201, ed. 1822. Shakspeare, in the *Taming of the Shrew*, speaks of

> 'My hangings all of Tyrian tapestry;
> In ivory coffers I have stuff'd my crowns,
> In cypress chests my arras, *counterpoints*,
> Costly apparel, tents, and canopies.'

Sir Thomas North, in his translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, says: 'For no man is so maddely disposed or simple witted as to bring into so poore and meane houses bedsteades with siluer feete, imbrodered couerlettes, or *counterpoyntes* of purple silke, bicause the beddes must be aunswerable to the meanenes of the house, the furnitures of the beddes must be sutelike to the same.'—P. 52, ed. 1579. In a very popular comedy published in 1594, called *A knacke to know a knave*, occurs the following passage:

> 'And I will be attyred in cloth of Bis,
> Beset with Orient pearle, fetcht from rich Indian,
> And all my chamber shall be richly (wrought?)
> With Aras hanging, fetcht from Alexandria.
> Then will I haue rich *counterpoints* and muske.'

Finally, we meet with the word in Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, which was published in the middle of the following century. 'Shee entred into Don Quixote's chamber, who so soon as hee saw her, was so amazed and confounded at her presence, as hee shrunk down into his bed, all covered with the clothes, and hid with the sheets and *counterpoint*.'—P. 265, ed. 1652.

[a] This is a mistake, for it was Darius Hystaspes, and not Xerxes, who was on the throne of Persia at this time.

ire and displeasure towarde hym, in moste cruell wise caused him to be so shamefully mutulate. Addynge there unto reprochefull wordes agayne Xerxes. The Babilonians beholdynge his miserable astate, and the tokens whiche (as it semed to them) approued his wordes to be true, moche petied hym. And as well for the great wisedome that they knewe to be in hym, as for the occasion whiche they supposed shulde incense hym to be shortely auenged, they made hym their chiefe capitayne, and committed hooly to hym the gouernaunce and defence of their citie. Which hapned in euery thinge accordinge to his expectacion. Where upon he shortely gaue notyce to the kynge of all his affaires and exploitures.[a] And finally so endeuoured hym selfe by his wisedome, that he accorded[b] the kynge and the citie, without any losse or damage

[a] 'Interjecto deinde tempore, cum Assyrii descivissent, et Babyloniam occupassent, difficilisque urbis expugnatio esset; æstuante rege, unus de interfectoribus Magorum Zopyrus domi se verberibus lacerari toto corpore jubet; nasum, aures, et labia sibi præcidi: atque ita regi inopinanti se offert. Attonitum et quærentem Darium causas auctoremque tam fædæ lacerationis, tacitus, quo proposito fecerit, edocet; formatoque in futura consilio, transfugæ titulo Babyloniam proficiscitur. Ibi ostendit populo laniatum corpus: queritur "crudelitatem regis, à quo in regni petitione, non virtute, sed auspicio; non judicio hominum, sed hinnitu equi, superatus sit." Jubet "illos ex amicis exemplum capere, quid hostibus cavendum sit." Hortatur "ne mœnibus magis quàm armis confidant, patianturque se commune bellum recentiore irâ gerere." Nota nobilitas viri pariter et virtus omnibus erat: nec de fide timebant, cujus veluti pignora vulnera corporis et injuriæ notas habebant. Constituitur ergo dux omnium suffragio: et acceptâ parvâ manu, semel atque iterum cedentibus consulto Persis, secunda prœlia facit. Ad postremum universum sibi creditum exercitum Dario prodit, urbemque ipsam in potestatem ejus redigit.'—*Justin.* lib. i. cap. 10. The story is also told at greater length by Herodotus in his third book.

[b] From the French *accorder*, meaning 'to bring to agreement, to compose differences, to reconcile.' North, in his translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, which was published in the reign of Elizabeth, makes use of this expression: 'Although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they have busily noted the order and course of times, which, euen to this daye, many haue curiously sought to correct, and could yet neuer discusse it, nor *accorde* all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the same.'—P. 102, ed. 1579. And so does Sir Matthew Hale, who wrote in the succeeding century, 'When men were sure, that in case they rested upon a bare contract without specialty, the other party might wage his law, they would not rest upon such contracts without reducing

to eyther of them. Wherfore on a tyme the sayde kynge Xerxes cutting an odly great pomegranate, and beholdynge it faire and full of kernels, sayd in the presence of all his counsayle, that he had leuer haue suche one frende as Zopirus was, than as many Babilons as there were kernels in the pomegranate.[a] And also that he rather wolde that Zopirus were restored agayne to his nose and his eares, than to haue a hundred suche cities as Babilon was;[b] whiche by the reporte of writers was incomparably the grettest and fayrest citie of all the worlde.

The Parthiens, in a ciuile discorde amonge them selfes, draue Arthabanus their kyng out of his realme, and elected amonge them one Cinnamus to be their kynge. Iazate, king of Adiabenes, unto whome Arthabanus was fledde, sent an ambassade unto the Parthiens, exhortynge them to receyue agayne Arthabanus; but they made aunswere that sens the departynge of Arthabanus, they had by a hoole assent chosen Cinnamus, unto whome they hadde done their fealtie, and were sworne his subiectes, whiche othe they mought nat laufully breake.[c] Thereof hearynge Cinnamus, *Cinnamus.*

the debt into a specialty, if it were of any value, which created much certainty, and *accorded* many suits.'—*Hist. Com. Law*, p. 176, ed. 1716. We meet with it also late in the seventeenth century, in the sermons of Dr. South. 'If any one knows some other way of clearing this great article of our faith, which may better *accord* all difficulties, and lie open to fewer and lesser exceptions, he will do a worthy service to the Christian religion to produce it.'—*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 428, ed. 1823.

[a] 'Ροιὰν δὲ μεγάλην ἀνοίξας, πυθομένου τινὸς, τί ἂν ἔχειν βούλοιτο τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ἐστὶ τῶν κόκκων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶπε, Ζωπύρους· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φίλος ὁ Ζώπυρος.—Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*

[b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰκισάμενος ὁ Ζώπυρος, καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα περικόψας, ἐξηπάτησε Βαβυλωνίους, καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Δαρείῳ τὴν πόλιν, πολλάκις ὁ Δαρεῖος εἶπεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι λαβεῖν ἑκατὸν Βαβυλῶνας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Ζώπυρον ἔχειν ὁλόκληρον.—Plut. *ubi supra.*

[c] This circumstance is narrated by Josephus, but it will be seen that Sir Thos. Elyot has not adhered strictly to the original version. Γράφει τε πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους, πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον ὑποδέξασθαι, πίστιν προτείνων τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀμνηστίας δεξιὰν καὶ ὅρκους καὶ μεσιτείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ. Τῶν δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλειν οὐκ ἀρνουμένων, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑτερῷ πεπιστευκέναι (Κίνναμος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παρειληφότι) καὶ δεδοικέναι μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ

who at that tyme was kinge ouer them, he wrate unto Arthabanus and Iasate, that they shulde come, and that he wolde render the realme of Parthia unto Arthabanus. And whan they were come, Cinnamus[a] mette with them, adourned in the robes of a kynge, and as he approched Arthabanus, a lightinge downe of his horse, he sayde in this wyse, Sir, whanne the people had expelled you out of your realme, and wolde haue translated it unto a nother, at their instaunce and desyre I toke it; but whan I perceyued their rancour aswaged, and that with good wille they wolde haue you agayne, which are their naturall soueraigne lorde, and that nothynge letted, but onely that they wolde nothynge do contrary to my pleasure, with good wille, and for no drede, or other occasion, as ye may perceyue, do here rendre youre realme eftsones unto you. And therewith takinge the diademe of from his owne hedde, dyd sette it immediately upon the hedde of Arthabanus.

The fidelitie of Ferdinando[b] (kyng of Aragone) is nat to be forgoten, whome his brother Henry, kyng of Castill, decessyng, made gouernour of his sone, being an infant.[c] This Fernando, with suche iustice ruled and ordred the realme, that in a parlement holden at Castille, it was trayted by the hole consent of the nobles and people, that the name or title of the kyngdome of Spayne shulde be giuen unto him. Which honour he fayninge to receyue thankefully, dyd put upon hym a large and wyde robe, wherin he secretely bare the yonge

τούτου καταλάβῃ, μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ὁ Κίνναμος ταύτην, αὐτὸς γράφει τῷ Αρταβάνῳ, (τέθραπτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ φύσει δὲ ἦν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός), παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντα, παραγενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολῃψόμενον τὴν αὑτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβανος πιστεύσας παρῆν. Ὑπαντᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κίνναμος, καὶ προσκυνήσας βασιλέα τε προσαγορεύσας περιτίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.—*Antiq. Jud.* lib. xx. cap. 3.

[a] The original has Cumainus, but this is evidently a mere misprint, which the Editor has taken the liberty of correcting.

[b] This was Ferdinand I., who on the death of Don Martin was elected King of Aragon in 1412, and died four years afterwards.

[c] Henry III. died Jan. 1, 1407, leaving a son, afterwards John II., by his queen, Catherine, under two years of age.

prince his neuewe, and so came in to the place, where for the sayde purpose the nobles and people were assembled, demaundynge of euery man his sentence, who with one voyce gaue unto hym the kyngdome of Spayne. With that he toke out of his robe the little baby his neuewe, and setting him on his shulder, sayde all a loude unto them, Lo ye Castilians, beholde here is your kynge. And than he, confirmyng the hartes of the people towarde his neuewe, finally delyuered to hym his realme in peace, and in all thinges abundaunt.[a] This is the fidelite that appertayneth to a noble and gentill harte.

[a] The author was no doubt indebted for this story to Pontanus who quotes it as an instance of magnanimity. *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 260, ed. 1518. But it is also mentioned in the history of this king written by Laurentius Valla, and which was published at Paris some years before the appearance of the *Governour*. Valla's account of the transaction referred to is as follows : 'Ei defuncto, (sc. Henrico) ubi Ferdinandus cum omni cœtu procerum regio more justa persolvit, reliquum erat ut is qui futurus esset rex, voce præfecti militiæ nuncuparetur. Quem autem is nuncupaverit, instituto patriæ pro rege habetur, et ejus vocem cæteri cum læto clamore excipiunt. Sed hic tunc quid ageret hæsitabat, et si regnum puero datum volebat. Monebatur autem cum suo ipsius judicio, tum procerum populorumque fremitu. Non enim esse ex usu regni expectare donec anniculus adoleverit, si modo adolescere daretur cum Ferdinandus jam adultus præsto sit, expectare qualis puer ille sit evasurus, cum assit is, qualis voto expetendus esse, committere regni gubernacula regiis satellitibus, et eum qui sit rege, patre, fratre, regali animo clarus, excludi à paterno regno ac subjici cum tantâ sobole regii generis libidini tutorum, ut, per speciem administrationis, in exilium agant, in carcerem conjiciant, in necem cum omni stirpe præcipitent, quo ipsi impunius tyrannidem occupent, vel fato vel fraude extincto pupillo, ut florentissimæ domûs familia, brevi tempore omnis in nihilum recidat. Præstare igitur ut Ferdinandus succedat in regnum, illudque postea Mariæ primigeniæ fratris, Alfonsoque primigenio suo, quos prius juraverant populi in se regnaturos per manus tradat, aut Joanni, si dignior qui regnet videbitur. Hæc atque hujuscemodi verba exaudiens præfectus, ut tenebat manu vexillum, stabatque ante Ferdinandum, atque omnem cœtum, uti se omni invidiâ exolveret, Quem, inquit, me jubes fili regis Ferdinande nuncupare regem? te ne an Alfonsum, an Joannem? Fecit hâc interrogatione quod ipse erat in alienâ illum in suâ ipsius causâ arbitrum. Hic responsum illud omnium seculorum memoriâ dignum, et vox æternis literis dedicanda, ac nescio an nisi in fabulis simile factum aut par inveniri queat, sacro quodam rebus humanis exemplo, ut discerent homines plus pietatem officiumque in suos esse quàm regnum. Cujus tamen rei fama per omnes fermè terras non minus quàm pro merito est pervagata, tot causis, tantâ occasione, tanto hominum consensu, ad tantum spem vocatus, non integritatem animi flexit, non consilium distulit, non vocem proferre dubitavit. Sed protinus, Ecquem, inquit, alium nuncupabis quàm Joannem?

In what hatered and perpetuall reproche aught they to be that, corrupted with pestilenciall auarice or ambicion, betraieth their maisters, or any other that trusteth them? O what monstrus persones haue we radde and herde of, whiche for the inordinate and deuelisshe appetite to raigne, haue mooste tyrannously slayne the children, nat onely of their soueraigne lordes, but also of their owne naturall bretherne, committed unto their gouernaunce?[a] Of whome purposely I leaue at this tyme to wryte, to the intent that the moste cursed remembraunce of them shall nat consume the tyme that the well disposed reder mought occupie in examples of vertue.

This one thinge I wolde were remembred, that by the iuste prouidence of god, disloyalte or treason seldome escapeth great vengeaunce, all be it that it be pretended for a necessary purpose.[b] Example we haue of Brutus and Cassius, two noble

Quod si non audes me imitare ipsum, assumpto in humero infantulo, sicut erat staturâ sublimi, ex loco superiore, exclamavit, "Joannes est Rex! dicite omnes Rex Joannes!" Quam vocem admirati universi et ipsi subsecuti sunt, clamantes identidem Rex Joannes! Ita Ferdinandus hâc consilii celeritate, non dato hominibus spatio deliberandi, rapuit eorum excussitque judicium. At tacitè defuncto regi exprobravit inconsultam suspitionem, qui talem fratrem, se quoque meliorem, non bellè tractasset: ac nequid de animo ejus in dubium revocari queat, omne reliquum vitæ tempus declarat Ferdinandum non aliter perseverasse quàm incœperat.'—*Hist. Ferdin. I. Regis Aragoniæ*, fo. 11b, ed. 1521. Lucius Marineus, the Sicilian historian, tells the story more briefly in his *History of the Kings of Aragon*, lib. v. fo. 39, ed. 1509. Neither of these writers mentions the circumstance of the king putting on his robe, which is a mistake of Sir Thomas Elyot, clearly due to his misapprehension of the language of Pontanus, who states that *the child* when introduced by Ferdinand was already dressed in royal attire, 'prodiit in medium *infantulum* regio *ornatum* cultu.'

[a] Allusion is probably here made to the death of Prince Arthur in 1202, inasmuch as 'report,' says Lingard, 'ascribed his fate to the dagger of his uncle.'—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 303. And undoubtedly to the murder of his two nephews by Richard III. in 1483, to whose advice, if not to whose dagger, was also attributed the murder of Henry VI. in 1471.

[b] The warning here given seems almost superfluous, for at this time 'the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent . . . By one statute, for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon or Anne Boleyn. By another it was treason to say anything to the disparagement or slander of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and to call them spurious would have been construed to their slander. Nor would

Romaynes, and men of excellent vertues,[a] whiche, pretendinge an honorable zeale to the libertie and commune weale of their citie, slewe Julius Cesar (who trusted them moste of all other) for that he usurped to haue the perpetuall dominion of the empire, supposinge thereby to haue brought the senate and people to their pristinate libertie. But it dyd nat so succede to their purpose. But by the dethe of so noble a prince hapned confusion and ciuile batayles.[b] And bothe Brutus and Cassius, after longe warres vainquisshed by Octauian, neuewe and hiere unto Cesar, at the last falling in to extreme desperation, slewe them selfes. A worthy and conuenient vengeaunce for the murder of so noble and valyaunt a prince.[c]

even silence, with regard to these points, have saved a person from such penalties; for, by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, became liable to the pains of treason. The king needed only propose to any one a question, with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages; if the person were silent, he was a traitor by law; if he answered either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor.'—De Lolme, *The Eng. Const.* vol. i. pp. 164, 165, ed. 1838.

[a] Sir Thos. Elyot of course accepted Plutarch's account, 'who has written,' says Mr. George Long, 'a very partial life of the liberator,' and this opinion seems to be shared by other modern writers. Thus Dr. Liddell holds that 'Brutus was not a patriot, unless devotion to the party of the Senate be patriotism. Towards the Provincials he was a true Roman, harsh and oppressive . . . Cicero was shocked at the usurious interest he demanded for his money from the wretched Asiatics, and at the cruel way in which he extorted payment from his debtors. . . . In comparison with Cassius, he was humane and generous; but in almost every respect his character is contrasted for the worse with that of the great man, from whom he accepted favours, and then became his murderer.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 501, ed. 1855.

[b] 'Cæsar's death,' says Mr. George Long, 'as he himself predicted, was the beginning of fresh troubles for Rome, and civil war soon broke out again. All the conspirators came to a violent death; and in the next year Cicero perished by the hands of base assassins as Cæsar had died, over whose death Cicero ignobly exulted.'—*Decline of Rom. Republic*, vol. v. p. 465, ed. 1874.

[c] So says Bishop Hooper in a sermon on Rom. xiii. printed at Worcester in 1551: 'The sedition and treason redounded always to the destruction of the people at length; as it is to be seen in Absalom, Ahitophel, Catiline, Brutus, Cassius, and other, that destroyed not only themselves, but also the people, by such treason and disobedience against the ordinance and appointment of God.'—*Later Writings*, p. 105, ed. 1852. Parker Soc.

Many other lyke examples do remayne as well in writynge as in late remembraunce, whiche I passe ouer for this tyme.

CHAPTER VII.

Of promise and couenant.

CONCERNYNGE that parte of fidelitie which concerneth the kepynge of promise or couenauntes experience declareth howe litle it is nowe had in regarde; to the notable rebuke of all us whiche do professe Christes religion. Considerynge that the Turkes[a] and Sarazens haue us therfore in contempt and deri-

[a] Even in the author's own time, however, other writers gave a very different account. Thus Sir Anthony Sherley, who travelled in Turkey in the sixteenth century, speaking from personal experience of the manners and customs of the Turks, says: 'For their breach of promise, they hold it an high and commendable vertue; for they say, if a man speake what hee thinketh, his purposes will be preuented.'—*Travels*, ed. 1607. And a celebrated French traveller, Nicolas de Nicolay, who visited Turkey in the middle of the same century, says of the Emirs, or those who were reputed to be of the race of Mahomet: 'They are so mischieuous and unhappy, that for money they wil make no conscience to beare such false witnes, such as ye wil haue them: and specially if he be a Jewe or a Christian, unto whom they are mortal enimies . . . And for that they are of most peruerse and abhominable nature, diuers amongest these barbarous and rusticall people are constrayned, more for the feare which they haue of their false witnessing then for the holinesse which they know in them, to beare unto them greate honour and reuerence.'—*Navigations into Turkie*, p. 108, ed. 1585. A writer in the early part of the seventeenth century, describing the state of Turkey at that time, says, 'Justice in its common course is laid aside, and it's very rare when any Lawsuit is depending, but bargains are made for the sentence, and he hath most right who hath most money to make him *rectus in curiâ* and advance his cause. And it is the common course for both parties at variance, before they appear together in the judge's presence, to apply themselves singly to him, and try whose present has the most temptation in it; and 'tis no wonder if corrupt men exercise this kind of trafficking with justice, for having before bought the office, they must of consequence, tell the truth. Add hereunto the facility of the Turks, for the least kind of hire, to bear false witness any case; especially, and that with a word, when the least controversy happens between a Christian and a Turk, and then the pretence is for the Mussulmanleck, as they call it. The cause is religious, and hallows all falseness and forgery in the testimony.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, vol. iii. part 2, p. 30,

sion, they hauinge fidelite of promise aboue all thinge in reuerence. [In[a] so moche as in their contractes they seldome use any bonde or othe. But, as I haue herde reported of men borne in those partes, after the mutuall consent of the parties, the bargaynour, or he that dothe promise, toucheth the grounde with his hande, and after layeth it on his hedde, as it were that he vouched all the worlde to bere wytnesse.[b] But by this litle ceremonye he is so bounden, that if he be founden to breke touche willyngly, he is without any redemption condempned unto the pale,[c] that is, to haue a

ed. 1719. How little change has taken place in this respect will be seen by the following extract from the Blue Books of 1876: 'If it be proved that a Turk slew a Christian at a certain place on a certain day, he will find witnesses who will prove that on the said day he was at another place at any distance from that where the crime was committed, and they will confirm their evidence by an oath on the Kitab (Koran). Then the scene suddenly changes, and severe penalties are incurred by the Giaour calumniators who have dared to profane the sanctuary of the courts with base lies and aspersions to the injury of an innocent Mussulman. Then the remarks and the just anger of the Cadi and Medjlis echo throughout the city, and those poor fellows are at once thrown manacled into prison, fined, and rendered infamous for ever.'—Mac Coll, *The Eastern Question*, p. 29, ed. 1877.

[a] The passage within brackets is omitted in all the subsequent editions.

[b] There seems a striking resemblance in this ceremony to the ancient form of taking an oath observed by the Romans, and which is called by Polybius 'Per Jovem Lapidem.'—See *post*, p. 252.

[c] Though nearly three centuries and a half have elapsed since the passage in the text was written, this horrible method of torture has maintained its place as one of the recognised institutions of Turkey down to the present moment. In Mr. Kinglake's *Eothen*, describing his travels in that country in 1844, a picture is given of two robbers so impaled, and the author says, 'The poor fellows had been impaled upon high poles, and so propped up by the transverse spokes beneath them, that their skeletons, clothed with some white wax-like remains of flesh, still sat up lolling in the sunshine, and listlessly stared without eyes.'—P. 32, ed. 1844. The sensation created in England by Mr. Mac Coll's letter in the *Times* of Sept. 28, 1876, describing an instance of impalement of which he and Canon Liddon had been eye-witnesses is too recent to be forgotten. Shortly after the publication of this letter an affidavit sent to Dr. Liddon by Dr. Sandwith from Belgrade was published in the London papers, in which the deponent, Milan Paulovitch, a native of Novo Varosh, in Stara Serbia, stated that he had seen with his own eyes one of his fellow countrymen fastened to a stake: 'It was last year (1875), in the second half of the month of August, some days after the Feast of the Nativity of

longe stake thrast in at the secrete partes of his body, whereon he shall abide dyenge by a longe space. For feare of the which moste terrible execution, seldome any man under the Turkes dominion breketh his promise. But what hope is there to haue fidelitie well kept amonge us in promises and bargaynes, whan for the breache therof is prouided no punisshement,[a] nor yet notorious rebuke; sauinge if it be tried by accion, suche praty damages as the iury shall assese, whiche perchaunce dayly practiseth semblable lightnes of purpose.[b]

the Mother of God, that I have seen on the hill called Tikva, quite near to Novo Varosh, the well-known Servian Slovitch, of the village of Kratova, in Stara Serbia, fastened to a stake. The Turks had taken him some days before on this same hill, and immediately afterwards they put him on a stake. I saw him there two days afterwards, and then he was dead ; but how long on the stake I cannot tell. The stake entered his body at the bottom and came out at behind his neck, near the occiput. A crowd of people saw with me this sad sight.'—*The Eastern Question*, p. 371. Mr. Mac Coll adds that the stakes (which are represented in Eothen) 'are exactly similar, length and all, to those which I saw on the banks of the Save, except that only one of the latter had a transverse spoke.'—P. 363.

[a] So it is said in *Doctor and Student*, which was written about this time, 'If two men have a wood ioyntly, and the one of them sellyth the wood and kepyth al the money hollye to hymselfe, in this case his felowe shall haue no remedye agaynst hym by the lawe ; for as they, when they toke the wood ioyntly, put eche other in truste, and were contentyd to occupy togyther, so the lawe sufferyth them to order the profyttes therof accordynge to the truste that eche of them put other in. And yet yf one toke all the profyttes he is bounde in conscyence to restore the halfe to his felowe ; for as the lawe gyueth hym ryght onlye to the halfe lande, so it gyueth hym ryght onlye in consequence to the half profyttes. And yet neuertheles it can not be sayd in that case that the lawe is agaynst conscyence, for the lawe neyther wylleth ne commaundyth that one shuld take all the profyttes, but leuythe it to theyr conscyence, so that no defaute can be founde in the lawe, but in hym that takyth all the profyttes to hymselfe maye be assygned defaute, whiche he is bounde in conscyence to reforme yf he will saue his soule, though he can not be compellyd therto by the lawe.'—Fo. xliv. ed. 1531. But the grievance was even still worse, for the same authority tells us that 'yf a man wage his lawe untrulye in an accyon of dette upon a contracte in the kynges court, yet he shall not be suyd for that periurye in the spyrituall courte, and yet no remedye lyeth for that periurye in the kynges court.'—The. 2nd Dyal. cap. xxiv. ed. 1531.

[b] That great corruption was employed in selecting the jury panel at this time is evident from the fact that in 1543 an act was passed, entitled, 'An Acte concerninge thapparaunce of Jurors in the Nisi Prius,' the preamble of which complains of the delay arising in the trial of actions 'by reason of mayntenance,

I omitte to speke nowe of attaintes[a] in the lawe, reseruinge that mater to a place more conuenient.]

imbracerie, synister labour, and corrupt demeynors' in the persons returned to try such actions. This also appears from other sources; thus in a letter to Sir Robert Plumpton, dated 12th Feb. 1498, the writer says, 'By your letter I understand William Babthorp will have a *nisi prius* at this next assizes. Sir, it is necessary for you to get a copy of the panel, and then to enquire if any of them or of their wyfes be sybb or allied to Wil. Babthorp, and yf any cause in them bee wherby they may be chalenged. And also to make labor to them that they appeare not, or els to be favorable to you according to right, and enform them of the matter as wel as ye can for their consciences.'—*Plumpton Correspond.* p. 134, ed. 1839, Camden Soc. Harrison, too, says, 'Certes, it is a common practise (if the under shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen.'—*Descript. of Engl.* p. 155.

[a] The process by writ of attaint was, as Mr. Forsyth says, 'at first in the nature of a new trial,' and was established in 1495 by the statute 2 Hen. VII. cap. 24. In the year in which *The Governour* was first published (1531) an amending act was passed, the preamble of which, after stating that 'The King our Soveraygne Lorde, of his moste goodly and gracious disposicion, calling to his remembrance howe that perjurie in this londe is in manyfolde causes by unreasonable meanes detestably used to the disheritaunce and greate damage of many and greate numbre of his subjectes well disposed, and to the mooste high displeasour of Almyghtie God, the good statutes ayenst all officers havyng retorne of writtes, and their deputies making panells parcially for rewardes to them geven agaynst unlawfull mayntenours, embrasours, and jurours, and ayenst jurours untruely gevyng their verdicte, notwithstanding,' proceeds to enact that upon every untrue verdict where the sum in dispute amounts to 40*l.*, and 'concerneth not the jeopardie of manys liffe,' the party aggrieved by the verdict shall have a *writ of attaint* against every person 'hereafter so gevyng an untrue verdicte, and every of them and agaynst the partie which shall have judgment upon the same verdicte.' A jury of twenty-four was to be empanelled 'to enquier whether the firste jurie gave true verdicte or no.' If it was found that the first jury gave an untrue verdict, they were to forfeit 20*l.*, 'and after that, that those of the said petite jurie so atteynted shall never after be in any credence, nor thir Othe accepted in any Courte.' (23 Hen. VIII. cap. 3.) This process, however, seems to have been much abused, for Harrison, a few years later, says, 'If the matter do justlie proceed against him (the plaintiff) it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that have *bonâ fide* discharged their consciences shall be *sued of an atteinct*, and bound to appeare at the Starre Chamber; with what rigor they shall be caried from place to place, countie to countie, yea, and sometimes in carts; which hath and doth cause a great number of them to absteine from the assizes, and yeeld to paie their issues rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed and dealt withall.' And he goes on to say, 'Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so paine-

But no meruayle that a bare promise holdeth nat, where an othe upon the Euangelistes, solempnely and openly taken, is but litle estemed.[a] Lorde god, howe frequent and familiar a thinge with euery astate and degre throughout Christen-

full as at this present, for untill of late yeares, a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three *nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an *atteinct*, wheras now an hundred and more of the first, and one or two of the later, are verie often perceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of six pence or twelue pence.'—*Descript. of Engl.* p. 155. So that Sir Thos. Smyth, writing at the end of the century, says, 'Attaints be verie seldome put in ure, partly because the gentlemen will not meete to slaunder and deface the honest yeomen, their neighbours; so that of a long time they had rather pay a meane fine than to appeare and make the enquest. And in the meane time they will intreate, so much as in them lyeth, the parties to come to some composition and agreement among them selues, as lightly they doe, except either the corruption of the enquest be too euident, or the one partie is too obstinate and headstrong. And if the gentlemen do appeare, gladlyer they will confirme the first sentence, for the causes which I haue saide, than go against it. But if the corruption be too much evident, they will not sticke to attaint the first enquest, yet after the gentlemen haue attainted the yeomen, if before the sentence be given by the Judge (which ordinarily for a time is differred) the parties be agreed, or one of them be dead, the attaint ceaseth.'—*De Rep. Anglorum*, p. 90, ed. 1584.

[a] This was generally termed a 'corporal oath,' which is defined to be 'when by some outward gesture in taking the oath, or when by some outward act we testify that we accept of it as it is ministred, as by laying hand on a booke, on our brest, or under his thigh that ministreth it, as Abraham's seruant did.'—*An Apologie of certeine Proceedings in Courts Ecclesiastical*, p. 114, ed. 1591. Paley asserts that 'the term is borrowed from the ancient usage of touching, on these occasions, the *corporale* or cloth which covered the consecrated elements,' but Mr. J. E. Tyler altogether repudiates such a derivation, and shows that it was so called as 'opposed to a mere declaration by word of mouth, and also to a mere written testimony.' 'Page after page in the Roman laws might be brought,' he says, 'to confirm this view, 'and the use which the jurists made of the word is,' he conceives, 'decisive.' The first action 'in all corporall oathes,' says a writer of the sixteenth century, 'taken either in Temporall or Ecclesiasticall Courts, is *the laying of our hande upon a booke* when we take the oath. The generall and chiefe ende of this or of any the like ceremonie used in this action, is to signifie thereby, that we doe then aduisedly attend and giue heede to the oath when we are charged, and that we doe accept of it and binde ourselues as it is giuen. The use of this in particular is to strike a more aduised feare and reuerence into us, when we consider the reuerence due to an oath, as it is described in that booke, and the curses there threatned against those that forsweare themselues or take the Lorde's name vainely.'—*An Apologie*, p. 118. Paley however believed that 'in no country in the world' was the form 'worse contrived, either to convey the meaning, or impress the obligation of an oath, than in our own.'—*Moral and Pol. Philos.* p. 121, ed. 1825.

dome is this reuerent othe on the Gospelles of Christe.[a] Howe it hathe ben hitherto kepte, it is so well knowen and had in dayly experience, that I shall nat nede to make of the neglectinge therof any more declaration. Onely I will shewe howe the Gentiles, lackynge true religion, had solempne othes in great honour, and howe terrible a thinge it was amonge them to breke their othes or avowes. In so moche as they supposed that there was no powar, victorie, or profite which mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

Amonge the Egyptions, they which were periured had their heddes stryken of, as well for that they violated the honour due unto god, as also that thereby faythe and truste amonge people mought be decayed.[b] *Periurye punisshed.*

The Scithes sware onely by the chayre or throne of their kynge, whiche othe if they brake, they therfore suffred dethe.[c]

[a] The writer already quoted says, 'The practise of this very ceremonie of swearing, with laying hand upon the holy Gospels, was both had and allowed by the fathers in the Primitive Church, as appeareth by St. Augustine in his Epistle *ad Publicolam*. In the times of the ancient Christian Emperours it was receiued and used in Ciuill Courts. *An oath* (saith Justinian) *is then saide to be corporally taken when a man in swearing doth touch with his hand the holie Gospels.* And againe, *whether the oath be to be taken in publike iudgement, or in houses, or in holie Oratories, or with touching the holie Scriptures.* And it is prouided not onely that they shall be taken *tactis sacrosanctis Euangeliis*, but that *the Scriptures shall continually lie before the Judges sitting in iudgement, that both they and the suiters may be put in minde that the iudgement is God's, and done in his presence.* And by the most generall custome of all Christendome, the same ceremonie in taking a corporall oath is untill this day continued. But it is reported that *in Italy they use to lay their hande upon any booke, Bible or other.* And it seemeth by a French writer (Duarenus) that *they which sweare there, doe use to holde up their hand towards heauen, thereby signifying that they call God to witnesse.* In some other places they take a corporall oath, laying their hand on their breast.'—*An Apologie*, p. 119, ed. 1591.

[b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας νομίζομεν ἐκθέσθαι τῶν νόμων ὅσοι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις παλαιότητι διήνεγκαν ἢ παρηλλαγμένην τάξιν ἔσχον, ἢ τὸ σύνολον ὠφέλειαν τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσι δύνανται παρασχέσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπιόρκων θάνατος ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόστιμον, ὡς δύο τὰ μέγιστα ποιούντων ἀνομήματα, θεούς τε ἀσεβούντων καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις πίστιν ἀνατρεπόντων.—Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 77.

[c] Τὰς δὲ βασιληΐας ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθῃσι τὰ μάλιστά ἐστι ὀμνύναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὅρκον ἐθέλωσι ὀμνύναι.—*Herod.* lib. iv. cap. 68.

The auncient Romaynes (as Tulli writeth)[a] sware in this maner. He that shulde swere helde in his hande a stone, and sayde in this wyse, The citie with the goodes therof beinge saulfe, so Jupiter cast me out of it, if I deceyue wittingly, as I caste from me this stone.[b] And this othe was so straytely obserued, that it is nat remembred that euer any man brake it.

The forme of an othe amonge auncyent romanes.

Plutarche writeth that at the firste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the seconde kynge of Romaynes made in the citie of Rome, was the temple of faythe. And also he declared that the greattest othe that mought be was faythe.[c] Whiche nowe a dayes is uneth taken for any othe, but moste communely is used in mockage,[d] or in suche thinges as men forse nat, though they be nat beleued.[e] In dayly communication the mater sauoureth nat, except it be as it were seasoned with horrible othes. As by the holy blode of Christe, his woundes[f]

The gretest othe.

[a] 'Quomodo autem tibi placebit, Jovem Lapidem jurare, cum scias, Jovem iratum esse nemini posse?'—Cic. *Epist. ad Div.* vii. 12. Aulus Gellius says that this formula 'sanctissimum jusjurandum est habitum.'—*Noct. Att.* lib. i. cap. 21.

[b] 'Lapidem silicem tenebant juraturi per Jovem, hæc verba dicentes: Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter salvâ urbe arceque bonis ejiciat, uti ego hunc lapidem.'—Festus, *de. Verb Sign.* lib. x.

[c] Πρῶτον δέ φασι καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρμονος ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστιν ὅρκον ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον, ᾧ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν.—Plut. *Numa*, 16.

[d] This word, which is now quite obsolete = mockery. It occurs in a note on 2 Chron. xviii. 14 in the Bible of 1551: 'This speaketh the prophete by an ironye, that is in derision or *mockage*.'—Fo. cxiii. b. And Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says, 'I am of Lemnius' mind, 'tis but *damnosa adjuratio aut potius ludificatio*, a meere *mockage*, a counterfeit charme, to no purpose.'—P. 556, ed. 1624. In the play of *Bonduca* the following note is inserted as a stage direction: 'Song by Junius, and Petillius after him *in mockage*.'—Act ii. sc. 2. Beaum. and Flet. vol. ii. p. 53, ed. 1839.

[e] 'By my faith' is certainly one of the most ancient forms of oaths, for, as Mr. Endell Tyler says, '*Per fidem* is an adjuration which Virgil connects with a direct appeal to the Gods above as witnesses of the truth.'—*Oaths*, p. 127, ed. 1835. The allusion is to the following passage:

> 'Quod te, per Superos, et conscia numina veri,
> Per, si qua est, quæ restet adhuc mortalibus usquam,
> Intemerata *fides*, oro.'—Virg. *Æn.* ii. 141–143.

[f] The divines both preached and wrote against this repulsive practice. Thus

whiche for our redemption he paynefully suffred, his glorious harte, as it were numbles[a] chopped in peaces. Children (whiche abhorreth me to remembre) do playe with the armes and bones of Christe, as they were chery stones.[b] The soule of god,

Roger Hutchinson, who was a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and afterwards of Eton College, in his *Image of God*, published in 1550, says, 'You swearers and blasphemers, which use to swear by God's heart, arms, nails, bowels, legs, and hands, learn what these things signify, and leave your abominable oaths.'—*Works*, p. 20, ed. 1842. And Becon, who was chaplain to Cranmer, and afterwards a Prebendary of Canterbury, published in 1543 an *Invective against Swearing*, in which he says, 'How many swear continually, not only by God and all that ever he made—again, not only by His dearly beloved Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but also (with honour and reverence I speak it) by all the holy members of his most glorious body! How common an oath now-a-days is God's flesh, God's blood, God's heart, God's body, God's wounds, God's nails, God's sides, and all that ever may be rehearsed of God! O wickedness! O abomination! What part of Christ's most blessed body do these wicked and abominable swearers leave unrent and untorn? They are much worse than the Jews, which cried, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum*, Away, away to the gallows with Him, crucify Him, torment Him, leave not one part whole of Him! For they only cried upon Pilate to have Him crucified, but these swearers themselves crucify Him, rent, and tear Him. The Jews crucified Him but once, and then their fury ceased; but these wicked caitiffs crucify him daily with their unlawfull oaths, neither doth their malice and cruelness cease at any time.'—*Works*, p. 359, ed. 1843. And Alexander Barclay, in his translation of *The Ship of Fools*, brought another weapon to bear upon this one of the besetting sins of that age.

> 'The one blasphemys by Christis hede and brayne,
> Grutchynge and grennynge for symple thynge or nought,
> Another Caytyfe or myscheuous vylayne
> By all his holy membres to swere hath lytyll thought;
> Another by the blode wherwith he hath us bought,
> His face, his herte, or by his crowne of thorne,
> Wherwith (for them) his skyn was rent and torne.'
>
> Vol. ii. p. 130, ed. 1874.

[a] This = *nombles*, a French term of venery signifying in stags a part cut from the thighs, or in swine from the belly. It is derived from the mediæval word *numbile*, *numblus* = *lumbus*. Du Cange cites from the Custumier of the province of le Berry in France the following extract from a charter of the 13th century: 'Videlicet in quolibet porco à carnifice occiso die Sabbati ad vendendum *les numbles*, et de quolibet bove vel vaccâ quoquo die ad vendendum occidatur, pectus . . . solvere tenebuntur.'—*Gloss.* tom. iv. p. 655, ed. 1845.

[b] This is confirmed by Becon, who says, 'Furthermore, this damnable use of swearing hath so greatly prevailed among them that profess Christ that it is also

whiche is incomprehensible, and nat to be named of any creature without a wonderfull reuerence and drede, is nat onely the othe of great gentilmen, but also so undiscretely abused, that they make it (as I mought saye) their gonnes,[a] wherwith they thunder out thretenynges and terrible menacis, whan they be in their fury, though it be at the damnable playe of dyse.[b] The masse, in whiche honorable ceremony is lefte unto us the memoriall of Christes glorious passion, with his corporall presence in fourme of breade, the inuocation of the thre diuine persones in one deitie, with all the hole company of blessed spirites and soules elect, is made by custome so simple an othe that it is nowe all moste neglected, and litle

crept into the breasts of young children. It is not a rare thing now-a-days to hear boys and mothers tear the most blessed body of Christ with their blasphemous oaths, even from the top to the toe. What marvel is it then though they be abominable swearers when they come to age? But whence learn they this? Verily of their parents and such as bring them up.'—*Works*, p. 362, ed. 1843.

[a] The derivation of this word is uncertain, but it is at least as old as the 14th century, for Camden says, 'The very time of their first invention is uncertaine, but certaine it is that King Edward the third used them at the siege of Calice, 1347, for *Gunnarii* had their pay there, as appeareth by record.'—*Remains*, p. 203, ed. 1637. While Selden in his *Table Talk* declares that 'the word *gun* was in use in England, for an engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any gun-powder found out.'—*Opera*, vol. iii. col. 2040, ed. 1725. The word 'gunna' is frequently used by Thomas of Walsingham. Thus, in his account of the siege of Ypres in 1383, he says, 'Villani (*i.e.* the besieged) occurrunt totis animis, et cum lapidibus, lanceis, et sagittis, igne Græco, et missilibus, quæ "gunna" vocantur, nostros (*i.e.* the English) ubique repellunt.'—*Hist. Angl.* vol. ii. p. 99, The Rolls ed.

[b] 'The tables, tenys, cardis, or the dyce
Ar chefe begynnynge of this unhappynes,
For whan the game wyll nat well aryse,
And all the players troubled by dronkenes,
Than suche Caytyfs as ioy in this exces
At eche worde labour our sauyour to tere
With othes abhomynable whiche they ungoodly swere.'
Ship of Fools, vol. ii. p. 131, ed. 1874.

Becon says, 'Moreover, how is God rent and torn by blasphemous oaths, not only among men in bargaining, buying and selling, chopping and changing, but also in playing and idle matters! How will the dicer swear rather than he will lose one cast! How will the carder tear God on pieces rather than he will lose the profit of one card!'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 360, ed. 1843.

regarded of the nobilitie, and is onely used amonge husbande men and artificers,[a] onelas some taylour or barbour, as well in his othes as in the excesse of his apparayle, will counterfaite and be lyke a gentilman.[b] In iudiciall causes, be they of

[a] Hutchinson, in the work before quoted, says, 'When an oath is necessary, we are bound to swear by God only, unto whom all honour is due: for we honour that thing whereby we swear. It is naught to swear by the mass, a profanation of Christ's supper and a patched creature of the Bishop of Rome, which was longer in patching than Salomon's great temple in building.'—*Works*, p. 21, ed. 1842.

'It was onys ordeyned by constytucion,
As I haue harde, that both symple men and hye
Sholde onely swere by that occupacion
The whiche theyr Faders dyd use and occupy;
But nowe eche sweryth the Mass comonly,
Whiche is the prestis seruyce and besynes,
So mennys othes theyr Fathers doth expres.

Alas! no honour, laude, nor reuerence
Is had nowe unto that blessyd sacrament,
But boyes and men without all difference
Tere that holy body of god omnypotent,
As it were iowes to his passion they assent,
In euery bargayne, in ale house, and at borde,
The holy Mass is euer the seconde worde.'

Ship of Fools, vol. ii. p. 132.

[b] Camden has an amusing illustration of this latter propensity, which has descended to our own time. 'I will tell you here how Sir Philip Calthrop purged John Drakes, the shoemaker of Norwich, in the time of King Henry VIII., of the proud humour which our people have to be of the Gentlemen's cut. This knight bought on a time as much fine French tawney Cloath as should make him a gowne, and sent it to the Taylours to be made. John Drakes, a shoemaker of that towne, coming to the said Taylours, and seeing the knight's gowne cloath lying there, liking it well, caused the Taylour to buy him as much of the same cloath and price, to the same intent, and further bad him to make it of the same fashion that the knight would have his made of. Not long after the Knight, comming to the Taylours to take measure of his gowne, perceiveth the like gowne cloath lying there, asked of the Taylour whose it was. Quoth the Taylour, It is John Drakes, who will have it made of the selfe same fashion that yours is made of. Well, said the Knight, in good time be it. I will (said he) have mine made as full of cuts as thy sheeres can make it. It shall be done, said the Taylour. Whereupon, because the time drew neere, he made haste of both their garments. John Drake, when he had no time to goe to the Taylours till Christmas day, for serving of customers, when hee had hoped to have worne his gowne, perceiving

neuer so light importaunce, they that be no parties but straungers, I meane witnesses and iurates,[a] which shall procede in the triall, do make no lasse othe, but openly do renounce the helpe of god and his sayntes and the benefite of his passion, if they say nat true as ferre furthe as they knowe.[b] Howe euill that is obserued where the one partie in degree ferre excedeth the other,[c] or where hope of rewarde or affection taketh place, no man is ignoraunt, sens it is euery yere more commune than haruist.[d] Alas! what hope shall we haue of

the same to be full of cuts, began to sweare with the Taylour, for the making of his gowne after that sort. I have done nothing (quoth the Taylour) but that you bad me, for as Sir Philip Calthrops is, even so have I made yours. By my latchet, quoth John Drake, I will never weare Gentleman's fashion againe.'—*Remains*, p. 198, ed. 1637.

[a] The word 'Jurats,' for Jurors, is uncommon, although in a special and limited sense it is still in use, *e.g.* the *Jurats* of Romney Marsh, who are in the nature of Aldermen. Again, Jersey has a Bailiff and twelve *Jurats*, or sworn assistants, to govern the island. Cowel, indeed, in his *Interpreter*, cites 13 Ed. I. cap. 26, as an instance of the word being employed as equivalent to Juries, but on referring to the Statute itself it is obvious that in the original the contraction stands for Jurata. Now Jurata was undoubtedly the mediæval equivalent for Jury; for Littelton, who wrote in the reigns of Hen. VI. and Ed. IV., says, 'And memorandum that the name assise is *nomen equivocum*, for sometimes it is taken for a jurie; for the beginning of the record of an assise of novel disseisin beginneth thus, Assisa venit recognitura, &c., which is the same as *Jurata* venit recognitura, &c.'—Co. Lit. 154 b. Fortescue, in the *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, which was written between 1460 and 1470, speaks of Jurati and Juratores (cap. xxvi.) indifferently. These words were represented in the Norman French by *juree* (see 7 Ric. II. cap. 7) and *jurours* (34 Ed. III. cap. 7). Mr. Forsyth, in his *History of Trial by Jury*, has examined at some length the technical distinction between Assisa and Jurata, a question which need not be discussed here; suffice it to say that, according to Giles Duncomb, the best authority on the subject, 'As in an Assise the Jurors are called Recognitors from these words in the Writ of Assise, *facere recognitionem*; so upon a *nisi prius*, they are called Juratores from these words in the Venire facias, *ad faciendam quandam Juratam*.'—*Trials per Pais*, vol. i. p. 240, ed. 1766.

[b] Hutchinson alludes to this common practice. 'Neither is it lawful,' he says, 'to swear by any saints, as judges and stewards make the simple people do at sessions and courts; for if they be to be sworn by, they are to be prayed unto, and to be honoured.'—*Works*, p. 21, ed. 1842.

[c] The original has 'othe,' which is obviously a misprint.

[d] There is abundant evidence of this in contemporary writers. Latimer, for instance, said, in 1549, 'I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and

any publike weale where such a pestilence reigneth? Dothe nat Salamon saye, A man moche sweringe shall be filled with iniquitie, and the plage shall nat departe from his house? [a] O mercifull god, howe many men be in this realme which be horrible swerers and commune iurates periured? Than howe moche iniquitie is there, and howe many plages are to be feared, where as be so many houses of swerers? Suerly I am

was attached upon the same; twelve men were impanelled: the man had friends: the sheriff laboured the bench: the twelve men stuck at it, and said, "Except he would disburse twelve crowns they would find him guilty." Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The quest comes in, and says, "Not guilty." Here was "not guilty" for twelve crowns. This is a bearing, and if some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to do murder and slaughter.'—*Sermons*, vol. i. p. 190, ed. 1814. To such an extent was the corruption of juries carried that the persons who served upon them were called 'Questmongers.' The sheriffs, no doubt, were primarily to blame by allowing the panel to be tampered with. Thus the preamble of 3 Hen. VIII. cap. 12, recites that 'grete extorcions and oppressions be and have been within the more partie of all the Counties and Shires within this realme of England by the subtiltie and untrue demanor of Sherevis and their Ministers committyd and doon unto many persons in grete nombre of the Kyngs subjects, by meane and makyng and retornyng at every Sessions holden within the said Counties and Shires for the body of the Shire in takyng and puttyng in and retornyng of names of suche persons as for the singuler advantage, benefit, and gayn of the seid Shrevys and their mynysters will be wilfully forsworn and perjurid by the sinistre labour of the seid Shrevys &c., by reason wherof many and dyverse substantiall persons, the Kyngs true subjects, contrary to good equite and Rightwisnes, hath dyvers times and many wrongfully ben indyted of dyvers moorders, felonys, and other mysbehavours, by their covyn and falshed, to the utter undoyng of their lyves, losse of their goods and their lands, by reason wherof they and every of them, in advoydyng the untrue troble and vexacion which to them myght cume and ensue by reason and occasion of the same false Inditments, be and have bene compelled to make Fynes and gyve rewardys to the seid Shrevys &c.,' an evil which it was proposed to remedy by causing the panels to be reformed by the Justices of Gaol Delivery and mulcting the delinquent Sheriffs in the sum of £40. Fortescue, comparing the relative merits of trial by Jury and trial *per testes* alone, which was allowed in actions upon deeds, and in cases coming within the *lex mercatoria*, and in some others, expresses a very strong opinion upon the miscarriages caused by the latter method of procedure, and says, 'O quàm horrendum et detestabile discrimen sæpe accidit ex formâ per depositionem testium procedendi.'—*De Laudibus*, cap. 32.

[a] In the edition of the Bible published by John Day in 1551, the verse referred to stands thus: 'A man that useth muche swerynge shall be fylled wyth wyckednes, and the plage shall neuer go from his house.'—Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 11.

in more drede of the terrible vengeaunce of god, than in hope of amendement of the publike weale. And so in myne opinion aught al other to be, whiche beleue that god knoweth all thynge that is done here in erth, and as he him selfe is all goodness, so loueth he al thing that is good, which is vertue; and hateth the contrarie, which is vice. Also all thing that pleaseth him, he preserueth; and that thing that he hateth, he at the last destroieth. But what vertue may be without verite called trouthe, the declaration whereof is faithe or fidelitie? For as Tulli saieth, faith is a constaunce and trouth of things spoken or couenaunted.[a] And in another place he saieth, nothing kepeth so to gether a publike weale as doth faith.[b] Than foloweth it well, that without faith a publike weale may nat continue, and Aristotle saieth, that by the same craft or meanes that a publike weale is first constituted, by the same craft or meanes is it preserued.[c] Than sens faithe is the fundation of Justyce, whiche is the chiefe constitutour and maker of a publike weale, and by the afore mencioned autoritie, faithe is conseruatour of the same, I may therfore conclude that faithe is bothe the originall and (as it were) principall constitutour and conseruatour of the publike weale.[d]

[a] 'Fides, id est, dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 7.

[b] 'Nec enim ulla res vehementius rempublicam continet, quàm fides.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 24.

[c] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δῆλον ὅτι, εἴπερ ἔχομεν δι' ὧν φθείρονται αἱ πολιτεῖαι ἔχομεν καὶ δι' ὧν σώζονται.—Arist. *Polit.* lib. v. cap. 7. (8.)

[d] This has been very well explained by a modern writer. 'By the imposition of oaths,' says Dr. Whewell, 'the citizen's obligations are identified with his religious duties and the State relies upon this identity, as necessary to give it a real hold upon men, and to make them do its business in a sincere, serious, and solemn spirit. If the State cannot obtain this result, it will necessarily tend to dissolution. But religious duties can have no force for men who have no religion. The State therefore, in order to provide for its own preservation, must maintain the religion of the citizens in such modes as it can; for instance, by the religious education of the young, and by arrangements for keeping up the religious convictions and religious sympathies of all. If the State do not by such means, or by some means, keep alive the religious convictions to which it appeals in the Oaths which it imposes, the Oaths, will be rejected, or regarded as unmeaning. In such a case

[Nowe,[a] lyke as it is more facile to repayre than to newe edifie, and also to amende than to make all agayne; so more soner is a publike weale reformed, than of newe constitute, and by the same thynge that it is constitute and conserued, by the same thynge shall it be refourmed and preserued. Where I saye conserued I meane kepte and mayntayned; where I saye preserued, I intende corroborate and defended againe anoiaunces. The thinge that I spake of is faithe, which I by the autoritie of Tulli, do name the fundation of iustyce.[b] For thereat nat onely dependeth all contractes, conuencions, commutations, entercoursis, mutuall intelligence, amitie, and beneuolence, whiche be contayned in the worde whiche of Tulli is called the societie or felowship of mankinde;[c] but also by due obseruinge of faithe malefactours be espied, iniuries be tried out and discussed, the propretie of thinges is adiuged. Wherfore to a gouernour of a publike weale, nothynge more appertayneth, than he hym selfe to haue faythe in reuerence, and mooste scrupulousely to obserue it. And where he fyndeth it to be contemned or neglected, and specially with addynge to periurye, moste sharpely, ye moste rigorousely and aboue all other offences punisshe it, without acceptaunce or fauour of any persone; remembringe this sentence, Of faythe commeth loyaltie, and where that lacketh there is no suertie.[d]]

men, thinking lightly of Oaths, will think lightly also of Duties and Obligations; and the State will be dissolved by the destruction of all the ties which bind it members to it.'—*El. of Mor.* p. 478, 4th ed.

[a] The passage within brackets is omitted in all the subsequent editions.

[b] 'Fundamentum est autem justitiæ fides.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 7.

[c] 'Societas hominum inter ipsos, et vitæ quasi communitas.'—*De Off.* lib. cap. 7.

[d] The Editor has in vain endeavoured to trace any authority for this 'sentence.' At first sight, indeed, it would seem to be a translation of a Latin or French distich, but the copious collection of M. Le Roux de Lincy does not contain any couplet which exactly corresponds. Several of the works mentioned in the *Bibliographie Parémiologique* of M. Duplessis have also been consulted, but a pretty careful search has not yielded anything precisely analogous. And on a due consideration of the whole passage, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that Sir

It is also no litle reproche unto a man whiche estemeth honestie, to be lyte in makynge promise; or whan he hath promised, to breke or neglecte it. Wherfore no thynge aught to be promised whiche shulde be in any wise contrary to Justyce. On a tyme one remembred kyng Agesilaus of his promise. By god, sayde he, that is trouthe if it stande with iustyce; if nat, I than spake, but I promised nat.[a]

Plutarchus in Apophthegma.

But nowe at this present tyme we may make the exclamation that Seneca dothe, sayenge, O the foule and dishonest confession of the fraude and mischiefe of mankynde; nowe a dayes seales be more set by than soules.[b] Alas! what reproche is it to christen men, and reioysinge to Turkes and Sarazens, that nothing is so exactely obserued amonge them as faithe, consistynge in laufull promise and

Seneca de benefi. iii.

Thomas Elyot himself composed this epigrammatic 'sentence' with a view to creating a more durable impression upon his readers. Occleve, however, who wrote in the reign of Henry V., has a stanza which is worth quoting in this place on account of its very close resemblance.

> 'Castels by feithe dreden none assailyng,
> By feithe the citees stonden unwerreide
> And kynges of her sugettes ben obeiede.'
>
> *De Reg. Prin.* p. 80, ed. 1860.

Occleve's poem was merely a metrical translation of a Latin work entitled *de Regimine Principum*, written in the middle of the thirteenth century by Egidio Colonna, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was patronised by Philip III. of France, and appointed by him tutor to his son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne and was known as Philip le Bel. Colonna's book was also translated into French by Henri Goethals, otherwise called Henri de Gand, from the place of his birth. In this latter version, which was printed for the first time in 1517, the corresponding passage to that quoted from Occleve is as follows.

> 'Par foy gardee sont les chasteaux gardez
> Et tenuz, et les roys seignourissent.'
>
> *Le Mirouer Exemplaire*, fol. cxxv. b.

[a] Φαμένου δέ τινός ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν, 'Ωμολόγηκας· καὶ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντος, Ναὶ δῆτα, εἴ γ' ἔστι δίκαιον, ἔφη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔλεξα μὲν, ὡμολόγησα δὲ οὔ.—Plut. *Apophth. Lacon.*

[b] 'O turpem humano generi fraudis ac nequitiæ publicæ confessionem! annul nostris plus quàm animis creditur.'—*De Benef.* lib. iii. cap. 15.

couenaunt.[a] And amonge christen men it is so neglected, that hit is more often tymes broken than kept. And nat onely sealynge (whiche Seneca disdayned that it shulde be more sette by thanne soules) is uneth sufficient, but also it is nowe come into suche a generall contempt that all the lerned men in the lawes of this realme, whiche be also men of great wisedome, can nat with all their study deuise so sufficient an instrument, to bynde a man to his promyse or couenaunt, but that there shall be some thinge therein espied to brynge it in argument if it be denyed.[b] And in case that bothe the

[a] This characteristic of the Turks in their dealings with one another (for it was certainly not displayed in their intercourse with Christians) is confirmed by another writer at the end of the 16th century, who says, 'The third precept of the Turkes Lawe is deriued out of the Lawe of Nature, and consenteth also with the rules of Christianitie. Both which do will That no man do that unto another which they would not have done unto themselues. Uppon this commaundement they do imply thus much, that euerie man is bound to carrie himselfe towards his neighbour with all kinde of pietie, faithfulnes, and amitie . . . . that they use loyaltie, plainnes, and good dealing one to another without fraud or dissimulation. . . . . Besides, if anie man do chaunce to be tempted to hurt or defraud another, and that he do finde his thoughts and cogitations enclining and yeelding thereunto, he is commaunded by this Law presently to bethinke himselfe, and to enter into this consideration, that if another should intend the like iniurie and purpose the like matter against him, whether he could or would be contented (without any impatiencie and with a quiet minde) to suffer and endure it . . . . . Upon the equitie of this commaundement (as it seemeth) is the ciuill Justice of the Turkes for the most part and in most cases grounded . . . . So precise and upright is the law and religion of the Turkes in this behalfe, teaching them to haue a speciall regard of iustice and equitie in all their actions and dealings between man and man.' The writer, however, is careful to add that towards Christians 'in most of their actions they do make shew that they haue little regard of that iustice, equitie, or humanitie, which is so commended unto them in this commaundement.'—*Policy of the Turkish Empire*, pp. 26, 27, ed. 1597.

[b] This, no doubt, refers to the practices which a very few years afterwards led to the passing of the famous Statute of Uses, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 10. It had, for instance, become a common practice for persons by means of conveyances to uses and declarations of last will to do that which the law did not permit, viz. to effect the disposition and devise of land by will. Mr. Reeves says, 'Covenants to raise uses were still in practise, notwithstanding they had been reprobated by judicial opinions of the courts of law in the last reign. Uses were originally a matter of invention, and they had not been so long canvassed in our courts as to preclude every private person from persisting in such opinions as his fancy or judgment

parties be equall in estimation or credence, or els he that denyeth superiour to the other, and no witnesses deposeth on knowlege of the thinge in demaunde, the promise or couenaunt is utterly frustrate.[a] Which is one of the princypall decayes of the publike weale, as I shall traite therof more largely here after. And here at this tyme I leaue to speke any more of the partes of that moste royall and necessary vertue called Justyce.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the noble vertue fortitude,[b] and of the two extreme vices, Audacitie and Timerositie.

It is to be noted that to hym that is a gouernoure of a publike weale belongeth a double gouernaunce, that is to saye, an

might have dictated even in opposition to one or two declarations from the judges. With these sentiments many still advised them as sure conveyances, and as such they were practised all through this reign till at length they obtained a degree of legal recognition . . . Before the question of a covenant was settled, and while men were indulging themselves in every contrivance to maintain these secret methods of conveying their estates, the conveyance by *lease and release* was devised by Serjeant Moore. This is said to have been framed by that ingenious lawyer for the satisfaction of the Lord Norris, who wanted to conceal from his family the settlement of his estate.'—*Hist. Eng. Law*, vol. iii. pp. 385–7.

[a] But, as Lord Coke says, 'Many times juries, together with other matter, are much induced by presumptions; whereof there be three sorts, viz. violent, probable, and light or temerary. *Violenta præsumptio* is manie times *plena probatio.* So it is in the case of a charter of feoffment, if all the witnesses to the deed be dead (as no man can keep his witnesses alive, and time weareth out all men) then violent presumption, which stands for a proofe, is continuall and quiet possession; for ex diuturnitate temporis omnia præsumuntur solenniter esse acta. Also the deed may receive credit per collationem sigillorum scripturæ, &c., et super fidem cartarum, mortuis testibus, erit ad patriam de necessitate recurrendum.'—*Co. Lit.* 6 b.

[b] In this and the following chapter the author has evidently availed himself largely of the essay *de Fortitudine* of Pontanus, an Italian scholar, to whose works, as will be seen hereafter (*post*, p. 287), Sir Thomas Elyot makes a more

interior or inwarde gouernaunce, and an exterior or outwarde gouernaunce. The firste is of his affectes and passions, which do inhabite within his soule, and be subiectes to reason. The seconde is of his children, his seruauntes, and other subiectes to his autoritie. To the one and the other is required the vertue morall called fortitude, whiche as moche as it is a vertue is a Mediocritie or meane betwene two extremities, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke. The surplusage is called Audacitie, the lacke Timorositie or feare.[a] I name that Audacitie whiche is an excessife and inordinate truste to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to do suche actes as are nat to be ieoparded.[b] Timorositie is as well

Audacitie.

direct allusion. According to Hallam, the essay in question with some others was published in 1490. Erasmus, in his *Ciceronianus*, declares that Pontanus so handled his subjects that it is difficult to say whether he was a Christian or not. 'Tractat materias profanas, quasique locos communes, de Fortitudine, de Obedientiâ, de Splendore, quæ tractata facillimè nitescunt, atque ex se facile suppeditant sententiarum copiam, easque sic tractat, ut ægrè possis agnoscere Christianus fuerit nec ne. Similiter temperat stylum in libello de Principe.'—*Opera*, tom. i. col. 1019, ed. 1703. For the purpose of comparison, the Editor has printed in the notes those passages of the *de Fortitudine* from which it is obvious that Sir Thomas Elyot had borrowed his ideas. The edition of the works of Pontanus which ha been consulted for this purpose is that in three octavo volumes published by Aldus at Venice in 1518.

[a] This is evidently borrowed from Aristotle's definition : Περὶ μὲν οὖν φόβους καὶ θάρρη ἀνδρεία μεσότης· τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀφοβίᾳ ἀνώνυμος (πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμα), ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ θαρρεῖν ὑπερβάλλων θρασύς, ὁ δὲ τῷ μὲν φοβεῖσθαι ὑπερβάλλων τῷ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐλλείπων δειλός.—*Eth. Nicom.* lib. ii. cap. 7, which was also adopted by Pontanus who says, 'Est igitur virtutis hujus proprium affectus hos moderari, ac sub ratione continere, quo medium retinere possit, à quo mediocritas dicta est. Etenim fortitudo cum sit virtus, mediocritas sit quædam oportet. Medii autem ea vis ac natura est, ut in neutram extremorum partem propendat. Ab utroque enim recedit, quando utrumque inæquabile est. Quippe cum alteri exsuperantia, alteri defectus insit.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 51 b, ed. 1518.

[b] Ὁ δὲ τῷ θαρρεῖν ὑπερβάλλων περὶ τὰ φοβερὰ θρασύς. Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀλαζὼν εἶναι ὁ θρασὺς καὶ προσποιητικὸς ἀνδρείας.—*Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10). Pontanus says, 'Timiditati contraria est audacia, quando illa nimium metuit, contra hæc nimium confidit, atque etiam audet. Est autem audacis proprium, et antequàm periculum adeat, et postquàm adiit, supra quàm satis est confidere.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 62.

whan a man feareth suche thinges as be nat to be feared, as also whan he feareth thinges to be feared more than nedeth.[a] For some thynges there be whiche be necessary and good to be feared, and nat to feare theim it is but rebuke.[b] Infamie and reproche be of all honest men to be dradde. And nat to feare thynges that be terrible, agayne whiche no powar or witte of man can resiste, is foole hardynesse,[c] and worthy no praise, as erthe quakes, rages of great and sodayne flodes, whiche do bere downe before them mountaynes and great townes, also the horrible fury of sodayne fire, deuourynge all thing that it apprehendeth. Yet a man that is valiaunt, called in latyne *Fortis*, shall nat in suche terrible aduentures be resolued into waylinges or desperation.[d]

Timorositie.

A valiant man.

[a] Ὁ δὲ τῷ φοβεῖσθαι ὑπερβάλλων δειλός· καὶ γὰρ ἃ μὴ δεῖ καὶ ὡς οὐ δεῖ, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτῷ· Ἐλλείπει δὲ καὶ τῷ θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς λύπαις ὑπερβάλλων μᾶλλον καταφανής ἐστιν. Δύσελπις δή τις ὁ δειλός· πάντα γὰρ φοβεῖται. —Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10). 'Qui vero nimis extimescit, eum timidum ac meticulosum dicimus, qui nec in eo solum peccat, quòd etiam non metuenda pavitat, sed quòd ea, quæ timenda sunt, nequaquam, ut oportet, timeat.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 59 b.

[b] Ἔνια γὰρ (κακά) καὶ δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ καλόν, τὸ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν, οἷον ἀδοξίαν.— *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 6 (9). 'Differunt enim inter se, quòd alia honestum est metuere, quæ ni metuantur, turpe ac flagitiosum ducimus. Quid enim improbius quàm infamiam non vereri?'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 52 b.

[c] Or, according to Aristotle, madness. Εἴη δ' ἄν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος, εἰ μηθὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, κάθαπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς.—*Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10). Pontanus, expanding this idea, says, 'Omnem profecto metum exuisse, hominis est aut parum sanæ mentis, aut prorsus stupidi atque obtorpescentis. Quis enim, nisi demens, atque in furorem actus, aut non rationis modo, sed pæne sensuum ipsorum expers factus, diluviones non horreat, motusque terrarum, atque incendia? Hæc igitur taliaque non metuere, videtur magis non sentientis cujuspiam, aut insani hominis, quàm sensu rationeque benè utentis esse.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. 59 b.

[d] 'Et viri tamen fortes in mari deprehensi à tempestatibus, non ita erunt consternati, ut humiles dimissique appareant. Tolerabunt itaque procellas, non eo tamen quo nautæ animo, qui cum ferendis tempestatibus sint assueti, et bene sperant se invicem confirmantes, et suum interim munus exsequuntur. Cum illi ut parum assueti atque inexperti, de salute subinde desperent, ac tale mortis genus quàm molestissimè ferunt, cum etiam intelligant nullam in iis se dignam navare

But where force constrayneth him to abide, and neither powar or wisedome assayed may suffice to escape, but, will he or no, he must nedes perysshe, there dothe he paciently sustayne dethe, whiche is the ende of all euilles.[a] And lyke as an excellent Phisitioun cureth moste daungerous diseases and dedely woundes, so dothe a man that is valiaunt auaunce himselfe as inuincible in thinges that do seme moste terrible,[b] nat unaduisedly, and as it were in a bestely rage, but of a gentill courage, and with premeditation, either by victorie or by dethe, wynnynge honour and perpetuall memory, the iuste rewarde of their vertue.[c] Of this maner of valiaunce was Horatius Cocles, an auncient Romayne, of whose example I haue all redy written in the firste boke, where I commended the feate of swymming.[d]

King Pirrhus the hardye.

Pirrhus, whome Anniball estemed to be the seconde of the moste valiaunt capitaines, assaulting a stronge fortresse in Sicile, called Erice,[e] he firste of all other scaled the walles, where he behaued him

operam posse. At quo animo fuit Ajax in tantâ illâ tempestate nautarumque consternatione ne minimum quidem à se ipso recessit.'—Pont. *ubi supra*, fo. 55.

[a] Περὶ ποῖα οὖν τῶν φοβερῶν ὁ ἀνδρεῖος; ἢ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα; οὐθεὶς γὰρ ὑπομενετικώτερος τῶν δεινῶν. Φοβερώτατον δ' ὁ θάνατος· πέρας γάρ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν εἶναι.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 6 (9).

[b] 'An fortasse, ut excellentis est medici gravissimos morbos lætalesque plagas sanare, sic etiam fortis est viri in iis versari, seque invictum præstare, quæ maximè omnium formidibilia videantur? Si quidem fortitudinis materia et quidam quasi campus sunt difficillima quæque pericula atque illa maximè quæ mortem videantur allatura, quâ nihil sit omnino terribilius.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 53.

[c] 'Quocirca fortis vir, quique planè dicendus est vir, ex morte quæ quidem futura sit multo pulcherrima, decus illud adipisci contendet, cujus est quàm maximè studiosus, quo ut potiatur, difficillima quæque pericula sponte adibit, in quibus pervincendis, aut si hoc minus contigerit, in oppetendâ morte, laudemque et decus collocatum intelligit.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 53 b.

[d] See Vol. I. p. 178.

[e] Τοῦ δ' Ἔρυκος ὀχυρωτάτου τῶν χωρίων ὄντος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἔχοντος ἔγνω βιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰ τείχη. Καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς γενομένης ἑτοίμης, ἐνεδύσατο τὴν πανοπλίαν καὶ προσελθὼν ηὔξατο τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ποιήσειν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἀριστεῖον, ἂν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον ἀγωνιστὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλλησι· τῷ δὲ σάλπιγγι σημήνας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνασκεδάσας καὶ τὰς κλίμακας προσαγαγὼν πρῶτος ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους. Ἀντιστάντων δὲ πολλῶν ἀμυνό-

so valiauntly, that suche as resisted, some he slewe, and other by his maiestie and fierce countenaunce he dyd put to discomforte. And finally, before any of his armye, entred the walles, and there alone sustayned the hole bronte of his enemyes, untill his people whiche were without, at the laste myssinge him, stered partely with shame that they had so loste hym, partely with his couragious example, toke good harte, and inforced them selfes in suche wise that they clymed the walles and came to the socour of Pirrhus, and by his prowesse so wanne the garyson. What valiaunt harte was in the romayne, Mutius Sceuola, that whan Porcena, kynge of Ethruscanes had by great powar constrayned the romaynes to kepe them within their citie, Sceuola takinge on him the habite of a begger, with a sworde hydde preuely under his garment, went to the enemyes campe, where he beinge taken for a beggar, was nothinge mistrusted. And whan he had espied the kinges pauillyon he drewe hym thyther, where he founde dyuers noble men sittynge. But for as moche as he certaynly knewe nat whiche of them was the kynge, he at the laste perceyuinge one to be in more ryche apparayle thanne any of the other, and supposinge hym to be Porcena, he, or any man espyed hym, stepte to the sayde lorde, and with his sworde gaue hym suche a stroke that he immediatly dyed. But Sceuola beynge taken, for as moche as he mought nat escape suche a multitude, he boldly confessed that his hande erred, and that his intent was to haue slayne kynge Porcena. Wherewith the kynge (as reason was) all chaufed, commaunded a great fire furthwith to be made, wherein Sceuola shulde haue ben brenned, but he nothing abasshed, said to the kynge, Thynke nat, Porcena, that

μενος τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε τοῦ τείχους ἐπ' ἀμφοτερα καὶ κατέβαλε, πλείστους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ξίφει χρώμενος ἐσώρευσε νεκρούς. Ἔπαθε δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιδεῖν δεινὸς ἐφάνη τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔδειξεν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ ἐμπειρίας ἀποφαίνοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φοράς πολλάκις ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην. Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔθυσέ τε τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ θέας ἀγώνων παντοδαπῶν παρέσχε.—Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 22.

by my dethe onely thou maiste escape the handes of the Romaynes, for there be in the citie CCC yonge men, suche as I am, that be prepared to slee the by one meanes or other, and to thaccomplysshement therof be also determined to suffre all tourmentes, wherof thou shalt haue of me an experience in thy syght. And incontinently he went to the fire, whiche was made for to brenne him, and with a glad countenaunce dyd put his hande in to the flame, and there helde it of a longe tyme without chaungynge of any countenaunce, untill his said hande was brenned unto asshes. In lyke wise he wolde haue put his other hande in to the fire, if he had nat ben withdrawen by Porcena, who, wondryng at the valiaunt courage of Sceuola, licenced hym to retourne unto the citie. But whan he considered that by the wordes of Sceuola so great a nombre of yonge men of semblable prowesse were confederate to his distruction, so that, or all they coulde be apprehended, his lyfe shulde be all waye in ieopardye, he, dispairynge of winnynge the citie of Rome, raised his siege and departed.[a]

[a] Ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀγαθὸς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄριστος· ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίναν ἀνελεῖν παρεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθῆτα καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος ὁμοίᾳ. Περιελθὼν δὲ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζομένου καὶ σαφῶς μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς, ἐρέσθαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδιὼς, ὃν φήθη μάλιστα τῶν συγκαθεζομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο· καί τινος ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης, μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνᾳ θύειν κεκομισμένης, ὑπερσχὼν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιομένης τῆς σαρκὸς εἱστήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἰταμῷ καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρις οὗ θαυμάσας ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀποδιδοὺς ὤρεξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον προτείνας ἐδέξατο. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σκαίολαν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ Λαιόν. Ἔφη δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Πορσίνα νενικηκὼς, ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ χάριτι μηνύειν, ἃ πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἂν ἐξηγόρευσε. 'Τριακόσιοι γὰρ Ῥωμαίων,' ἔφη, 'τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σου πλανῶνται καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κλήρῳ λαχὼν καὶ προεπιχειρήσας οὐκ ἄχθομαι τῇ τύχῃ διαμαρτὼν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίου Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι πρέποντος.' Ταῦθ' ὁ Πορσίνας ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσε καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἥδιον ἔσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτό, μοι δοκεῖ, φόβῳ τῶν τριακοσίων, ὅσον ἀγασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. —Plut. *Poplicola*, 17.

CHAPTER IX.

In what actes Fortitude is, and of the consyderations therto belongynge.

BUT all though I haue nowe rehersed sondry examples to the commendation of Fortitude concernynge actes marciall, yet by the waye I wolde haue it remembred that the praise is proprely to be referred unto the vertue,[a] that is to saye, to enterprise thynges dredefull, either for the publike weale or for wynning of perpetuall honour, or els for exchuynge reproche or dishonoure. Where unto be annexed these considerations, what importaunce the enterprise is, and wherfore it is done, with the tyme and oportunitie whan it aught to be done.[b] For (as Tulli saieth) to entre in batayle and to fight unaduisedly, it is a thing wylde and a maner of beestes, but thou shalt fight valiauntly whan tyme requireth, and also necessitie. And all way dethe is to be preferred before seruitude or any dishonestie.[c] And therfore the actes of Anniball

[a] The author seems to allude to the following passage in Aristotle: *Ὁμοίωται δ' αὕτῃ μάλιστα τῇ πρότερον εἰρημένῃ, ὅτι δι' ἀρετὴν γίνεται· δι' αἰδὼ γὰρ καὶ διὰ καλοῦ ὄρεξιν (τιμῆς γὰρ) καὶ φυγὴν ὀνείδους, αἰσχροῦ ὄντος. Πρῶτον μὲν ἡ πολιτική· μάλιστα γὰρ ἔοικε· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ὑπομένειν τοὺς κινδύνους οἱ πολῖται διὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμια καὶ τὰ ὀνείδη καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμάς.—Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 8 (11). 'Quique item, ut par est, et metuit et confidit agitque pro dignitate, atque ut ratio recta præcipit, is est quem quærimus fortem, cujus tolerantia atque perpessio, actio item atque agressio suscepta est honesti et pulchri gratiâ quando ut magistro placet Aristoteli *actionis cujusque finis est ad habitum referendus.* Et viro forti fortitudo ipsa honestum ac pulchrum est, aut quia secus quidem atque aliter se habere atque agere turpe esset ac decorosum.'—Pontanus, *Opera,* tom. i. fo. 58 b.

[b] 'Idem quoque asperis atque periculosis rebus tolerandis adhibitus est delectus. Siquidem et temporis et loci ratio habenda est, retinendus etiam modus, nec toleranda sunt quæ forti viro aut parum convenerint, aut certe omnino dedecuerint.'—'Quid autem vel inconsideratius vel improbius quàm ea velle aggredi quæ nullâ sint ratione aggredienda? Quid magis incompositum, quàm nec temporis nec loci rationem habere? Aut quid immoderatius, quàm à mensurâ ordineque recedere? Cum primis autem videndum est, quàm id, quod aggredi paramus, justum sit.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra,* fo. 57 b. 58.

[c] 'Temerè autem in acie versari, et manu cum hoste confligere, immane quiddam et belluarum simile est. Sed cum tempus necessitasque postulat, decertan-

agayne the Saguntynes, whiche neuer dyd him displeasure, is nat accounted for any prowesse.[a] Neyther Catalyne, which, for his singuler commoditie and a fewe other, attempted detestable warres agayne his owne contraye, entendyng to haue brenned the noble citie of Rome, and to haue distroyed all the good men, is nat numbred amonge valyaunt men, all though he faught manly and with great courage untill he was slayne.[b] What auayled the boldenesse of Varro and Flaminius, noble capitaynes of Romaynes, whiche despisynge the prowesse and crafte of Anniball, and contemnyng the sobre counsayle of Fabius, hauing onely truste in their owne hardinesse, loste two noble armyes, wherby the powar of the Romaynes was nighe utterly perysshed ?[c] Wherfore eftsones I saye that a valiaunt man is he that dothe tollerate or suffre that whiche is nedefull, and in suche wise as is nedefull, and for that whiche is nedefull, and also whan it is nedefull.[d] And he that lacketh any of this may be called hardy, but nat valiaunt. More ouer, all thoughe they whiche be hardy or persones desperate haue a

Who may be called a valiaunt man.

dum manu est, et mors servituti turpitudinique anteponenda.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 23.

[a] This is borrowed from Pontanus, who says, 'Immanis Annibal, qui nullâ lacessitus injuriâ bellum Saguntinis intulit, quod ut injuste suscepit, sic crudeliter administravit.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. 58.

[b] The author has borrowed this and the following illustration also from the same source as the last. 'Immanis Catilina, qui dum pro suis aut paucorum tantum commodis, non pro communi salute laborat, nefarium patriæ bellum intulit, dumque ad id, quod sibi proposuerat, pervenire posset, Urbis incendium ac bonorum civium interitum parat.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 58.

[c] 'Varro Flaminiusque, alter ad Transimenum, alter ad Cannas, dum Hannibalis artes despiciunt, dum quales haberent exercitus, denique dum seipsos parum noscunt, rem Romanam pene funditus subvertere.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 58.

[d] 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἃ δεῖ καὶ οὗ ἕνεκα ὑπομένων καὶ φοβούμενος, καὶ ὡς δεῖ καὶ ὅτε, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θαρρῶν, ἀνδρεῖος· κατ' ἀξίαν γάρ, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ λόγος, πάσχει καὶ πράττει ὁ ἀνδρεῖος.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10).—'Atque ut fortem ipsum tanquam suis liniamentis inumbremus. Qui quæ oportet, et quàm oportet, et cujus etiam rei gratiâ, et quando etiam oportet, tolerat atque perpetitur.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 58 b.

similitude, and seme to be valiaunt,[a] yet be they nat valiaunt, no more than kinges in May games[b] and enterludes be kinges. For they that be hardy, or they come to the perylle, they seme to be fierce and aigre, and in beginnynge their enterprise wonderfull hasty; but whan they feele the thing

[a] *Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος* (sc. *ὁ ἀνδρεῖος*) *περὶ τὰ φοβερὰ ἔχει, οὕτως οὗτος* (sc. *ὁ θρασὺς*) *βούλεται φαίνεσθαι· ἐν οἷς οὖν δύναται, μιμεῖται.*—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10). 'Ac tametsi initio videtur audax habere quiddam forti simile, ac illius animum præ se ferre . . . veram tamen fortitudinis laudem non est adeptus, ut qui in spectaculis Histriones cum sint, regum tamen personas gerunt.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 62 a. b.

[b] May games and Interludes were the only *spectacula* with which the author was acquainted, but Pontanus himself had, no doubt, more elaborate performances in his mind; for Hallam tells us that Latin plays upon a classical model were sometimes represented in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries, and he mentions a tragedy, the Rosmunda of Rucellai, which was represented before Leo at Florence in 1515, and 'two comedies by Ariosto seem to have been acted about 1512.'—*Hist. Eng. Lit.* vol. i. p. 266, ed. 1854. With regard to the signification of *histrio*, Warton says that 'in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages, the word generally comprehends the numerous tribe of mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, minstrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which those ages abounded.'—*Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 393. The 'Kings' in May games were also called Lords of Misrule, and Stubbes, in his description of these games, says, 'First all the wilde heads of the Parish flocking togither chuse them a graund Captaine (of Mischiefe), whome they innoble with the title of My Lord of Misrule, and him they crowne with great solemnitie and adopt for their king.'—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 107, ed. 1595. And Strype tells us that in 1557 there 'was a goodly May-game in Fanchurch street; there was also the morris dance, and the lord and lady of this May appeared, to make up the show.'—*Eccles. Mem.* vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 6. With regard to those who occupied an analogous position in Interludes, Warton tells us that 'in an original draft of the statutes of Trin. Coll., Cam., founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled *De Prefecto Ludorum qui Imperator dicitur*, under whose direction and authority Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 523. At Christmas, 1527–8, a play was performed at Gray's Inn, in which, according to Hall, two of the principal characters were Lord Governaunce and Lady Publike-wele. It was about this period that John Heywood, 'the singer' and 'player on the Virginals,' began to write his interludes. 'These productions,' says Mr. Collier, 'form an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle-plays nor Morals, but entirely different from both; several of them come properly within the definition of "interludes," (pieces played in the intervals of entertainments), and have frequently both broad humour and strong character to recommend them.'—*Ann. of Stage*, vol. i. p. 116, ed. 1831.

more harde and greuous than they estemed, their courage decayeth more and more, and as men abasshed and unprepared, their hartes utterly do fayle, and in conclusion they appere more faynte than they that be cowardes.[a] Also in desperation can nat be fortitude, for that beinge a morall vertue, is euer voluntary.[b] Desperation is a thinge as it were constrayned, ne hathe any maner of consideration; where fortitude expendeth euery thinge and acte diligently, and dothe also moderate it with reason. Here nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neyther they whiche employe their force without iuste cause or necessitie, ne they whiche without forecast, or (as I mought saye) circumspection, will take in hande an harde enterprise, ne they whiche hedlonge will fall in to daungers, from whens there is no hope to escape, nor yet men desperate, whiche do dye willingly without any motion of honour or zeale towarde the publike weale, be in the nombre of valyaunt persones;[c] but of a refuse company, and rather to

[a] 'Etenim audaces, ante pericula adita laboresque susceptos, nimis quàm acres videntur, suntque ad incipiendum præcipites, post vero magis magisque deficiunt, viderique incipiunt similiores hæsitantibus, donec concidunt animis, apparentque ipsis etiam timidis imbecilliores.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 62.

[b] 'Nec ignoramus (ut etiam Statius ait) esse ubi det vires nimius timor, nam et timidissimæ quædam belluæ, ubi nullum habere se profugium clausæ sentiunt, ferociores factæ, et ob desperationem etiam acerrimè pugnant. Quæ res efficit ut nec desperatio verum assequi fortitudinis nomen queat, neque enim per desperationem perveniri ad fortitudinem ac decus potest, quando ne in Physicis quidem dari illud solet, ut eadem ipsa sint ex quibus idem aliquid effici soleat. Siquidem frigus, quod caloris proprium est, non nunquam urit. Ad hæc cum virtus omnis moralis sit voluntaria, desperatio coactum quid ac violentum potiùs videtur esse, cujus principia et causæ forinsecus magis proficiscantur, quæ voluntatem ipsam trahant vexentque. Quid quod desperantes nihil omnino pensi habent, cum fortes seque suasque res atque actiones benè pensent, ac ratione moderentur?'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 62 b.

[c] 'Igitur nec hi (*sc.* desperantes), nec qui è nimio metu strenuè aliquid videntur agere, in fortium sunt numero collocandi.'—Pontanus, *ubi supra*, fo. 63. It will be seen that Sir Thomas Elyot enumerates four classes of persons who can lay no claim to the appellation of 'valiant.' Aristotle, however, mentions five spurious kinds of courage, viz.:—1. Involuntary (δι' ἀνάγκην). 2. Empirical (ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας). 3. Irascible (ἐκ θυμοῦ). 4. Exuberant (οἱ εὐέλπιδες). 5. Irrational (οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες).

be rekned with bestes sauage, than amonge men whiche do participate with reason. For as Curtius sayeth, it appertayneth to men that be valyaunt, rather to despise dethe thanne to hate lyfe.[a]

Q. Curtius.

A man is called in latyne *Vir*, whereof, sayeth Tulli, vertue is named. And the moste propre vertue longynge to a man is fortitude, whereof be two excellent propreties, that is to saye, the contempt of dethe and of griefe.[b] But what very fortitude is he more plainly doth declare afterwarde in a more larger circumscription, sayenge, Thinges humane aught to be litle estemed, dethe nat regarded, laboures and griefes to be thought tollerable. Whan this is ratifyed by iugement and a constant oppinion, than that is a valiaunt and stable fortitude.[c] But there unto I wolde shulde be added, whiche oppinion and iugement procedeth of a reason, and nat repugnaunt to Justyce. And than it shal accorde with this sayenge of Aristotelle, A valiaunt man sustaineth and dothe that whiche belongeth to fortitude for cause of honestie.[d] And a litle before he saieth, A man that is valiaunt as well suffereth as dothe that whiche agreeth with his worship, and as reason commaundeth.[e] So no violence or sturdye mynde lackynge reason and honestie is any parte of fortitude.[f] Unto this

Aristotel.

[a] 'Fortium virorum est, magis mortem contemnere, quàm odisse vitam.'—Q. Curt. Ruf. lib. v. cap. 9.

[b] 'Appellata est enim ex viro virtus: viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo: cujus munera duo sunt maxima, mortis, dolorisque contemtio.'—*Tusc. Disp.* lib. ii. cap. 18.

[c] 'Contemnendæ res sunt humanæ: negligenda mors est: patibiles et dolores et labores putandi. Hæc cum constituta sunt judicio atque sententiâ, tum est robusta illa et stabilis fortitudo.'—*Tusc. Disp.* lib. iv. cap. 23.

[d] Καλοῦ δὴ ἕνεκα ὁ ἀνδρεῖος ὑπομένει καὶ πράττει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν.—*Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10).

[e] Κατ' ἀξίαν γὰρ, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ λόγος, πάσχει καὶ πράττει ὁ ἀνδρεῖος.—*Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 7 (10).

'Sed nec feroces in fortium haberi numero volumus, siquidem majore ferantur impetu, nec quâ debeant ratione pericula metiantur.'—Pont. *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 70 b. ed. 1518.

noble vertue be attendaunt, or as it were continuall adherentes, dyuers vertues, whiche do ensue, and be of ryght great estimation.

CHAPTER X.

Of paynefulnesse the firste companion of Fortitude.

IN theim which be either gouernours or capitaynes or in other offyce where unto appertaineth great cure, or despechynge of sondry great affayres, Paynfulnesse, named in latyne *Tollerantia*, is wonderfull commendable.[a] For thereby thynges be in suche wise exployted that utilitie procedeth therof, and seldome repentaunce. For as moche as thereof commeth an excellent frute called oportunitie, which is euer ripe, and neuer in other astate. For lacke of this vertue moche wisedome and many a valyaunt enterprise haue perysshed and tourned to none effecte, for thynges sharpely inuented, prudently discussed, and valyauntly enterprised, if they be nat diligently folowed, and without cessynge applied and pursued, as it were in a moment all thinge is subuerted. And the paynes before taken, with the tyme therin spent, is utterly frustrate. The paynefulnesse of Quintus Fabius,[b] beinge dictator or principall capitayne of the Romaynes, in leadynge his armye by mountaynes and other herde passages, so disapointed Anniball of the hope of victorye, wherin he so moche gloried, that at the last he trayned and drewe Anniball and his hoste in to a felde inclosed about with mountaines and deep ryuers, where Fabius had so enuyroned him by the fortifyenge of two mountaynes with his people, that they were in ieoperdye eyther to be

[a] 'Assidet itaque et tanquam ministrat Fortitudini Tolerantia, quæ est æqua laborum ac molestiarum perpessio.'—Pontanus, *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 66.

[b] Pontanus cites him as an example. 'Fortem namque ut minimè insidiosum sic vel cum primis cautum, æquumque rerum suarum æstimatorem volumus. Quo in genere laudis majores nostri Q. Maximum primum esse voluerunt.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. 58.

famysshed (their vitayle soone after faylinge theim) or els in fleinge to be slayne by the Romaynes, had nat the craftye and polityke witte of Anniball delyuered them; whiche, for the notable inuention, I wyll borowe so moche tyme of the reder to renewe the remembraunce therof in our Englysshe tunge. Anniball, perceyuinge the daunger that he and his armye were in, he commaunded in the depe of the nyght, whan nothynge was sterynge, to be brought before him about two thousande great oxen and bulles, whiche a litle before his men had taken in foraginge, and causinge fagottes made of drye styckes to be fastened unto their hornes, and set on fyre, the bestes troubled with the flame of fire, ranne as they were woode up towarde the mountaynes, where as laye the hoste of the Romaynes, Anniball, with his hoole armye folowynge in araye. The romaynes which kept the mountaynes, beinge sore a ferde of this newe and terrible sight, forsoke their places, and Fabius, dredynge the deceytefull witte of Anniball, kept the armye within his trenche, and so Anniball with his hoste escaped without domage.[a] But Fabius, beinge painefull

The policie of Annyball to escape from the Romaynes.

[a] Βοῦς ὅσον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκέλευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδῆσαι δᾷδα πρὸς ἕκαστον κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὖων φάκελον· εἶτα νυκτὸς, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημεῖον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν πολεμίων. Ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον οἷς προστέτακτο καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστήσας στρατὸν ἤδη σκότους ὄντος ἦγε σχολαίως. Αἱ δὲ βόες ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ ὀλίγον ἦν καὶ περιέκαιε τὴν ὕλην ἀτρέμα προσεχώρουν ἐλαυνόμεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθορῶσι νομεῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ βουκόλοις ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἄκροις ἐπιλάμπουσαι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατοπέδου καθ' ἕνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πυρούμενον τὸ κέρας ἄχρι ῥίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τινάσσουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπίμπλαντο πολλῆς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων φλογὸς οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ' ἔκφοβοι καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὖσαι δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφέροντο λαμπόμεναι μὲν οὐρὰς ἄκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς ἔφευγον, ἀνάπτουσαι. Δεινὸν οὖν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλάττουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Ῥωμαίοις. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλόγες ἐφ̓κεσαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερουμέναις λαμπάσι καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλους ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι παντα-χόθεν ἡγουμένων. Διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενά. Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καιροῦ προσμίξαντες οἱ φιλοὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς κατέσχον, ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις ἤδη προσέβαινεν ἀδεῶς πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐφελκομένη λείαν.—Plut. *Fabius*, 6.

in pursuinge Anniball from place to place, a waytinge to haue hym at aduauntage, at the laste dyd so fatigate him and his hoste, that therby in conclusion his powar minisshed, and also the strength of the Carthaginensis, of whome he was generall capitayne. In so moche as they were at the laste constrained to countermaunde him by sondrie messangers, willyng him to abandone the warres in Italye, and to retourne to the defence of his owne citie. Whiche by the opinion of moste excellent writars, shulde neuer haue hapned if Fabius wolde haue lefte any parte of his purpose, eyther for the tediousenesse of the payne and trauayle, or for the intollerable rebukes giuen unto hym by Minutius, who imbrayded hym with cowardyse. Amonge the vertues whiche abounded in Julius Cesar, none was accounted more excellent than that in his counsayles, affaires, and exploytures, he omitted no tyme ne forsoke any payne; wherfore moste sonest of any man he achieued and brought to good passe all thynge that he entreprised.[a] Suppose ye that the same Anniball, of whome we late spake, coulde haue wonne from the Romaynes all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaynes called Alpes, makynge a way for his armye where before was neuer any maner of passage, and also haue goten all Italye unto Rome gates, if he had not ben a man paynefull and of labour incomparable?

Paineful-nesse in hearynge contro-uersies.

Julius Cesar, after that he had the intier gouernaunce and dominion of the empyre of Rome, he therfore neuer omitted labour and diligence, as well in commune causes as private, concernynge the defence and assistence of innocentes.[b] Also he laborously and

[a] Cicero considered him a universal genius. 'Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literatura, cogitatio, diligentia: res bello gesserat, quamvis reipublicæ calamitosas, attamen magnas: multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, magnis periculis, quod cogitarat, effecerat.'—*Philipp.* ii. cap. 45. Niebuhr says, 'He had been accustomed from his youth, and more especially during the last fifteen years, to an enormous activity, and idleness was intolerable to him.'—*Lecture* cxi. ed. 1870. But he adds that his talents were so diversified that 'most of the things he did bear no impress of labour or study.'—*Lecture* cvi.

[b] 'Studium et fides erga clientes ne juveni quidem defuerunt.'—Sueton. *Julius*,

studiousely discussed controuersies, whiche all most dayly he herde in his owne persone.[a]

Traiane and bothe Antonines, emperours of Rome, and for their vertue worthy to be emperours of all the worlde, as well in exterior affaires as in the affaires of the citie, were euer so continually occupied that uneth they founde any litle tyme to haue any recreation or solace.[b]

Alexander also, emperour, for his incomparable grauitie called Seuerus, beinge but of the age of xviii yeres whan he firste was made emperour, was inclyned to so incredible labours, that where he founde the noble citie of Rome, than mastresse of the worlde, throughly corrupted with moste abhominable vices, by the moste shameful example and liuing of that detestable monstre, Varius Heliogabalus, next emperour before him,[c] a great parte of the Senate and nobilitie beinge resolued in to semblable vices, the

71. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας αὐτοῦ χάρις ἐξέλαμπε, πολλὴ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ ὁμιλίας φιλοφροσύνης εὔνοια παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπήντα, θεραπευτικοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν ὄντος.—Plut. *Cæsar*, 4. But these passages refer solely to Cæsar's early career, and not to the period of his elevation to the supreme power.

[a] 'Jus laboriosissimè ac severissimè dixit.'—Sueton. *Julius*, 43.

[b] Merivale says, 'The legislator qualified himself for the task of propounding or applying legal principles, by assiduous labour in the administration of existing law. Trajan exchanged the toils of war for the labours of the forum.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. vii. p. 266, ed. 1862. Whilst speaking of the first of the Antonines, the same writer tells us that 'from his early years Antoninus had been engaged in the active discharge of official duties.'—*Ibid.* p. 498. And of Aurelius, that 'to the cares of public administration he devoted his patient attention; but his heart was in the libraries of ancient wisdom, or with its best living expositors; for these he reserved the hours borrowed from sleep or recreation; and throughout his father's reign, he never, it is said, was tempted to quit his closet at Rome but for two nights.'—*Ibid.* p. 514.

[c] 'Ubi ergo Augustus agere cæpit imperium, primum removit judices omnes à Republicâ et à ministeriis atque muneribus, quos impurus ille Heliogabalus ex genere hominum turpissimo provexerat: deinde senatum et equestrem ordinem purgavit. Ipsas deinde tribus, et eos qui militaribus nituntur prærogativis, purgavit, et palatium suum comitatumque omnem, abjectis ex aulico ministerio cunctis obscœnis et infamibus, nec quemquam passus est esse in palatinis nisi necessarium hominem.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 901, ed. 1671.

chiualrye dispersed, martiall prowesse abandoned, and well nyghe the maiestie emperiall dissolued and brought in contempt, this noble yonge prince Alexander, inflamed with the zeale of the pristinate honour of the Romaynes, layenge a parte utterly all pleasures and quietnesse, holy gaue his witte and body to studye and trauayles intollerable, and chesinge out of all partes of the worlde men of grettest wisedome and experience, consultinge with theim,[a] neuer ceased untill he had reduced as well the Romaynes as all other cities and prouinces unto them subiecte, to their pristinate moderation and temperaunce. Many other examples coulde I reherce to the commendation of paynefulnesse. But these shall suffice at this present tyme to proue that a gouernour must nedes be painefull in his owne persone, if he desire to haue those thinges prosper that be commytted to his gouernaunce.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the noble and fayre vertue named Pacience.

PACIENCE is a noble vertue, appertayninge as well to inwarde gouernaunce as to exterior gouernaunce, and is the vainquisshour of iniuries, the suer defence agayne all affectes and passions of the soule, retayninge all wayes glad semblaunt[b] in aduersitie and doloure.

[a] 'Fuit præterea illi consuetudo, ut si de jure aut de negotiis tractaret, solos doctos et disertos adhiberet : si vero de re militari, milites veteres et senes ac benemeritos, et locorum peritos ac bellorum et castrorum, et omnes literatos, et maximè eos qui historiam norant : requirens quid in talibus causis quales in disceptatione versabantur, veteres imperatores vel Romani vel exterarum gentium fecissent.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 905.

[b] *I.e.* countenance. So Chaucer in *the Romaunt of the Rose*,

> 'Hir forheed frounceles al pleyne,
> Bent were hir browis two,
> Hir yen greye, and glad also,
> That laugheden ay in hir *semblaunt*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 27, ed. 1866.

Saynt Ambrose saieth in his boke of offices, Better is he that contemneth iniurie, than he that soroweth. For he that contemneth it as he nothynge felte, he passeth nat on it: but he that is sorowfull, he is therewith tourmented as though he felt it.[a]

Ambrosius Offi. i.

Whiche was well proued by Zeno Eleates, a noble Philosopher, who beinge a man of excellent wisedome and eloquence, came to a citie called Agrigentum, where raygned Phalaris, the mooste cruell Tyraunt of all the worlde, who kept and used his owne people in mooste miserable seruitude. Zeno firste thought by his wisdome and eloquence to haue so persuaded the Tyraunt to temperaunce that he shulde have abandoned his cruell and auaricious appetite. But custome of vice more preuayled in him than profitable counsayle. Wherfore Zeno, hauynge pitie at the wretched astate of the people, excited dyuers noble men to deliuer the citie of that seruile condition. This counsayle was nat so secretely gyuen but that notice therof came to the Tyraunt, who, causinge all the people to be assembled in the market place, caused Zeno there to be cruciate with sondrye turmentes, all wayes demaundynge of hym who dyd participate with hym of his said counsayle. But for no paynes wolde he confesse any persone, but induced the Tyraunt to haue in mistrust his nexte frendes and familyar seruauntes, and reprouynge the people for their cowardise[b] and drede, he at the laste so inflamed them unto

[a] 'Melior est itaque qui contemnit injuriam, quàm qui dolet. Qui enim contemnit, quasi non sentiat, ita despicit: qui autem dolet, quasi senserit, torquetur.'—Ambros. *de Off.* lib. i. cap. 6, fo. 9b. ed. 1609.

[b] 'Incipiam autem a Zenone Eleate: qui cum esset in despiciendâ rerum naturâ maximæ prudentiæ, inque excitandis ad vigorem juvenum animis promtissimus, præceptorum fidem exemplo virtutis suæ publicavit. Patriam enim egressus, in quâ frui securâ libertate poterat, Agrigentum miserabili servitute obrutum petiit, tantâ fiduciâ ingenii ac morum suorum fretus, ut speraverit, et tyranno et Phalari vesanæ mentis feritatem à se diripi posse. Postquam deinde apud illum plus consuetudinem dominationis, quàm consilii salubritatem, valere animadvertit, nobilissimos ejus civitatis adolescentes cupiditate liberandæ patriæ inflammavit. Cujus rei cum indicium ad tyrannum manasset, convocato in forum populo, torquere eum rio cruciatûs genere cœpit: subinde quærens, quosnam consilii participes haberet.

libertie, that sodaynely, with a great violence, they fell on the Tyraunt and pressed him with stones. The olde Zeno in all his exquisite tourmentes neuer made any lamentable crye or desire to be relieued. But for this fourme of Pacience, this onely example suffiseth at this tyme, sens there be so frequent examples of martyrs, whiche for true religion sustayned pacyently nat onely equall tourmentes with Zeno, but also ferre excedynge.[a] But nowe wyll I wrytte of that Pacience that pertaineth unto interior gouernaunce, wherby the naturall passions of man be subdued, and the malyce of fortune sustayned. For they whiche be in autoritie and be occupied about great affaires, their lyues be nat onely replenisshed with labours and greuous displeasures, but also they be subiectes to sondrye chaunces.[b]

Howe pacyence maye be optained.

The meane to optayne pacyence is by two thinges principally. A directe and upryght conscience, and true and constant opinion[c] in the estimation of goodnes. Whiche seldome commeth onely of nature, excepte it be wonderfull excellent; but by the diligent studye of very philosophie (nat that whiche is sophisticate, and consisteth in sophismes[d]) nature is therto

At ille nec eorum quempiam nominavit, sed proximum quemque ac fidissimum tyranno suspectum reddidit : increpitansque Agrigentinis ignaviam ac timiditatem, effecit, ut, subito mentis impulsu concitati, Phalarim lapidibus prosternerent. Senis ergo unius ueculeo impositi non supplex vox, nec miserabilis ejulatus, sed fortis cohortatio totius urbis animum, fortunamque mutavit.'—Val. Max., lib. iii. cap. 3, ext. 2.

[a] Pontanus had already said, 'Plena est exemplorum nostra, id est Christiana historia, nec duos licet, aut tres ex eâ proferre, sed plurimos, nec sigillatim sed gregatim, nec viros tantum sed mulieres, easque non modo natu grandiores, verum etiam puellas, quarum animi esse solent maximè imbecilli. Quibus exemplis confirmati, non mortem modo patienter ferendam sed genera mortis contemnenda esse doceamur.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 79.

[b] Bacon fully realised the truth of this when he wrote, 'Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy, for, if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it. . . . . The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains.'—*Essays*, p. 92, ed. 1857.

[c] *I.e.* belief in, as Cicero uses the parent word in the following passage :—'Quum conciliatrix amicitiæ virtutis opinio fuerit.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 11.

[d] Bacon divides false philosophy into sophistical, empirical, and superstitious.

prepared and holpen. This Opinion is of suche powar that ones cleuynge faste to the mynde, it draweth a man as it were by violence to good or euill. Therfore, Tulli saieth, Lyke as whan the bloode is corrupted, and eyther fleame or Colere, blacke or redde, is superhabundaunt, than in the body be ingendred sores and diseases, so the vexation of euill opinions and their repugnauncie despoileth the mynde of all helthe, and troubleth it with griefes.[a] Contrarye wyse afterwarde Tulli describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beaultie of the soule, sayenge in this wyse, As of bodelye membres there is an apte figure, with a maner pleasauntnesse of colour, and that is called beaultie; so in the soule the equalitie and constaunce of opinions and iugementes ensuynge vertue, with a stable and stedfaste purpose, or contaynynge the selfe same effecte that is in vertue, is named beaultie.[b] Whiche sentences depely inuestigate and well perceyued by them that be about princes and gouernours, they may consider howe ware and circumspecte they aught to be in the indusinge them to opinions.[c] [Whereof they be sufficiently admonished by the moste excellent diuine *Erasmus Roterodamus*, in his boke of the Institution of a Christen prince,[d] whiche in myne

Tuscul. q. iii.

Sophistical, when it consists of dialectic subtleties built upon no better foundation than common notions and every-day observation; empirical, when it is educed out of a few experiments however accurately examined; and superstitious when theological traditions are made its basis.

[a] 'Quemadmodum cum sanguis corruptus est, aut pituita redundat, aut bilis, in corpore morbi ægrotationesque nascuntur; sic pravarum opinionum conturbatio, et ipsarum inter se repugnantia, sanitate spoliat animum, morbisque perturbat.'—*Tusc. Disput.* lib. iv. cap. 10.

[b] 'Et, ut corporis est quædam apta figura membrorum, cum coloris quâdam suavitate; ea quæ dicitur pulchritudo; sic, in animo, opinionum judiciorumque æquabilitas et constantia, cum firmitate quâdam et stabilitate virtutem subsequens, aut virtutis vim ipsam continens, pulchritudo vocatur.'—*Tusc. Disput.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

[c] The remainder of this chapter is omitted in all the subsequent editions.

[d] 'Discat amare virtutem, horrere turpitudinem, et ab inhonestis pudore, non metu coerceatur. Et quamquam nonnulla boni Principis spes in emendatis moribus ac moderatis affectibus est sita, *præcipua tamen est in rectis opinionibus.* Nam mores malos aliquoties et pudor corrigit, depravatos affectus vel ætas emendat, vel

opinion can nat be so moche praysed as it is worthy. Therfore I will leaue nowe to write any more of Opinion, sauynge that I wolde that it shulde be all waye remembred, that opinion in iuginge thinges as they verely be armeth a man unto pacience.]

CHAPTER XII.

Of Pacience in sustayninge wronges and rebukes.[a]

UNTO hym that is valyaunt of courage, it is a great payne and difficultie to sustayne Iniurie, and nat to be furthwith reuenged. And yet often tymes is accounted more valyauntnesse in the sufferaunce than in hasty reuengynge. As it was in Antoninus the emperoure, called the philosopher, agayne whome rebelled one Cassius, and usurped the emperiall maiestie in Syria and the Este partes. Yet at the laste, beinge slaine by the capitaynes of Antonine next adioyninge, he therof un wetynge was therwith sore greued.[b] And therfore takyng to hym the chyldren of Cassius, entreated them honorably, wherby he acquired euer after the incomparable and moste assured loue of his subiectes. As moche dishonour

admonitio. Cæterum ubi persuasum est id cum virtute conjunctum esse, quod procul abest ab honesto, et id egregium esse Principis munus, quod plus quàm tyrannicum est, hoc est ubi fontes sunt infecti, à quibus omnes vitæ proficiscuntur actiones, tum difficillimum fuerit mederi. Proinde in hoc primam ac præcipuam esse curam oportet instituentis, sicuti dictum est, ut pravas vulgi opiniones penitus ex animo revellat, si qui forte insederint, et salutares Christianoque Principe dignas inserat.'—*Inst. Prin. Christ.* pp. 73–74, ed. 1519.

[a] This seems to have been suggested by a chapter of Pontanus, of which the title is *De tolerandis injuriis et contumeliis.* See *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 84 b.

[b] 'Ipsum Cassium pro clementiâ occidi passus est, non occidi jussit. Deportatus est Heliodorus filius Cassii, et alii liberum exilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte. Filii autem Cassii et amplius mediâ parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii, et auro atque argento adjuti, mulieres autem etiam ornamentis, ita ut Alexandria filia Cassii et Druncianus gener, liberam vagandi potestatem haberent, commendati amitæ marito. Doluit denique Cassium extinctum, dicens voluisse se sine senatorio sanguine imperium transigere.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 390, ed. 1671.

and hatered his sonne Commodus wanne by his impacience, wherein he so exceded, that for as moche as he founde nat his bayne[a] hette to his pleasure, he caused the keper therof to be throwen in to the hote brennynge furnaise.[b] What thynge mought be more odible[c] than that moste deuelysshe impacience? Julius Cesar, whan Catullus the Poete wrate agayne hym contumelyouse or reprocheable versis, he nat onely forgaue him, but to make hym his frende, caused hym often tymes to soupe with hym.[d] The noble emperour Augustus, whanne it was shewed hym that many men in the citie had of hym unfittinge wordes, he thought it a sufficient answere that in a free citie men muste haue their tunges nedes at libertie.[e] Nor neuer was with any persone that spake euill of

[a] This is another instance of the employment by the author of a French word instead of an English. Hall, in his account of the reception of Charles V. in 1522, says: 'On Saterday the Kyng and the Emperor playd at tennice at the *Bayne*.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. fo. 98, b. ed. 1548. This no doubt formed part of the Palace of Bridewell, which, as Stowe says, Henry VIII. 'purposely builded for the entertainment of the Emperor.'—*Survey*, vol. i. p. 63. And possibly from having been occupied by foreigners may have received a foreign name. Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart's account of the attack upon the Count of Flanders' house by the men of Ghent in 1381, says: 'They lefte no gentylmans house unbrent or cast downe to the erthe; and thanne they came agayne to Marlle, the erles howse, and beate downe all that they had left standyng before, and ther they founde the cradell wherein the erle was kept in his youthe, and brake it al to peces, and a fayre *bayne* wherin he was wont to be *bayned*.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 702, ed. 1812.

[b] 'Auspicium crudelitatis apud Centumcellas dedit anno ætatis xii. Nam quum tepidius forte lotus esset, balneatorem in fornacem conjici jussit: quando à pædagogo cui hoc jussum fuerat, vervecina pellis in fornace consumpta est, ut fidem pœnæ de fœtore nidoris impleret.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 474.

[c] From the Latin odibilis, which, however, is not used by the best authors. Lampridius says of Heliogabalus: 'Vitâ, moribus, improbitate ita *odibilis*, ut ejus nomen senatus eraserit.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 827. The paragraph in the text is obviously merely a translation of the following sentence of Pontanus: 'Quid hâc impatientiâ, immo impotentiâ tetrius?'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 84 b.

[d] 'Valerium Catullum, à quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satisfacientem, eâdem die adhibuit cœnæ, hospitioque patris ejus, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit.'—Sueton. *Julius*, 73.

[e] This does not exactly represent the sense of the original, as the reader will see, for it is obvious that the allusion is to the following passage: 'Interdum ob

hym in worde or countenaunce warse discontented.[a] Some men will nat praise this maner of Pacience, but account hit for folysshenes, but if they beholde on the other side what incommoditie commeth of impacience, howe a man is therewith abstracte from reason and tourned in to a monstruous figure, and do conferre all that with the stable countenaunce and pleasaunt regarde of him that is pacient, and with the commoditie that dothe ensue thereof they shall affirme that that simplicitie is an excellent wisedome. More ouer the best waye to be aduenged is so to contemne Iniurie and rebuke, and lyue with suche honestie, that the doer shall at the laste be therof a shamed, or at the leste, lese the frute of his malyce, that is to say, shall nat reioyce and haue glorie of thy hyndraunce or domage.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Pacience deserued in repulse,[b] *or hynderaunce of promocion.*

To a man hauynge a gentyll courage, lyke wise as nothinge is so pleasaunt or equally reioyceth him as rewarde or preferment sodaynely giuen or aboue his merite, so nothinge may be to him more displeasaunt or paynefull than to be neglected in his payne takynge, and the rewarde and honour that he loketh to haue, and for his merites is worthy to haue, to be gyuen to one of lasse vertue, and perchaunce of no vertue or laudable qualitie. Plato in his Epistell to Dion, kynge of

immodicas altercationes disceptantium è Curiâ per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt, "Licere oportere senatoribus de Republicâ loqui." '—Sueton. *Octavius*, 54. But Sir Thomas Elyot has merely copied Pontanus, who says: 'Augustus cum multorum maledictis vexaretur, satis habuit respondere, quòd in civitate liberâ et linguas esse liberas oporteret.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 85, ed. 1518.

[a] 'Etiam sparsos de se in Curiâ famosos libellos nec expavit, nec magnâ curâ redarguit.'—Sueton. *Octavius*, 55.

[b] Sir Thomas Elyot has evidently borrowed the title of this chapter from one of Pontanus entitled *De tolerandâ repulsâ*, but the subject is treated from a different point of view by the Italian author.

Scicile, It is (sayeth he) good right that they which be good men, and do the semblable, optayne honour whiche they be worthy to haue.[a]

What Commodities do happen by the aduancement of good men.

Undowghtedly in a prince or noble man may be nothinge more excellent, ye nothing more necessarye, than to aduaunce men after the estimation of their goodnes ;[b] and that for two speciall commodities that do come thereof. Fyrste, that therby they prouoke many men to apprehende vertue. Also to them whiche be good and all redy aduaunced do gyue suche courage, that they endeuour them selfes with all their powar to encrease that opinion of goodnes, wherby they were brought to that aduauncement whiche nedes muste be to the honoure and benefite of those by whome they were so promoted. Contrary wise, where men from their infancie haue ensued vertue, worne the florisshynge tyme of youthe with paynefull studie, abandonynge all lustes and all other thinge whiche in that tyme is pleasaunt, trustynge therby to profite their publike weale, and to optayne therby honour, whan either their vertue and trauayle is litle regarded, or the preferment whiche they loke for, is giuen to an other nat equall in merite, it nat onely perceth his harte with moche anguisshe, and oppresseth hym with discomfort, but also mortifieth the courages of many other whiche be aptly disposed to studie and vertue, and hoped therby to haue the propre rewarde therof, whiche is commendation and honour, which beinge giuen to men lackyng vertue and wisedome, shall be occasion for them to do euill (as Democritus sayeth [c]), for who doughteth but that autoritie

[a] Νομίζω γὰρ δίκαιον εἶναι τοὺς ὄντας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ πράττοντας τοιαῦτα τυγχάνειν δόξης τῆς προσηκούσης.—Epistolographi Græci, p. 500, ed. Hercher, 1873.

[b] So Bacon says: 'The most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons.'—*Essays*, p. 438, ed. 1857.

[c] Apparently the allusion is to the following passage: Οἱ κακοὶ ἰόντες ἐς τὰς τιμάς, ὁκόσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον ἀνάξιοι ἐόντες ἴωσι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀνακηδέες γίνονται καὶ ἀφροσύνης καὶ θράσεος πίμπλανται.—Democriti *Opera*, p. 199, ed. Mullach. 1843.

in a good man dothe publisshe his vertue, whiche before laye hydde? In an euill man it ministreth boldnesse and lycence to do euill, whiche by drede was before couered.[a] Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke) puttynge backe from promotion, is no litle payne or discomforte, but it may be withstande, or at the lest remedied, with pacience, whiche may be in this wise induced.

Where by pacyence may be induced.

Fyrste, considerynge that the worlde was neuer so constant that at all tymes before good men were iustely rewarded, and none but they onely promoted. Cato, called Uticensis, at whose wisedome all the worlde woundred, and whose grauitie, as well the Senate and people of Rome, as other kynges and princis, reuerensed, lokynge to be one of the Consules, was openly reiecte. Wherwith his frendes and kynnesmen toke no litle discomfort. But Cato hym selfe so litle regarded that repulse, that where all wayes he went very homely, he the nexte day folowinge, decked and trymmed hym selfe more fresshely than he was wont, and whanne he had shewed hym selfe so to the people, at after none he walked with one of his frendes in the markette place, bare legged and in sengle apparayle, as he was accustomed.[b]

[a] Bacon has a passage strongly resembling this. 'It is most true what was anciently spoken, "A place showeth the man; and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse." *Omnium consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset,* saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius,* though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection.'—*Essays,* p. 95.

[b] "Ὡρμησεν ὁ Κάτων ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλειν ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος, εὐθὺς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξων. . . . Πείσας δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δῆμον, δι' ἑτέρου δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περιιόντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξηγρίανε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν μισθὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διδόναι χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀφῃρημένος ἄπορον καὶ ἄτιμον ὁμοῦ τὸν δῆμον πεποίηκε. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μήτε αὐτὸς ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πιθανὸς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἤθει τὸ τοῦ βίου μᾶλλον ἀξίωμα βουλόμενος φυλάσσειν ἢ προσλαβεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ποιούμενος τὰς δεξιώσεις, μήτε τοὺς φίλους ἐάσας οἷς ὄχλος ἀλίσκεται καὶ θεραπεύεται ποιεῖν, ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Φέροντος δὲ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τοῖς ἀποτυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκείοις σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τινὶ κατήφειαν καὶ πένθος

Scipio, called Nasica, who by the hole senate was iuged the best man in the citie, and of an auncyent house, was lyke wise putte backe for beinge Consull.[a] Lelius lyke wise, whiche was openly called the wise man, was semblably refused.[b] And diuers other, of whome histories do make mencion, were abiecte,[c] whan they had well deserued honours, and their inferiors in merites promoted. Also a mannes conscience shall well comfort him whan he hathe so lyued that, where he is knowen, men do iuge him worthye preferment.[d] And than may he saye to them whiche meruayle why he is nat aduaunced, as Cato sayde to a persone that tolde to hym that men wondred why amonge so many noble mennes images as were sette up in the citie, Cato's image was nat espied. By god, sayde Cato, I had leuer that men wondred why I haue none image sette up, than why men shulde set up myne image.[e] So if men meruayle why a man is nat aduaunced,

ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς, οὕτως ἤνεγκε ῥᾳθύμως τὸ συμβεβηκὸς, ὥστε ἀλειψάμενος μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σφαιρίσαι, μετ' ἄριστον δὲ πάλιν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καταβὰς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων περιπατῆσαι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων.—Plut. *Cato Minor*, 49.

[a] 'Vir optimus semel à condito ævo judicatus est Scipio Nasica, à jurato senatu. Idem in togâ candidâ bis repulsâ notatus à populo.'—Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 34.

[b] 'Similemne putas C. Lælii unum consulatum fuisse, et eum quidem cum repulsâ, cum L. Cinnæ quatuor? (si cum sapiens et bonus vir, qualis ille fuit, suffragiis præteritur, non populus à bono consule potius quàm ille à malo populo repulsam fert): sed tamen utrum malles, te, si potestas esset, semel, ut Lælium consulem, an, ut Cinnam, quater?'—Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* lib. v. cap. 19. Elsewhere Cicero calls Lælius 'omnium sapientissimus.'

[c] See a similar use of this word Vol. I. p. 295; Hall, in his account of Perkin Warbeck's conspiracy in 1492, says: 'The duches (*i.e.* Margaret of Burgundy), thinkynge euery houre from his departure a whole yere, untill suche tyme she heard from hym, and effecteously desiring to knowe whiche waye lady Fortune turned her whele, herynge hym (*i.e.* P. W.) to be repudiate and *abiected* oute of the Frenche courte, was in a greate agony, and muche amased, and more appalled.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. fo. 31, ed. 1548.

[d] Compare with this the following passage from Pontanus: 'Sed consolabitur nos, tum conscientia nostra, quòd ita quidem vixerimus, ut digni eo munere videremur.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 75, b.

[e] Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἀδόξων ἀνδριάντας ἐχόντων ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔχει, 'Μᾶλλον γὰρ,' ἔφη, 'βούλομαι ζητεῖσθαι, διὰ τί μου ἀνδριὰς οὐ κεῖται ἢ διὰ τί κεῖται.'—Plut. *Cato Major*, 19.

knowinge hym a good man, thanne iuge they hym to be worthy promotion, whiche iugement procedeth of fauour, and than though he lacke promocion, yet hathe he perfecte glorie, whiche euery noble hart desireth.[a]

For Tulli sayeth, The perfecte and moste principall glorie consisteth in those thre thynges. If the multitude loue us; if they putte confydence in us; if also as it were meruaylinge at us, they think us worthy to haue honour gyuen unto us.[b] With this glorie and clennesse of conscience, shall a wise man content hym,[c] and be induced to Pacience, and nat be greued with his fortune, but to folowe Democritus in lawghinge[d] at the blinde iugementes of men in bestowinge promotions. I omitte at this tyme to write any more of this vertue Pacience, sens to the institution of a gouernour this semeth to be sufficient, to the residue he shall be better persuaded by the warkes of Plutarche, Seneca, and Pontane,[e] where they write of Pacience, whiche warkes he may here after rede at his leasour.

[a] And on the other hand, according to Bacon, 'Persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied, for their fortune seemeth but due unto them. And no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather.'—*Essays*, p. 82, ed. 1857.

[b] 'Summa igitur et perfecta gloria constat ex tribus his; si diligit multitudo; si fidem habet; si, cum admiratione quâdam, honore dignos putat.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

[c] 'Merit and good works,' says Bacon, 'is the end of man's motion, and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest.'—*Essays*, p. 93.

[d] 'In hoc itaque flectendi sumus, ut omnia vulgi vitia non invisa nobis, sed ridicula videantur; et Democritum potius imitemur, quàm Heraclitum. Hic enim quoties in publicum processerat, flebat; ille ridebat.'—Seneca, *De Tranquill.* cap. 15.

[e] Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, better known by the Latinised form of his name Joannes Jovianus Pontanus, one of the most elegant and voluminous writers of the 15th century, was born in 1426 near the town of Cerreto, in Umbria. In his youth he espoused the cause of Alphonso, King of Naples, by whom he was placed at the head of the Academy established at Naples by Antony Panormita, and which afterwards received the name of the Academy of Pontanus. Ferdinand I., the successor of Alphonso, recognising the eminent services of Pontanus, appointed him tutor to his son, the Duke of Calabria; but the pen was soon laid aside for the sword, and Pontanus took an active part in the campaign against the Duke of

CHAPTER XIV.

Of Magnanimitie, whiche may be named valyaunt courage.

MAGNANIMITIE is a vertue moche commendable, and also expedient to be in a gouernour,[a] and is, as I haue sayd, a companyon of fortitude. And may be in this wise defined, that it is an excellencie of mynde concernynge thynges of great importaunce or estimation, doynge all thynge that is vertuous for the achieuynge of honour.[b] But nowe I remembre me, this worde Magnanimitie beinge yet straunge, as late borowed out of the latyne, shall nat content all men, and

Anjou, of which he has left on record an interesting account, comprised in six short books. The later years of Pontanus do not reflect equal credit upon his reputation; for he incurred the displeasure of Ferdinand II. by betraying the town of Naples to Charles VIII. in 1494. The remainder of his life was devoted entirely to literature, and he died in 1503.

[a] The commendation of this virtue forms the subject of a large folio volume, the second edition of which was published in the preceding year (1530), and which there can be little doubt that Sir Thomas Elyot had consulted. It is entitled, 'Le premier volume de la Toison d'Or auquel soubs les vertus de magnanimité et iustice appartenans à l'estat de noblesse sont contenus les haulx vertueux et magnanimes faicts tant des très-chrestiennes maisons de France, Bourgongne, et Flandres que d'autres Roys et Princes de l'ancien et nouveau testament.' It was written by the Bishop of Tournay, Guillaume Fílastre, who, when the Order of the Golden Fleece was instituted in 1430, was appointed Chancellor by Philippe le Bon, whose funeral oration he subsequently pronounced. Filastre died at Ghent in 1473, and was buried in the Abbey of the Benedictines at Saint-Omer. Patrizi and Pontanus had also treated of this subject at considerable length.

[b] As defined by Patrizi: 'Magnanimitas est quædam animi excellentia, quæ honorem sibi præferens, quasi magnum civile bonum, ad quod actiones omnes dirigat, et virtutem, quasi honoris effectricem, omnia excellenti animo gerit quæ secundum eam sunt.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. vii. tit. 8. Patrizi, like Sir Thomas Elyot, only devotes a single chapter to the subject, but the essay, or rather 'theme,' as an Etonian may be excused for calling it, de Magnanimitate, written by Pontanus, is more elaborate, and occupies seventy pages of an octavo volume. A few lines however must suffice to show the nature of his definition: 'Magni est omnino animi per virtutem ad honorem contendere, in magnisque versari, ac maximè claris actionibus, perinde tamen ut oportet, ac decet, rectaque ut jubet ratio, quo illum adipiscantur. Id quod nomen ipsum *magnanimi* præ se fert, ipsiusque *magnanimitatis* appellatio.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 229, ed. 1518.

specially them whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus,[a] I will aduenture to put for Magnanimitie a worde more familiar, callynge it good courage, whiche, hauynge respecte to the sayd definition, shall nat seme moche inconuenient.

But nowe concernyng a more large description of the sayd vertue. Aristotle saieth, That man semeth to be of noble courage that is worthy, and also iugeth hym selfe worthy to haue thinges that be great.[b] He saieth also afterwarde, Noble courage is an ornament of vertues, for it maketh them the more ample, and without them she her selfe may nat be.[c] But I will for a litle tyme leaue this noble *Aristotel.*

[a] This was a cant expression, very common at this time, to denote an obstinate persistence in error. It originated in the following story, told by Richard Pace in a work dedicated to Colet, entitled, *De fructu qui ex doctrinâ percipitur*, which has been already referred to. It should be premised, in order to understand the allusion, that Pace represents Rhetoric speaking (in the first person) of the Δίκη φωνήεντων of Lucian as being the only instance in which any want of harmony had been observed among the letters, but that the letter S was of all the alphabet the most unfortunate, for it had been ignored for thirty years by a certain unlearned priest, who all that time had been in the habit of reading *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus* (*i.e.* in his missal in the prayer beginning *Quod ore sumpsimus*), and who on being remonstrated with, refused to adopt the correction. 'Sane proba hæc mea ancilla S omnium literarum fuit infortunatissima. Nam et quidam indoctus sacrificus Anglicus eam possessione suâ annis triginta expulit, nec puduit illum tam longo tempore "mumpsimus" legere loco "sumpsimus." Et quum moneretur à docto ut errorem emendaret, respondit se nolle mutare suum antiquum "mumpsimus" ipsius novo "sumpsimus."'—P. 80, ed. 1517. The phrase passed into a common proverb to indicate one who was obstinate, especially in religious matters. It is used both by Latimer and Tyndale in their sermons, and even by the king himself in the memorable speech which he made from the throne on Dec. 24, 1545, when alluding to the state of religious parties in the kingdom, he said: 'I se and here daily that you of the Clergie preache one against another, teache one contrary to another, inueigh one against another, without charitie or discrecion. Some be too stiffe in their old *mumpsimus*, other be too busy and curious in their newe *sumpsimus*; thus all men almoste be in varietie and discord.'—*Hall, Chron.* vol. ii. fo. 261. b. ed. 1548.

[b] Δοκεῖ δὲ μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι μεγάλων αὑτὸν ἀξιῶν ἄξιος ὤν.—*Eth. Nic.* lib. iv. cap. 3 (7).

[c] Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ἡ μελαλοψυχία οἷον κόσμος τις εἶναι τῶν ἀρετῶν· μείζους γὰρ αὐτὰς ποιεῖ, καὶ οὐ γίνεται ἄνευ ἐκείνων.—*Ibid.*

Philosopher Aristotelle, and reuerently interprete a place in the offices of Tulli, where he moste eloquently and playnely setteth out this vertue, sayenge, All way a valiaunt and noble courage is discerned by two thinges specially, wherof one is in despisinge thynges outwarde, whan a man is persuaded neyther to meruayle at any thynge, neyther to wysshe or desire any thinge but that which is honest. More ouer, that a man shulde nat bowe for any fortune or trouble of mynde. Another thinge is that whan thou arte of that mynde or courage, as I before sayde, than that thou practise those thynges nat onely which be great and moste profitable, but also them that be very difficile, and full of labour and perylle, as well concernynge mannes lyfe as many other thynges there unto pertaynynge.[a] And afterwarde the same Tulli sayeth, To esteme litle those thinges whiche unto the more parte of men semeth excellent, and also with reason firme and stable to contemne them, it is signe of a noble and valyaunt courage. Also to tollerate those thinges whiche do seme bytter or greuous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of man and in fortune) in suche wise as thou departe nat from the astate of nature, neyther from the worship pertayninge unto a wise man, betokeneth a good courage, and also moche constaunce.[b] By this it semeth that Magnanimitie or good courage is, as it were, the garment of Vertue, wherwith she is set out (as I mought saye) to the uttermoste. I meane nat that therby

[a] 'Omnino fortis animus et magnus, duabus rebus maximè cernitur; quarum una in rerum externarum despicientiâ ponitur, cum persuasum sit, nihil hominem, nisi quod honestum decorumque sit, aut admirari, aut optare, aut expetere oportere; nullique neque homini, neque perturbationi animi, nec fortunæ, succumbere. Altera est res, ut, cum ita sis affectus animo, ut supra dixi, res geras, magnas illas quidem, et maximè utiles, sed et vehementer arduas, plenasque laborum et periculorum, tum vitæ, tum multarum aliarum rerum, quæ ad vitam pertinent.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 20.

[b] 'Nam et ea, quæ eximia plerisque et præclara videntur, parva ducere, eaque ratione stabili firmâque contemnere, fortis animi magnique ducendum est: et ea, quæ videntur acerba, (quæ multa et varia in hominum vitâ fortunâque versantur) ita ferre, ut nihil à statu naturæ discedas, nihil à dignitate sapientis, robusti animi est, magnæque constantiæ.'—Cicero, *ubi supra.*

vertue is amended or made more beauteous, whiche of her selfe is perfecte, but lyke wise as a lady of excellent beaultie, thoughe that she be all wayes fayre, yet a ryche and fresshe garment declareth her astate, and causeth her the more to be loked on, and thereby her naturall beaultie to be the better perceyued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitie, ioyned with any vertue, sette it wonderfully furthe to be beholden, and (as I mought saye) meruayled at, as it shall appere abundauntely in the examples ensuinge.

Agesilaus, king of Lacedemonia, in the begynninge of his youthe,[a] perceyuinge that all Greece was in great feare for the fame that was sprad of the commynge of the Persians with an infinite armye, he with a noble courage profred nat onely to defende his owne contray, but also with a small hoste to passe the sees in to Asia, and frome thens either to brynge victorie of the Persianes, or els a sure and honorable peace. With whose courage the Lacedemones, highly recomforted, delyuered unto hym x thousande souldiours.[b] With the whiche hoste he went in to Asia, and there vainquisshed the Persianes, and retourned ioyfully in to his contray with his people all saulfe,[c] to his perpetuall renoume, and also the honour and suertie of all Greece.

[a] This is a mistake, for he was, as Thirlwall says, 'in the prime of life,' but the author may have been misled by the language of Corn. Nepos, who says, '*Simul atque imperii potitus est*, persuasit Lacedæmoniis, ut exercitum emitterent in Asiam, bellumque regi facerent.'—*Ages.* cap. 2. According to Justin, he was about the same age as Conon: 'Non facile dixerim, quod aliud par ducum tam bene comparatum fuerit: quippe *ætas*, virtus, consilium, sapientia, utrique prope una.'—*Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 2.

[b] This was not the exact number, which both Plutarch and Xenophon are agreed was only 8,000, exclusive of the thirty Spartan Commissioners. Ἀγησίλαος ἀνεδέξατο τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δοῖεν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν ἡγεμόνας καὶ συμβούλους Σπαρτίατας, νεοδαμώδεις δὲ λογάδας δισχιλίους, τὴν δὲ συμμαχικὴν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δύναμιν. Συμπάττοντος δὲ πάντα τοῦ Λυσάνδρου προθύμως ἐψηφίσαντο.—Plut. *Agesilaus*, 6.

[c] This is scarcely correct, considering the cause of his return, and that he had to fight the greater part of his way home, and at the Battle of Coronea was himself severely wounded.

Antigonus, kynge of Macedonia, beinge on the see, one of his capitaines aduised him to departe, sayenge that the nauye of his enemye was moche gretter in numbre than his, where unto with a noble courage he answered, And for howe many shippes accounte you oure persone?[a] Wherewith his people toke suche comforte that they boldelye dyd set furth and vainquisshed their enemyes.

Suche noble courage was in great kynge Alexander, that in hys warres agayne Darius, he was sene of all hys people fightynge in the prease of his enemyes bare heded.[b]

I wyll nat be so uncurtaise to leaue unremembred in this

[a] Βέλτιον δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἄνδρον ἔμελλεν εἰπόντος τινὸς, ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν, 'Ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτὸν,' ἔφη, 'πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;'—Plut. *Pelopidas*, 2.

[b] There seems to be some confusion with regard to this statement. The Editor has been unable to discover anything, either in Plutarch or Curtius, which would tend to confirm it. On the other hand, the author can hardly be supposed to allude to the following passage, in which Plutarch relates that Pompey performed the very same feat in the war against Domitius, inasmuch as he ascribes it to a motive the very reverse of courageous. Πομπήιος ἄνευ κράνους ἠγωνίζετο δεδοικὼς τὸ πρότερον πάθος.—*Pompeius*, 12. It would almost seem as if Sir Thomas Elyot had transferred to Alexander the credit which is given to Hadrian by Dion Cassius in the following passage: Οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἐν θάλπει, οὐκ ἐν ῥίγει ἐκαλύφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χιόσι ταῖς Κελτικαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς γυμνῇ αὐτῇ περιῄει.—*Rerum Rom.* tom. ii. p. 326, ed. 1849. Nor, *cæteris paribus*, would this hypothesis be untenable, because, though the work of Dion Cassius was not published in the original Greek until 1548, many years after *The Governour* was written, a Latin translation had already appeared in 1526. But, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the Editor is reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the statement in the text is due to nothing else than an entire misapprehension on the part of the author of the following passages in the two works which furnished him with such copious materials, and which are therein cited as illustrations of the virtue which forms the subject of the present chapter, viz., Magnanimity. In order that the reader may form his own opinion of the probability of the author having been misled by the expression 'aperto marte,' the passages in question are subjoined. Alexandri Magni . . . suadentibus amicis noctu cum Dario pugnandum esse, ne, *si aperto pugnaretur Marte*, tantâ hominum inspectâ multitudine, miles consternaretur, maximo cum supercilio inclamavit victoriam se nullo modo furaturum.'—'De Magnanimitate,' Pontanus, *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 255. 'Alexander animi magnitudine excellentior patre extitit, proinde aliâ vincendi ratione utebatur. Bella enim semper *aperto Marte* gerebat.'—Patrizi, *De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. vii. tit. 8.

place the notable Magnanimitie of a kynge of Englande, whiche I hapned to rede late in an olde cronycle.[a]

Edgare, who in the tyme that the Saxons had this realme in subiection, hadde subdued all the other kynges Saxons, and made them his tributaries. [b] On a tyme he hadde theim all with hym at dyner, and after it was shewed hym that Rynande, kynge of Scottes, hadde sayde that he woundred howe it shulde happen that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personages, wolde suffre them selfes to be subdued by so litle a body as Edgare was. Edgare dissembled and answered nothinge, but faynynge to go on huntynge, he toke with him the Scottisshe kynge in his company, and purposely withdrewe hym from them that were with hym ; and causynge by a secrete seruaunt two swerdes to be conuayed in to a place in the forest by hym appointed, as soone as he came thither he toke the one sworde, and delyuered the other to

[a] Probably in MS., for this expression would hardly be applicable to Fabyan's Chronicle, in which the story is told, but which had quite recently been printed, viz. in 1516. Whilst the fact that in the latter the king of Scotland's name appears as 'Kynadus,' whilst our author spells it differently, raises the presumption that Sir Thomas Elyot had consulted an unprinted document, in which the reading varied from that of the authority made use of by Fabyan ; or, if it was the same, that our author deciphered it in a different manner.

[b] For the purpose of comparison, the version of the story as given by Fabyan is subjoined.

'It is wytnessed of dyuers authours that Kynadus, kynge of Scotlande, dispysed Edgar for that he was lytell of stature. Wherof Edgar beynge warned, desyred the sayd Kynadus to dyner, and made to him good countenaunce. After whych dyner ended, he toke the sayd Kynadus by the arme, and so wyth hym helde company tyll they came into the feldes. Where, beynge dysseuered from bothe theyr seruauntes, Edgar drew from under his garment two swordes, and desyred Kynadus to take the chose of theym, and sayd to hym, Nowe thou hast good laysure to a saye thy strength wyth myne, that before tyme thou haste so myche dyspysed. And lette us nowe proue whyche is more worthy to be subiecte to other. It is not fyttynge for a knyghte to make great boste at the borde, and to do lytell in felde. When the Scottyshe kynge hard the kyng thus challenge hym, he knew well his wordes before spoken were disclosyd to the kynge, wherof he was not a litle abashed. But for to apeace the kynge he behaued hym so lowely, and gaue to hym suche plesaunte wordes, that the kynge forgaue the trespace.'—*Chronicle*, vol. i. fo. cxvii. ed. 1533.

Rinande, byddinge hym to proue his strength, and to assaye whither his dedes wolde ratifie his wordes. Wherat the Scottisshe kynge beinge abasshed, beholdynge the noble courage of Edgare, with an horrible feare confessed his errour, desirynge pardon, whiche he with moste humble submission at the laste optayned. That noble kynge Edgare declarynge by his Magnanimitie that by his vertue, and nat by chaunce, he was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

Plato, for his diuine wisedome and eloquence named the god of Philosophers,[a] was sent for by Dionise, kynge of Sicile, to the intent, as it semed, that he wolde be of him instructed concernynge the polityke gouernaunce of his realme. But whan he had ben with him a certaine space, and wolde nat flatter with the kynge and upholde his tyrannye, the kinge became wery of him, in so moche that if it had nat ben at the requeste of Architas, prince of Tarent, he wolde haue put hym to dethe. Wherfore, partely at the desire of that prince, partely for feare of the Atheniensis, he licenced Plato to depaite without damage, but at his departynge he sayde unto him, as it were in despite, O howe euill wilt thou speke of me, Plato, whan thou commest amonge thy companyons and scolers. Than Plato with a noble courage, answered, God defende there shulde be in my scole so moche vacaunt tyme from the studie of wisedome, that there mought be any place lefte ones to remembre the.[b]

Nowe will I make an ende of this vertue, and procede further to write of some vices whiche communely do folowe Magnanimitie, and with great difficultie may be exchued.

[a] He is so styled by Cicero : 'Audiamus enim Platonem, quasi quendam Deum philosophorum.'—*De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

[b] 'Εν τοιούτῳ δὲ κινδύνῳ γενομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος, οἱ περὶ 'Αρχύταν πυθόμενοι ταχὺ πέμπουσι πρεσβείαν καὶ τριακόντορον ἀπαιτοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ Διονυσίου, καὶ λέγοντες ὡς αὐτοὺς λαβὼν ἀναδόχους τῆς ἀσφαλείας πλεύσειεν εἰς Συρακούσας. 'Απολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου τὴν ἔχθραν ἐστιάσεσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις περὶ τὴν προπομπήν, ἓν δέ τι προαχθέντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν 'Ἥπου, Πλάτων, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσεις ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς συμφιλοσοφοῦντας,' ὑπομειδιάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατο 'Μὴ τοσαύτη λόγων ἐν 'Ακαδημίᾳ γένοιτο σπάνις, ὥστε σοῦ τινα μνημονεῦσαι.'—Plut. *Dio.*

CHAPTER XV.

Of Obstinacie, a familiar vice folowinge Magnanimitie.

THE prince of Oratours, Marcus Tullius, in his firste boke of Offices, sayeth that in height and greatnesse of courage is moste soneste ingendred obstinacie, and inordinate desire of soueraignetie.[a]

Obstinacie[b] is an affection immoueable, fixed to wille,[c] abandonynge reason, whiche is ingendred of Pryde,[d] that is to saye, whan a man estemeth so moche hym selfe aboue any

[a] 'In hâc elatione et magnitudine animi, facillimè pertinacia et nimia cupiditas principatûs innascitur.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. i. cap. 19.

[b] It will be seen from the author's translation of the passage quoted in the last note, that he considered 'obstinacy' the proper equivalent for 'pertinacia.' The Romans themselves made a distinction between this and the kindred word 'pervicacia.' For the old grammarian, Nonius Marcellus, to whose work no date has yet been assigned, says, 'Pervicacia et Pertinacia hoc distant: pervicacia est interdum bonarum rerum perseverantia, pertinacia *semper malarum*.' The question however arises, how was the word, in the form in which we still have it, introduced into the English language? The Latin word 'obstinatio,' which is extremely uncommon, and besides, is certainly not used in a bad sense by Cicero, in the only place in which, so far as the Editor is aware, it occurs, viz. in the speech *de Provinciis Consularibus*, cap. 17, retained its original termination in all the three languages, Italian, Spanish, and French. In English alone it acquired a termination from which it might be inferred that it was derived from a word having a termination similar to the synonymous words 'pervicacia' and 'pertinacia.' Yet so far as is known, no such word as 'obstinacia' was ever in use. The question is one to which etymologists seem scarcely to have paid sufficient attention.

[c] Dr. Whewell connects this vice with energy or zeal as a product of the affections, and says, 'A man who adheres to his purpose in spite of strong motives to draw him away, is *firm*, but if the motives which he resists are reasonable, he is *obstinate*. Firmness implies a good cause; *obstinacy* a bad one.'—*Elem. of Mor.* p. 83, 4th ed.

[d] The author's definition evidently includes a description of the reflex sentiments of self-esteem and presumption which modern philosophy also derives from Pride. Thus Dr. Whewell says, 'When Pride is manifested so as to imply contempt of others, it is Haughtiness, Disdain; if unkindness be added, it is Insolence. The insolent man is overbearing, domineering, arrogant. Self-esteem, so far as it regards the operation of the Intellect, is Self-opinion. When this excludes all mistrust of one's self, it is *Self-sufficiency*; and as taking much for granted, it is *Presumption*.'—*Elem. of Mor.* p. 91.

other, that he reputeth his owne witte onely to be in perfection, and contemneth all other counsayle.[a] Undoughtedly this is an horrible and perylouse vice,[b] and very familiar with them whiche be of moste noble courages. By it many a valyaunt capitayne and noble prince haue nat onely fallen them selfes, but also brought all their contrayes in daungeour and often tymes to subuercion and ruyne.

The wise kinge Salomon sayeth, Amonge proude men be all way contentions, and they that do all thinges with counsayle, be gouerned by wisedome.[c]

I nede nat to reherce examples out of olde writars what damage haue ensued of obstinacie, consideryng that euery historye is full therof, and we styll haue it in dayly experience. But of one thinge am I suer, where obstinacie ruleth, and reason lacketh place, there counsaile auayleth nat, and where counsayle hathe nat auctoritie and fraunches,[d] there may no thinge be perfecte. Salomon sayenge that where as be many counsayles, there is the people in

Proue. xi.

[a] As showing the similarity of treatment of the same subject by philosophers far removed from each other in point of time, it is interesting to observe that Hume has a chapter headed 'Of Greatness of Mind,' (answering to Elyot's 'Of Magnanimity' and to the 'De Magnanimitate' of Pontanus), in which he examines the passions of *pride* and humility, and considers 'the vice or virtue that lies in their excesses or just proportion.'—See *Philos. Works*, vol. ii. p. 381, ed. 1826.

[b] Montaigne expresses the same opinion: 'L'obstination et ardeur d'opinion est la plus seure preuve de bestise.'—*Essais*, tom. iv. p. 39, ed. 1854, and again, 'L'affirmation et l'opiniastreté sont signes exprez de bestise.'—*Ibid.* p. 266.

[c] See Prov. xiii. 10.

[d] *I.e.* Freedom. Really the French word *franchise* Anglicised. 'Je me fie ayseement à la foy d'aultruy; mais malayseement le feroy ie, lorsque ie donnerois à iuger l'avoir plustost faict par desespoir et faulte de cœur, que par *franchise* et fiance de sa loyauté.'—Montaigne, *Essais*, tom. i. p. 34, ed. 1854. Chaucer uses the very same form as our author in *The Frankeleynes Tale.*

> 'And in his hert he caught of this gret routhe,
> Consideryng the best on euery syde,
> That fro his lust yet were him lever abyde,
> Than doon so high a cheerlissch wrecchednesse
> Agayns *fraunchis* of alle gentilesce.'
>
> *Poetical Works*, vol. iii. p. 25, ed. 1866.

suertie.[a] Nowe will I declare the residue of Tullies sentence concernynge inordinate desire of soueraignetie, whiche is proprely called Ambition.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of an other vice folowing Magnanimitie, called Ambition.

IT was nat without a hygh and prudent consideration that certayne lawes were made by the Romaynes, whiche were named the lawes of Ambition, wherby men were restrayned in the citie to optayne offices and dignities in the publike weale, either by gyuinge rewardes, or by other sinistre labour or meanes.[b] And they, which by

Lord Berners in his translation of Froissart's account of the speech in which the ambassador, Laurence Fougasse, describes to the Duke of Lancaster the offer of the crown of Portugal to the Grand Master of Avis, by the people of Lisbon in 1384, uses precisely the same form of the word, though the meaning is that of 'privileges.' 'Then they sayd, Mayster Denyce (so he was called as then) we wyll make you kynge of this royalme . . . We had rather ye sholde take all that we haue, to ayde and to maynteyne us and our *fraunches*, then the Castellyans sholde be maysters ouer us.'—Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 140. And again, in describing the flight of the Duke of Ireland in 1388, the same writer says, 'So that to saue hymselfe he was fledde into Hollande, and taryed there but a small season in the towne of Dordreght; yet he was fayne to departe and to go to Trecte, a *fraunches* towne for all maner of people, payeng for that they take.'—*Ibid.* p. 439. Where the original has 'car la cité d'Utrec est *franche* à recevoir toutes gens.'—Froissart, tom. iii. p. 14; Panthéon Littéraire ed.

[a] See Prov. xi. 14.

[b] Mr. George Long says, 'The Romans attempted by legislation to make men politically honest, and they succeeded as well as we have done, and no better. Some early "leges" or enactments on the offence of Ambitus are mentioned. The Lex Cornelia Bæbia, B.C. 181, incapacitated candidates, who were convicted of bribery, from being candidates again for ten years. This law only punished the briber, so far as we know, and wisely did not touch him who took the bribe. Polybius, in his sixth book, seems to speak of bribery at elections when he says, that among the Carthaginians men obtain magisterial offices by open bribery, or by openly giving, but among the Romans, death is the penalty for this offence. Polybius wrote after the enactment of the Lex Cornelia Bæbia, but we cannot

that lawe were condemned, were put to dethe without any fauour.[a]

Verely it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessary, considerynge what inconuenience hapneth by this vayne and superfluous appetite. Witnesses amonge the Romaynes Sylla, Marius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompei, and Cesar, by whose ambicion mo Romaynes were slayne than in acquiringe the empyre of all the worlde;[b] as it may appere by the onely ambicion of Sylla, who condemned and caused to be slayne foure score thousande Romaynes,[c] beside many mo that were slaine

admit, even if we assume that we know nothing about the penalties contained in this Lex, that death was ever the penalty at Rome for bribery, or any kind of corruption effected by money.'—*Decline of Rom. Rep.* vol. i. p. 334, ed. 1864.

[a] From what has been said in the last note, it might be supposed that Sir Thomas Elyot had obtained his information on this subject from Polybius, some portion of which had already been published when *The Governour* was written; but Dr. Leonhard Schmitz tells us that 'the first part which was printed in Greek was the treatise on the Roman army, which was published by Ant. de Sabio at Venice, in 1529, with a Latin translation by Lascaris, and in the following year, 1530, the Greek text of the first five books, with the translation of Perotti, appeared at Hagenau, but without the treatise on the Roman army, which had probably not yet found its way across the Alps.' It was not until 'a few years afterwards a discovery was made of some extracts from the other books of Polybius,' and these extracts contain the greater part of the *sixth book*, and portions of the following eleven. 'The manuscript containing them was brought from Corfu, and they were published together with the first five books, which had already appeared at Basle, in 1549.' Hence it is impossible that at this time Sir T. Elyot could have been acquainted with the contents of the sixth book, and it remains an open question from what source he could have derived his authority for the statement in the text.

[b] This passage is borrowed from Patrizi, who says, 'Testes sint apud Romanos Sylla, Cinna, Carbo, Marius, Pompeius, Cæsar et alii complures, quorum ambitione multo plures Romanorum civium ceciderunt, quàm in propagatione imperii totius orbis terrarum.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. iv. tit. 20.

[c] In this statement the author has servilely followed and been misled by the writer mentioned in the last note, who says, 'Quum L. Sylla per ambitionem venustus, faustus, fælix, in marmoribus scribi studet, nefandam tabulam illam suspendit, per quam *circiter octoginta millia* hominum proscribuntur, damnantur, trucidanturque.'—Patrizi, *ubi supra.* He has therefore exaggerated the number given by Valerius Maximus in the following passage: 'Quatuor millia et septingentos diræ proscriptionis edicto jugulatos in tabulas publicas retulit.'—Lib. ix. cap. 2, § 1. Mr. George Long says: 'Valerius Maximus is the only authority that has recorded the whole number of the proscribed and murdered, whose names were entered on the public records. He says that it was four thousand seven hundred;

in the batayles betwene him and the bothe Marius. Also Pompei and Julius Cesar, the one suffrynge no peere, the other no superior, by their ambicion caused to be slaine betwene theim people innumerable,[a] and subuerted the best and moste noble publike weale of the worlde. And finally, hauynge litle tyme of reioysinge their unlefull desire, Pompei, shamefully fleinge, had his hede striken of by the commaundement of Ptolomee, kynge of Egipt,[b] unto whome, as unto his frende, he fledde for socour; Cesar, the vainquisshour, was murdred in the Senate with daggers by them whome he moste specially fauoured.

I coulde occupie a great volume with histories of them whiche, couaytinge to mounte into excellent dignities, dyd therby brynge in to extreme perylles bothe them selfes and their contrayes. For as Tacitus sayeth, wonderfull elegantly, with theim whiche desire soueraignetie, there is no meane place betwene the toppe and the stepe downe.[c] To the

but the number was much increased by those who were secretly assassinated from motives of revenge or lucre.'—*Decline of Rom. Rep.* vol. ii. p. 359.

[a] Yet the battle of Pharsalia, the most important of all the engagements between these rivals, 'was honourably distinguished in the annals of civil warfare; from the close of the day no more blood was shed; the fugitives were spared, and the supplicants received mercy. Nor, indeed, was the carnage of the combat proportioned to its results.'—Merivale, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 299. 'Appian observes that the loss among the auxiliary troops was not counted, for they were not thought worth the reckoning; but there fell of the Italians on Cæsar's side 30 officers and 200 legionary soldiers, or, as others state, 1,200. On the side of Pompeius there fell 10 senators, of the cavalry about 40 men of rank, and of the rest of the army the number of 25,000, which Appian considers to be an exaggeration. Asinius Pollio, who commanded under Cæsar in the battle, says that there were found 6,000 Pompeians on the field.'—*Decl. of Rom. Rep.* vol. v. p. 211.

[b] Or rather of his advisers, for the king was only a minor, (Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος ἦν κομιδῇ νέος, says Plutarch,) and under the guardianship of the eunuch Pothinus, next to whom in power and influence was Achillas, a man of singular audacity, and the commander of the royal forces. 'These men,' says Merivale, 'had acquired a complete ascendency over their tender charge, and they used their influence unscrupulously for the furtherance of their private schemes.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 307, ed. 1850.

[c] 'Imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa et præcipitia.'—*Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 74.

whiche wordes Tulli agreinge, sayeth that hygh autorities shulde nat moche be desired, or rather nat to be taken at some tyme, and often tymes to be left and forsaken.[a]

Ci. offi. i.

So dyd Sylla, whome I late spake of, and Diocletian, Emperour of Rome, who after that he had gouerned the empyre xxv yeres[c] honorably (if he had nat ben polluted with the bloode of innumerable Christen men[d]) he willingly abandoned the crowne and dignitie emperiall,[e] and lyued nyne yeres on his priuate possessions.[f] And on a tyme he beinge desired of Herculius and Galerius, unto whome he had resigned the empyre, to take eftsones on him the gouernaunce, abhorrynge it as a pestilence, aunswered in this wise, I wolde ye dyd see the herbes that I haue with myne owne handes sowen and sette at Salona, suerly ye wolde nat than in this wise aduise me.[g] Also Octauius Augustus, whiche in

Sextus Aurelius.[b]

[a] 'Nec vero imperia expetenda, ac, potius, aut non accipienda interdum, aut deponenda nonnunquam.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 20.

[b] The reference in the margin is to the work of Sextus Aurelius Victor, generally known by the title of *Epitome*, which consists of forty-eight chapters, commencing with Augustus and concluding with Theodosius. It was first printed at Strasburg in 1505, and again by Aldus at Venice in 1516, at the end of his edition of Suetonius.

[c] 'Imperavit annis viginti quinque.'—Victor. *Epit.* cap. 39.

[d] Professor Ramsay says: 'By far the worst feature of this reign was the terrible persecution of the Christians. The conduct of the prince upon this occasion is the more remarkable, because we are at first sight unable to detect any motive which could have induced him to permit such atrocities. . . . It is not improbable that his intellect was seriously affected, and that his malady may have amounted to absolute insanity.'

[e] 'The severe illness which afflicted Diocletian in A.D. 304 was probably the chief cause determining him on the most celebrated act of his life—his abdication. His health made rest necessary for him; and he may naturally have desired to preside over the steps which required to be taken in order to secure the continuance of his system after he himself should have quitted life.'—Rawlinson, *Manual of Ancient Hist.* p. 523, ed. 1869.

[f] 'Vixit annos sexaginta octo, ex quis communi habitu prope novem egit.'—Victor, *Epit.* 39. Milner says, 'He lived *seven* years a private life,' whilst Professor Ramsay says, 'He passed the remaining *eight* years of his life in philosophic retirement.'

[g] 'Diocletianus vero apud Nicomediam sponte imperiales fasces relinquens, in

felicitie passed all emperours, deuised often tymes with his frendes to haue resigned his autoritie. And if at that tyme the Senate had ben as well fournisshed with noble and wise personages as it was before the Ciuile warres betwene Cesar and Pompei, it is to be thought that he wolde surely haue restored the publike weale to his pristinate glorie.[a]

But nowe let us see what is the cause why that Ambition is so pernicious to a publike weale, and in myne oppinion it is for two causes principally.[b]

Fyrste, for as moche as they whiche be of that courage and appetite, whan they be in autoritie, they suppose all thynge to be lefull that lyketh them, and also by reason of their preeminence they wolde so be seperate from other that no man shulde countrolle them or warne them of their enormyties, and finally, they wolde do what they list without contradiction. Wherof do ensue diuers iniuries and subuertion of iustyce.[c]

propriis agris consenuit. Qui dum ab Herculio atque Galerio ad recipiendum imperium rogaretur, tanquam pestem aliquam detestans, in hunc modum respondit: Utinam Salonæ possetis visere olera nostris manibus instituta, profecto nunquam istud tentandum judicaretis.'—Victor, *Epit.* 39.

[a] 'De reddendâ Republicâ bis cogitavit: primo post oppressum statim Antonium, memor, objectum ab eo sibi sæpius, quasi per ipsum staret, ne redderetur: ac rursus tædio diuturnæ valetudinis; cum etiam, magistratibus ac Senatu domum accitis, Rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans, et se privatum non sine periculo fore, et illam plurium arbitrio temerè committi, in retinendâ perseveravit; dubium, eventu meliore, an voluntate.'—Sueton. *Octav.* 28.

[b] Patrizi is also of opinion that it is pernicious to the State, and for two reasons, which however are different from those assigned by Sir Thomas Elyot, who in this instance is no doubt speaking from his own experience. 'Pernitiosi sunt apud Principes et in omni liberâ civitate, qui inter se ambitiosi sunt, ac de honorum cursu certant. Imprimis enim civitates partibus inficiunt, et ea plerumque suadent, ut contra obtrectatores loquantur, quibus vel Respublica ipsa graviter offendatur.' —*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. iv. tit. 20.

[c] Bacon, who wrote an essay on this subject, says: 'Ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or State.'—*Essays*, p. 360, ed. 1857.

Ci. Offi. i.

And that this whiche I haue nowe sayd is true, Tulli affirmeth, sayenge, Verely it is a great difficultie, where thou woldest be aboue all men, to obserue equitie, whiche is the thinge moste appropred to iustice.[a] And shortely after he sayeth, The more higher of courage that a man is, and desirous of glorie, the soner is he meued to do thinges agayne ryght.[b] Seynge that it was so in the tyme of Tulli, whan all moste euery man that was in auctoritie had excellent lernynge, (the Romanes bringynge up their children in study of morall philosophie), what shall we than suppose in our tyme, whan fewe men in autorite do care for lernynge?[c] Why shulde we thynke to be more iustice nowe used in autoritie than was in the tyme of Tulli? Is there nat nowe priuate affection, particuler fauour, displeasure, and haterede, as was at that tyme? I wolde that the redars hereof be iuges examinynge these my wordes with dayly experience.

[a] 'Difficile autem est, cum præstare omnibus concupieris, servare æquitatem, quæ est justitiæ maximè propria.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 19.

[b] 'Facillimè autem ad res injustas impellitur, ut quisque est altissimo animo, et gloriæ cupido.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 19.

[c] Mr. Froude says: 'The more old-fashioned of the higher ranks were slow in moving; for as late as the reign of Edward VI. there were peers of Parliament unable to read.'—*Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. p. 37, ed. 1856. Several passages have been already quoted in the first volume of this work which corroborate this statement; and the following from Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, though referring to a rather later period, will serve as a commentary to the text: "It is hard to find in these dayes of noblemen or gentlemen any good Mathematician, or excellent Musitian, or notable Philosopher, or els a cunning Poet, because we find few great Princes much delighted in the same studies. So as I know very many notable gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it, as if it were a discredit for a gentleman, to seeme learned, and to show him selfe amorous of any good Art. In other ages it was not so, for we read that Kinges and Princes haue written great volumes and publisht them under their owne regall titles.'—P. 16, ed. 1811. Mr. Brewer, in speaking of Wolsey, says: 'Grand and munificent as were his notions of education, it is hard to find any statesmen of his eminence who manifested less interest in the revival of letters, and cared less for Ciceronianisms and Latin elegancies.'—*Letters and Papers*, vol. i. p. lxxxvii.

The seconde cause that condemneth ambicion is couatyse of treasure, therwith to maintaine their ostentacion and vayne glorie, which ambicious persones do calle their honour.[a] Wherby they be procured to finde iniust meanes by their autoritie to prouide for suche substaunce, wherwith they may be nat onely satisfied (they beinge insaciable) but according to their owne appetite fully suffised.[b] Wherfore the Philosophers called *Stoici* used this sentence. Great indigence or lacke cometh nat of pouertie, but of great plentie, for he that hathe moche shal nede moche.[c] But certes, suche persones ambicious may well consider that the men, magnificence and pompe which they couaite is nat so moche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is uniuersally hated. Wherfore Darius, king of Persia, and father to Xerxes, whan he had commaunded a subsidie to be leuyed of his subiectes, he demaunded the chiefe men of the

Couetise.

Plutarch. in Apopht.

[a] Bacon apparently refers to this meaning of the word when he says: 'Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good, the approach to kings and principal persons, and the raising of a man's own fortunes.'—*Essays*, p. 362.

[b] This is evidently a covert allusion to the notorious greed of Wolsey. Mr. Turner gives a long and detailed list of payments extorted by the Cardinal from various foreign princes, and adds: 'That Wolsey had other pensions from other powers and persons, who had purposes to obtain from his favour, we can as little doubt as that the effect of these would be to make all applications unpalatable to him that came unattended with donations, which his enormous expenditure made every day more necessary.'—*Hist of Eng.* vol. ix. p. 240.

[c] This is translated *verbatim* from Patrizi, who says; 'Scitè admodum Stoici dicere solebant, Magnam indigentiam nasci non ex inopiâ magnâ, sed ex magnâ copiâ, multis enim eget qui multa possidet.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. iv. tit. 9. And Patrizi himself had on the other hand merely converted to his own use the property of a much earlier writer, Aulus Gellius, as the reader will at once see on comparing the above passage with the following: 'Verum est profecto, quod observato rerum usu sapientes viri dixere, multis egere, qui multa habeat; magnamque indigentiam nasci non ex inopiâ magnâ, sed ex magnâ copiâ.'—*Noct. Att.* lib. ix. cap. 8. La Bruyère has expressed the same idea in the following epigram: 'L'occasion prochaine de la pauvreté, c'est de grandes richesses.'—*Les Caractères de Théophraste*, p. 517, ed. Panthéon Litt. On the other hand we have an exact parallel to this in the saying of Montaigne: 'Ce n'est pas la disette, c'est plustost l'abondance, qui produict l'avarice.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 403, ed. 1854.

contrayes, whether they founde them selfe greued, they aunswerynge that they were in a metely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to be eftsones restored, lest he of any auarice shulde be suspected.[a] By the which act he stablisshed his dignite and made it more perfecte. More ouer Tulli saieth, To take any thing from an other man, and one man to encrease his commoditie with an other mannes detryment, is more repugnaunt to nature, than dethe, than pouertie, payne, or other thynge that mought happen either to the body or other goodes worldly.[b] And this for nowe suffiseth to speke of ambition.

Ci. Off. iii.

CHAPTER XVII.

The true definicion of Abstinence and Continence.

ABSTINENCIE and continencie be also companions of fortitude, and be noble and excellent vertues,[c] and I can nat tell whither there be any to be preferred before them, specially in men hauynge autoritie, they beinge the brydles of two capitall vices, that is to saye, Auarice and Lecherie; whiche vices, beinge refrayned by a noble that liueth at libertie and without controlement, procureth unto hym, beside the fauour of god, immortall glorie. And that citie or realme wherof the

[a] Τοὺς δὲ φόρους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τάξας, μετεπέμψατο τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν φόρων ἠρώτησε, μὴ βαρεῖς εἰσι· φησάντων δὲ μετρίως ἔχειν, ἐκέλευσε τελεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἕκαστον.—Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*

[b] 'Detrahere igitur aliquid alteri, et hominem hominis incommodo suum augere commodum, magis est contra naturam, quàm mors, quàm paupertas, quàm dolor, quàm cetera quæ possunt aut corpori accidere aut rebus externis.'—*De Off.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

[c] Patrizi speaks of them as convertible terms. 'Abstinentia et Continentia his duabus superioribus virtutibus conjunctæ sunt. Hæ animi ratione ductæ, contra cupiditatem ac voluptatem obluctantur, quæ quanquam idem significare videntur, et altera pro alterâ sæpe ponitur, intellectu tamen quodam discernuntur, quum abstinentia propriè sit quæ immodicas voluptatum illecebras rationis jugo subjicit.' *De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 21.

gouernours with these vices be litle or nothynge acquainted, do abide longe in prosperitie. For, as Valerius Maximus sayeth, where so euer this feruent pestylence of mankynde hathe entry, Iniury reigneth, reproche or infamie is spradde,[a] and deuoureth the name of nobilitie.

The propreties of these two vertues be in this maner. Abstinence is wherby a man refrayneth from any thinge, whiche he may lefully take, for a better purpose.[b] Continence is a vertue whiche kepeth the pleasaunt appetite of man under the yoke of reason.[c] Aristotelle in his Ethikes, making them bothe but one, describeth them under the name of continence, sayenge, He that is continent, for as moche as he knoweth that couaitous desires be euill, he dothe abandone them, reason persuadynge hym.[d] For this tyme I take Abstinence for the wilfull abandoninge of money, possessions, or other thinge semblable; Continence the onely forberynge the unlefull company of women. *Ethi. vii.*

Martius Coreolanus, a noble yonge man, which lineally descended from Ancus, somtyme king of Romaynes, whan he had done many valiaunt actes and achieued sondry enterprises, he was according to his merites commended in the armye by Posthumius, than being consulle. And by their uniuersall assent he was rewarded with all suche honours as than appertained to a good warriour. Also with one hundrede acres of arable lande, the election of ten prisoners, ten horsis apparailed for the warres, one hundred of oxen, and as moche siluer as he mought beare. But of al this wolde he take no thing, but one onely prisoner which was of his *Coreolanus.*

[a] 'Nam quo istæ generis humani certissimæ pestes penetraverint, ibi injuria dominatur, infamia flagrat.'—Lib. iv. cap 3, in prœm.

[b] This definition corresponds as nearly as possible to that which is given by modern writers on ethics of the virtue of temperance.

[c] Dr. Whewell defines continence as 'the control within moral limits of tha bodily Desire which is called Lust.'—*El. of Mor.* p. 86.

[d] 'Ο δ' ἐγκρατὴς εἰδὼς ὅτι φαῦλαι αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ διὰ τὸν λόγον.—Arist. *Eth.* lib. vii. cap 1 (2).

acquaintaunce, and one courser, whiche all wayes after he used in batayle.[a]

Curius. Marcus Curius, the very rule and paterne of Fortitude and moderate lyuing, whan the people called Samnites, whiche had warres with the Romanes, founde him sittynge in his house by the fire upon a homely fourme, eatynge his meate in a disshe of tree, they brynginge to hym a great some of golde by the consent of the people, and wondryng at his pouertie, with courtaise langage desyred him to take that they had brought him, he thereat smilinge, said thus unto them: Ye ministers of a vaine and superfluous message, shewe you to the Samnites that Curius had leuer haue dominion ouer them that be riche than he him selfe to haue richesse. And as for this golde whiche ye accounte precious, take it agayne with you, and remembre that ye can neither vainquisshe me in bataile nor corrupt me with money.[b]

Tubero. Quintus Tubero, surnamed Catelius, what tyme he was consulle, the people in Greece called *Ætoli* sent to him by their ambassadours a great quantitie of siluer vessell curiously wrought and grauen. But whan they came to him they founde on his table vessell onely of erthe.

[a] 'Cn. Marcius, patriciæ gentis adolescens, Anci regis clara progenies, cui Corioli Volscorum oppidum captum cognomen adjecit, cum editis conspicuæ fortitudinis operibus à Posthumo Cominio consule, accuratâ oratione apud milites laudatus, omnibus donis militaribus, et agri c. jugeribus, et decem captivorum electione, et totidem ornatis equis, centenario boum grege, argentoque, quantum sustinere valuisset, donaretur; nihil ex his, præter unius hospitis captivi salutem, equumque quo in acie uteretur, accipere voluit.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 3, § 4.

[b] 'M. autem Curius, exactissima norma Romanæ frugalitatis, idemque fortitudinis perspectissimum specimen, Samnitum legatis agresti se in scamno assidentem foco, atque ligneo catillo cœnantem (quales epulas, apparatus indicio est) spectandum præbuit. Ille enim Samnitum divitias contemsit, Samnites ejus paupertatem mirati sunt. Nam cum ad eum magnum auri pondus publicè missum attulissent, benignis verbis invitatus, ut eo uti vellet, et vultum risu solvit, et protinus, "Supervacuæ," inquit, "ne dicam ineptæ legationis ministri, narrate Samnitibus M. Curium malle locupletibus imperare, quàm ipsum fieri locupletem; atque istud ut pretiosum, ita malo hominum excogitatum munus refertote, et mementote, me nec acie vinci, nec pecuniâ corrumpi posse."'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 3, § 5.

And whan he sawe them he exhorted them that they shulde nat suppose that his continence, as if it were pouertie, shulde be with their presentes relieued. And with that sayenge, commaunded them to departe.[a]

To Epaminondas, the Thebane, being in his tyme as well in vertue as prowesse, the moste noble man of all Greece, Arthaxerses, king of Persia, to make him his frende, sent one of his seruauntes to Thebes with a great quantitie of treasoure to gyue to Epaminondas. Whiche seruaunt, knowynge his maners, darst nat offre it unto him whan he came, but speking to a yonge man which was familiar with Epaminondas, gaue unto him a great rewarde to meue Epaminondas to receiue the kings present. Who uneth hering the firste wordes of the yonge man, commaunded the kinges seruaunt to be brought unto him, unto whome he had these wordes. Frende, shewe to the kynge that he nedeth nat to offre me money, for if he haue any thinge to do with the Thebanes for a good purpose, he may haue their assistence without any rewarde; if the purpose be nought, he can nat with all the treasoure of the worlde hope to optayne it. Whiche wordes were spoken with such a grauitie that the sayd seruaunt, beynge a ferde, desired Epaminondas that he mought be saulfly conuaied out of the citie. Whiche he graunted with good will, lest if the money were taken a way he mought of the receyuinge therof haue ben suspected. More ouer, he caused the Thebane, which was his frende and companion, to restore to the messager the money that he had receyued.[b] *Epaminondas.*

[a] 'Curii et Fabricii Q. Ælium Tuberonem cognomine Catum discipulum fuisse merito quis existimaverit. Cui consulatum gerenti, cum Ætolorum gens omnis usus vasa argentea, magno pondere, et exquisitâ arte fabricata, per legatos misisset, qui superiori tempore gratulandi causâ ad eum profecti retulerant, "fictilia se in ejus mensâ vasa vidisse;" monitos, "ne continentiæ quasi paupertati sucurrendum putarent, cum suis sarcinis abire" jussit.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 3, § 7.

[b] 'Tentata autem ejus est abstinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno. Namque is rogatu Artaxerxis Epaminondam pecuniâ corrumpendum susceperat. Hic magno

Phocion.

Semblable Abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsaylour of Athenes, unto whome the ambassadours of the great kynge Alexander brought from their maister a hundred Talentes of golde, whiche were of englysshe money xii thousande pounde. But before that he herde them speke any thynge, he demaunded of them why to him onely the kynge sent so bounteous a rewarde. And they aunswered for as moche as king Alexander iuged him onely to be a good man and a iuste. Than suffre ye me, sayd Phocion, to be and to seme the same man that your kynge do iuge me, and cary your golde agayne to him.[a] The same Phocion, the ambassadour of Antipater (who succeded the great king Alexander in Macedonia) offred to gyue a great some of money, whiche Phocion despisinge, sayde in this wise, Sens Antipater is nat gretter than Alexander nor his cause better, I do nothinge perceyue why I shulde take any thinge of him. And whan the Oratour wolde haue hadde Phocions sonne to haue taken the money, Phocion answered, If his sonne wolde be lyke

cum pondere auri Thebas venit : et Micythum adolescentulum quinque talentis ad suam perduxit voluntatem : quem tum Epaminondas plurimum diligebat. Micythus Epaminondam convenit, et causam adventûs Diomedontis ostendit. At ille Diomedonte coram, "Nihil," inquit, "opus pecuniâ est. Nam si ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis sint utilia, gratis facere sum paratus : sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis. Namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo pro patriæ caritate. Te, qui me incognitum tentasti, tuique similem existimasti, non miror : tibique ignosco : sed egredere properè, ne alios corrumpas, cum me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde : nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui." Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tuto exire, suaque, quæ attulisset, liceret efferre : "Istud," inquit, "faciam, neque tuâ causâ, sed meâ : ne, si tibi sit pecunia adémta, aliquis dicat, id ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem." A quo cum quæsisset, quo se deduci vellet ; et ille, Athenas, dixisset, præsidium dedit, ut eo tuto perveniret. Neque vero id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolatus in navem ascenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, effecit. Abstinentiæ erit hoc satis testimonium.'—Corn. Nepos. *Epam.* 4.

[a] Τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν, ὅτι δωρεὰν αὐτῷ κατέπεμψεν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. Τούτων κομισθέντων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἠρώτησεν ὁ Φωκίων τοὺς φέροντας, τί δή ποτε πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ μόνῳ τοσαῦτα δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. Εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, 'Ὅτι σὲ κρίνει μόνον ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν.' 'Οὐκοῦν,' εἶπεν ὁ Φωκίων, 'ἐασάτω με καὶ δοκεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.'—Plut. *Phocion.* 18.

unto hym he shulde haue no nede neither of that money nor of none other. If he wolde be unlike unto him and of dissolute maners, neyther Antipaters giftes nor none others, were they neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.[a]

By these examples it dothe appere howe good men dyd all way flee from rewardes, all though they mought haue ben lefully taken, which in them was neyther folisshenes nor yet rusticitie,[b] but of a prudent consideracion. For as moche as bothe by wisedome and experience they knewe that he, whiche taketh a rewarde before any thinge done, is no lenger at libertie, but of a free man is made bonde, in as moche as he hath taken ernest for his true endeuour.[c] Also by the

[a] Τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου δωρεὰν αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα διδόντος, ἀπεκρίνατο μήτ' ἐκεῖνον Αλεξάνδρου βελτίονα εἶναι μήτε κρείττονα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ᾗ λήψεται νῦν ὃ τότε μὴ δεξάμενος. 'Αλλὰ Φώκῳ γε τῷ παιδὶ λαβεῖν δεομένου τοῦ Μενύλλου, 'Φώκῳ δὲ,' εἶπεν, 'ἐὰν μὲν σωφρονῇ μεταβαλόμενος, ἀρκέσει τὰ τοῦ πατρός· ὡς δ'ἔχει νῦν, οὐδὲν ἱκανόν ἐστιν.'—Plut. *Phocion.* 30.

[b] *I.e.* churlishness, the French *rusticité*, which Cotgrave translates, 'Rusticity, rudenesse, clownishnesse, incivility, churlishnesse, homelinesse, plainnesse, ignorance, or ignorant bashfulnesse.' It would almost seem as if La Bruyère must have had this passage in his mind when he wrote in the next century, 'Il semble que la *rusticité* n'est autre chose qu'une ignorance grossière des bienseances.' —*Les Caract. de Theophr.* p. 17, ed. 1688. Spenser uses the word in its primitive, which is also its more modern, sense, in *The Faerie Queene*, book iii. cant. 6:

> 'Seemeth that such wilde woodes should far expell
> All civile usage and gentility,
> And gentle sprite deforme with rude *rusticity*.'
>
> *Poetical Works*, vol. iii. p. 1, ed. 1866.

By Pontanus 'rusticitas' is opposed to 'urbanitas,' and is defined to be the defect from a mean state denominated affability. 'Quem habitum rerum scriptores moralium *Rusticitatem* libenter appellavere, neque impropriè sanè, neque inconsideratè, cum teneritas ipsa jocandi civilis admodum res sit, contrà rusticorum hominum sive rigiditas sive jocandi fuga atque horror, inhumanus ille quidem, ab omnique jucunditate aversus.'—*Opera*, tom. ii. fo. 213, b. ed. 1519.

[c] Mr. Turner has some remarks on the subject of Wolsey's bribery, which might almost have been suggested by the passage in the text. 'It must be deemed one of the most dishonourable parts of Wolsey's foreign policy, that he adopted a system of receiving gratuitous gifts and annuities from foreign powers. It is vain to allege that they may be taken without corrupt motives or consequences If they were not desired, they would not be accepted ; if they were not meant to influence, they would not be given. The benefit derived from them, and

takynge he is become an euill man, though before he were good, for if he receyued it for an euill purpose, he is thanne a wretche, and detestable. If the matter were good, than is he nat rightwise in sellynge a good deede, whiche he aught to do thankefully and without rewarde. And I dought nat who so euer is contented with his present astate, and supposeth felicitie to be in a meane, and all excesse to be perillous, will alowe these sentences and thinke them worthy to be had in remembraunce, specially of them that be gouernours. For that realme or citie where men in autorite haue their handes open for money, and their houses for presentes, is euer in the waye to be subuerted.[a] Wherfore Caius Pontius, prince of Samnites, was wont to saye, I wolde god (sayd he) that fortune had reserued me unto the tyme, and that I had ben than

for which alone they are taken, is the inevitably corrupting circumstance. The mind ceases to be upright and independent, whatever it may fancy it intends, from the moment they commence. The bias may be insensible, may be resolved against, may be unforeseen ; but it is certain and unavoidable ; and when the habits of life are formed upon the amount of the gifts, their abstraction would produce a degradation, the fear of which is always overawing ; as their assistance to avert a change is a continual seduction. The minister who receives pay from a foreign power, is the servant of that power ; and if Henry could feel it unsafe, and was therefore jealous that one of his household became the follower of another, it cannot but be perilous to a country that any member of its Cabinet should receive regular gratuities from a different government. If they do not influence, it is a fraud on the giver to take them, because they are granted only for that effect; and as far as they bias, they produce treasonable connivance. In either case knavery is inseparable from their contact ; and the great interest, which nations have in the simplicity of the domestic establishments of their statesmen, is, that all expensive habits cannot subsist without adequate expenditure; and that this, when it exceeds the private fortune of the minister, can never be supplied without the violation of integrity and honour, meant or not meant, perceived or not anticipated, by the corrupted or self-deluding individual.'—*Hist. of Engl.* vol. ix. pp. 236, 237.

[a] Burke, in his speech on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, said : ' There are crimes, undoubtedly, of great magnitude, naturally fitted to create horror, and that loudly call for punishment, that have yet no idea of *turpitude* annexed to them ; but unclean hands, bribery, venality, and peculation are offences of turpitude, such as in a governor at once debase the person and degrade the government itself, making it not only horrible, but vile and contemptible in the eyes of all mankind.'—*Works*, vol. vii. p. 158, ed. 1857.

borne whan the Romaynes shulde begynne to take gyftes; I shulde than nat suffre them any lenger to rule.[a]

Paulus Emilius, whanne he hadde vainquisshed kynge Perses, and subdued all Macedonia, he brought into the commune treasory of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substaunce of that one prince discharged all the Romaynes to paye euer after any tax or subsidie.[b] And yet of all that goodes Emilius brought no thinge in to his owne house, but onely perpetuall renoume.[c] *Paulus Æmilius.*

Scipio, whan he hadde goten and destroyed the great citie of Charthage, he was nat therfore the rycher one halfepeny.[d] By this it appereth that honour resteth nat in richesse, all though some perchaunce wyll saye that their reuenues be small,[e] and that they muste take suche *Scipio African.*

[a] '"Utinam," inquit C. Pontius Samnis, "ad illa tempora me fortuna reservasset et tum essem natus, si quando Romani dona accipere cœpissent! non essem passus diutius eos imperare."'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. ii. cap. 21.

[b] Ταῖς δὲ Μακεδονικαῖς πράξεσι τοῦ Αἰμιλίου δημοτικωτάτην προσγράφουσι χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν, ὡς τοσούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τότε χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεθέντων, ὥστε μηκέτι δεῆσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰρτίου καὶ Πάνσα χρόνων, οἳ περὶ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος πόλεμον ὑπάτευσαν.—Plut. *Æmilius*, 38.

[c] Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι τοῦ Αἰμιλίου θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι τηλικαύτην βασιλείαν καταστρεψάμενος οὐδὲ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐποίησεν.—Ibid. *Tim. cum Æmil. Comp.*

[d] 'Imitatus patrem Africanus, nihilo locupletior Carthagine eversâ.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

[e] Bentham, in laying down the rule that the emoluments of a public functionary ought to be sufficient to preserve him from corruption, tells the following story as illustrating the non-observance of the rule: 'M. de Launay (Farmer-General under Frederick II.) represented to the King that the salaries of the Custom-house officers were too small for their subsistence, and that it would be but justice to augment them; he added that he could insure to his Majesty that every one would then discharge his duty better, and that the aggregate receipts in all the offices would be larger at the end of the year. "You do not know my subjects," said Frederick; "they are all rogues where my interests are in question. I have thoroughly studied them, and I am sure they would rob me at the altar. By paying them better, you would diminish my revenues, and they would not rob me less." "Sire," replied M. de Launay, "how can they do otherwise than steal? Their salaries are not enough to buy them shoes and stockings! A pair of boots costs them a month's pay! At the same time many of them are married. And where can they obtain food for their wives and families, if it is not by conniving at

rewardes as be lefull, onely to maintayne their honour, but lette them take hede to the sayenge of Tulli, Nothynge is more to be abhorred thanne Auarice, specially in princis and theim whiche do gouerne publike weales.[a]

Ci. Off. ii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The examples of Continence gyuen by noble men.

NOWE wyll I speke of Continence, whiche is specially in refrayninge or forbering the acte of carnall pleasure, where unto a man is feruently meued, or is at libertie to haue it.[b] Whiche undoughtedly is a thinge nat onely difficile, but also wonderfull in a man noble or of great auctoritie,[c] but in suche one as it hapneth to be, nedes muste be reputed moche vertue, and wisedome, and to be supposed that his mynde is

the smugglers? There is, Sire, a most important maxim, which in matters of government is too frequently neglected. It is, that men in general desire to be honest; but it is always necessary to leave them the ability of being so. If your Majesty will consent to make the trial I propose, I will engage that your revenues will be augmented more than a fourth." The maxim in morals, thus brought forward by M. de Launay, appeared to the King—beautiful and just as it really is in itself—so much the more excellent from being in the mouth of a financier; since men of this class are not in general reputed to know many such. He authorized the experiment; he increased the salaries of the officers by a half, and his revenues were increased a third without any new taxes.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 244, ed. 1843.

[a] 'Nullum igitur vitium tetrius, quàm avaritia, præsertim in principibus rempublicam gubernantibus.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

[b] Dr. Grew, the celebrated botanist and physiologist, defines continence as 'Contentment, without the pleasure of lawful venery.'—*Cosmologia Sacra*, p. 74, ed. 1701. The reader may compare this with a still more modern definition by Dr. Whewell, see note, p. 305 *ante*.

[c] Patrizi is compelled to make the following admission: 'Ab hâc quidem amoris perturbatione pauci ex magnis etiam viris immunes innoxiique omni ex parte evaserunt; facilius namque est castitatis ac continentiæ præcepta aliis præscribere, quàm sibi ipsi.'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. iv. tit. 11.

inuincible, considerynge that nothynge so sharpely assaileth a mannes mynde as dothe carnall affection, called (by the folowars therof) loue.[a] Wherfore Plato sayeth, that the soule of man, which by loue is possessed, dieth in his owne body, and lyueth in an other.[b]

Alexander.

The great kynge Alexander, after his firste victorye agayne kynge Darius, hauinge all wayes in his hoste the wife of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other wemen in beaultie; after that he had ones sene her, he neuer after wolde haue her come in his presence. All be it that he caused her astate still to be maintayned, and with as moche honour as euer it was, sayenge to them whiche, wondrynge at the ladyes beautie, meruailed why Alexander dyd nat desire to haue with her company, he answered that it shulde be to hym a reproche to be any wise subdued by the wife of him whom he had vainquisshed.[c]

[a] The writer mentioned in the last note acknowledges the force of passion and the difficulty of resisting it: 'Præcipuè quum prima illa pubertatis ætas, quæ magis à Venere incessitur, infirma sit, et vix ullis rationis habenis coerceri possit.' —*Ubi supra.* Mr. Lecky says: 'It was a favourite doctrine of the Christian Fathers that concupiscence, or the sensual passion, was "the original sin" of human nature; and it must be owned that the progress of knowledge, which is usually extremely opposed to the ascetic theory of life, concurs with the theological view, in showing the natural force of this appetite to be far greater than the well-being of man requires.'—*Hist. Eur. Mor.* vol. ii. p. 298, ed. 1869.

[b] The author has borrowed this from Patrizi, who says: 'Plato dicebat *animum ejus, qui amore tenetur, in suo corpore mori, in alieno autem vivere;*' but Patrizi was himself doubtful of his authority, for he adds: 'Sunt qui hanc sententiam Catonis esse putent, quoniam ipse eandem crebris sermonibus usurpabat.' —*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. iv. tit. 11. Plutarch, however, unhesitatingly ascribes the dictum to the elder Cato: Τοῦ δ' ἐρῶντος ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν.—*Cato Major*, 9.

[c] Καίτοι λέγεταί γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστάτην γενέσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παῖδας ἐοικέναι τοῖς γονεῦσιν. Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἡγούμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἔθιγεν οὔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου πλὴν Βαρσίνης . . . Καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέγραφεν· 'Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι ἑωρακὼς ἂν εὑρεθείην τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα ἢ βεβουλευμένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον.'—Plut. *Alex.* 21, 22.

Antiochus. Antiochus, the noble king of Asia, beinge in the citie of Ephesum, behelde a virgine beinge a Mynchen in the temple of Diana to be of excellent beautie, where he perceiuing him selfe to be rauisshed in the loue of the mayden, he hastely and immediatly departed out of the citie, lest loue shulde constrayne him to violate a virgine;[a] wisely considerynge that it was best to abstayne from doinge batayle with that enemye whiche unethe mought be vainquisshed but with flight onely.

Pompeius. The valyaunt Pompei, whanne he had vainquisshed the kynge Mithridates, and had taken diuers of his concubines, which in beautie excelled, he wolde haue no carnall knowlege with any of them; but whan he knewe that they were of noble lignage, he sent them undefiled to their parentes and kynnesfolke.[b]

Scipio. Semblably dyd Scipio whan he wanne Carthage.[c] For amonge diuers women whiche were there taken, one moste fairest of other was brought unto hym to do with her his pleasure. But after that she had discouered to him that she was affiaunced to a gentill man, called Indibilis, he caused him to be sent for, and whan he behelde the lamentation and signes of loue betwene them, he nat onely delyuered her to Indibilis, with her raunsome, whiche her frendes hadde

[a] Τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀρτήμιδος ἱέρειαν ἰδὼν ὑπερβολῇ καλὴν φανεῖσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, φοβούμενος, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβιασθῇ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων.—Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*

[b] Ὅσαι δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακίδων ἀνήχθησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἔγνω, πάσας δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἀνέπεμπεν. Ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες στρατηγῶν καὶ δυναστῶν.—Plut. *Pompeius*, 36.

[c] 'Quartum et vicesimum annum agens Scipio, cum in Hispaniâ Carthagine oppressâ, majoris Carthaginis capiendæ sumsisset auspicia, multosque obsides, quos in eâ urbe Pœni clausos habuerant, in suam potestatem redegisset, eximiæ inter eos formæ virginem, ætatis adultæ, et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor, postquam comperit illustri loco inter Celtiberos natam, nobilissimoque gentis ejus Indibili desponsatam, arcessitis parentibus, et sponso inviolatam tradidit. Aurum quoque, quod pro redemtione puellæ allatum erat, summæ dotis adjecit. Quâ continentiâ ac munificentiâ Indibilis obligatus, Celtiberorum animos Romanis applicando, meritis ejus debitam gratiam retulit.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 3, § 1.

payde for her redemption, but also added therto an honorable porcion of his owne treasour. By the whiche continence and liberalitie he wanne the hertes of Indibilis and all his blode, wherby he the soner optained and wanne all the contraye. Of this vertue be examples innumerable, as well of gentiles as of christen men. But these for this tyme shall suffise, sauynge that for the straungenesse of it, I will reherce a notable historie whiche is remembred by the moste excellent doctour, saynt Hierome.

A wonderfull continence in Christen martyr.

Valerian, beinge emperour of Rome, and persecutynge the churche, in Egipt a christen man was presented unto him, whome he beholdynge to be yonge and lusty, thinkynge therfore to remoue him from the faythe, rather by veneriall motions, thanne by sharpenesse of tourmentes, caused hym to be layde in a bedde within a fayre gardayne, hauynge about him all flowres of swete odour and moste delectable sauours and perfumes. And than caused a fayre tender yonge woman to be layde by him all naked, who ceased nat swetely and louingly to embrace and kysse him, showinge to him all pleasaunt deuises, to the intent to prouoke him to do fornication. Ther lacked litle that the yonge man was nat vainquisshed; and that the flesshe yelded nat to the seruice of Venus, that perceyuinge the yonge man, whiche was armed with grace, and seinge none other refuge, he with his teethe dyd gnawe of his owne tunge, wherin he suffred such incredible payne, that therwith the furious brennyng of voluptuous appetite was utterly extinct.[a] In this notable

[a] 'Alium juvenili ætate florentem, in amœnissimos hortulos præcepit abduci. Ibique inter lilia candentia et rubentes rosas, cum leni juxta murmure aquarum serperet rivus, et molli sibilo arborum folia ventus præstringeret, super exstructum plumis lectum resupinari, et ne se inde posset excutere, blandis sertorum nexibus irretitum relinqui. Quo cum, recedentibus cunctis, meretrix speciosa venisset, cœpit delicatis stringere colla complexibus: et quod dictu quoque scelus est, manibus attrectare virilia: ut corpore in libidinem concitato, se victrix impudica superjaceret. Quid ageret miles Christi, et quo se verteret, nesciebat. Tandem cœlitùs inspiratus, præcisam mordicus linguam in osculantis se faciem exspuit; ac sic libidinis sensum

acte, I wote nat which is to be moste commended, either his inuincible courage in resisting so moche agayne nature, or his wisedome in subduynge the lasse payne with the more, and bytinge of that wherby he mought be constrayned to blaspheme god or renounce his religion. Suer I am that he therfore receyued immortall lyfe and perpetuall glorie.[a] And this I suppose suffiseth to persuade men of good nature to embrace Continence. I meane nat to lyue euer chaste, but to honour matrimony,[b] and to have good awayte, that they lette nat the sparkes of concupiscence growe in great flames, wherewith the wyttes shall be dryed up, and all noble vertues shall be deuoured.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Constance or Stabilitie.

In buyldinge of a fortresse or other honorable mantion, it aught to be well considered that the cement, wherewith the stones be layde, be firme, and well bindynge. For if it be brokle,[c] and will mouldre a way with euery showre of raine,

succedens doloris magnitudo superavit.'—Hieron. *in vita S. Pauli Eremitæ.* Migne ed. tom. ii. col. 19.

[a] Mr. Lecky, who calls this 'an incredible story,' quotes it as one of 'a crowd of very curious popular legends, which though they are for the most part without much intrinsic excellence, have their importance in history, as showing the force with which the imaginations of men were turned in this direction (*i.e.* to regard purity as essentially good), and the manner in which Christianity was regarded as the great enemy of the passions of the flesh.'—*Hist. Europ. Mor.* vol. ii. p. 337, ed. 1869.

[b] The writer last quoted says: 'It is an undoubted truth that, however much moralists may enforce the obligation of extra-matrimonial chastity, this obligation has never been even approximately regarded; and in all nations, ages, and religions a vast mass of irregular indulgence has appeared, which has probably contributed more than any other single cause to the misery and the degradation of man.'—*Hist. Europ. Mor.* vol. ii. p. 298.

[c] In the author's own Dictionary, the Latin word *Fragilis* is translated 'brokell, soone broken,' and *Fragilitas* 'brokylnes, inconstancy.' In the *Promptorium*

the buyldynge may nat contynewe, but the stones beinge nat surely couched and mortred, falleth a way one after an other,

Parvulorum, which is the earliest known English-Latin dictionary, we find 'Freyl (*i.e.* frail) and brokulle, or brytylle (febyl, febyll or brekyll) *Fragilis*,' and in another part of the same work, 'Brokdol or frees (brokyl or fres, brokill or feers), *Fragilis*,' p. 53, ed. 1843. The Editor, however, ventures to suggest that 'brokkol' should be read instead of 'brokdol' in the second passage, as these words are obviously the same. In John Baret's *Alvearie*, published in 1573, we find 'Frayle, brickle, soone broken,' as equivalents of fragilis, and Ovid's 'Fama caduca,' translated 'Brickle fame and unconstant.' The Editor would suggest also that 'brokil' should be read instead of 'brutil,' and 'brokelnesse' for 'brutelnesse,' as now printed in the Aldine edition of Chaucer, when the following passages in *The Marchauntes Tale* would run thus :—

> 'On *brokil* ground thay bulde, and *brokelnesse*
> Thay fynde, whan they wene sikernesse.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 319.

> '"My wyf," quod he "ther may no wight say nay;
> Thexperiens so preveth every day;
> The tresoun which that womman doth to man
> Ten hundrid thousand stories tellen I can,
> Notable of your untrouth and *brokelnesse*."'
>
> *Ibid.* p. 348.

Sir Thomas More, in his *Treatise upon the Passion*, written in 1534, when he was a prisoner in the Tower, says : 'And all his enemies shal he cast down to be as a footestoole under his feete. Suche as didde their endeuour to breake his bondes, and to shake his yoke from them, those he shall spyte of their teeth, rule with an yron rod, and as a *brickell* earthen pot in pieces al to frush them.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 1398, ed. 1557. Fabyan, in his *Chronicle*, printed in 1516, in his History of Edward the Confessor, says : 'It is founde that whan this blessyd Kynge Edwarde had receyued deuyne monyssion that he shuld chaunge this transetory and *bryckell* lyfe for the lyfe euerlastynge, he sykened in the Cristenmas weke.'—P. 231, ed. 1811. Spenser, in the *Ruines of Time*, written at the end of the 16th century, says :—

> 'I saw an Image, all of massie gold,
> Placed on high upon an altare faire,
> * * *
> But th' altare, on the which this Image staid
> Was (O great pitie!) built of *brickle* clay,
> That shortly the foundation decaid,
> With showres of heaven and tempests worne away,
> Then downe it fell, and low in ashes lay.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 305, Ald. ed. 1866.

It only remains to be said that Richardson does not notice the form of the word

and finally the hole house is defaced, and falleth in ruyne. Semblably, that man which in childehode is brought up in sondry vertues, if eyther by nature, or els by custome, he be nat induced to be all way constant and stable, so that he meue nat for any affection, griefe, or displeasure, all his vertues will shortely decaye, and, in the estimation of men, be but as a shadowe, and be soone forgoten.

[a][Also if a paynter hadde wrought in a table some peace of portrayture wonderfull elegant and pleasaunt to beholde, as well for the good proportion and figure, as for the fresshe and delectable colours, but for as moche as in temperynge his colours, he lacked good size,[b] wherwith they shulde have ben bounden, and made to endure ; after that the image hathe ben a litle while pleasaunt to the beholders, the colours beynge nat suerly wrought, either by moystnesse of wether relenteth[c] or

used by Sir Thos. Elyot in the text, though he derives brickle from the Dutch (Teutonic?) *brokel*.

[a] The passage within brackets has been omitted in all the subsequent editions.

[b] 'All writers,' says Sir Charles Eastlake, 'agree that oil painting was first introduced about the year 1410.' And we are told that 'resistance to humidity was the original recommendation of oil painting in its rudest form and dictated its applications. For a long period after the new process was known, the higher aims of art found their expression chiefly in tempera—a method which however defective in some respects, was at least not open to objection, south of the Alps, on account of its liability to decay. In Flanders, on the contrary, temperâ was soon acted on by damp ; and hence oil painting, for fine works of art as well as for common purposes, was there the result of necessity. These different conditions of climate explain both the earlier demand for oil painting in the North, and the long indifference of the Italians even to the improved method of Van Eyck, when it was proposed to apply it to purposes for which it was not absolutely necessary.'—*Hist. of Oil Painting*, vol. ii. p. 61, ed. 1869.

[c] *I.e.* grow soft, dissolve. In the author's Dictionary the Latin word 'liquesco' is rendered '*to relente* ;' and in the *Promptorium*, which was compiled about 1440, we find '*relentyn*, Resolvo, liquo,' p. 429 ; and in the *Vulgaria* of William Horman, Head Master of Eton College, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530, we find under the head of *De Philosophicis* the Latin phrase 'aqua egelida est' rendered thus : 'This water is *relent* fro frost.' In the *Abecedarium*, or Eng.-Lat. Dict. of Huloet, published in 1552, we find, '*Relent*, contabesco, egelidor, liquesco. *Relented*, egelidus, fluidus, flexus. *Relented, to be*, fluesco.' And in the

fadeth, or by some stroke or falle scaleth of, or mouldreth a waye, by reason wherof the image is utterly deformed, and

later edition of the last-mentioned work, published in 1572, we find '*Relente*, or to melte as waxe and suche lyke dothe, Liqui, Liquere, Liquescere, Colliquescere, Eliquescere, se fondre.' And '*Relented*, Fluidus.' Again in Baret's *Alvearie*, published a year later, we find, 'to *Relent*, or dissolue as yce that thaweth doth, egelidor,' and the following example given: 'The sorow leaueth me often for a time, and beginneth to *relent* or asswage; dat intervalla et relaxat dolor.' Bacon in his *Nat. Hist.* says: 'We see that there be some houses, wherein sweet-meats will *relent*, and baked meats will mould, more than in others; and wainscots will also sweat more; so that they will almost run with water; all which, no doubt, are caused chiefly by the moistness of the air in those seats.' And again: 'Land-birds, as crows, swallows, &c., when they fly from the land to the waters, and beat the waters with their wings, do foreshew rain and wind. The cause is, pleasure that both kinds take in the moistness and density of the air. For the same reason also crows seem to call upon rain, all which is but the comfort they seem to receive in the *relenting* of the air.'—*Works*, vol. iv. pp. 430, 434. ed. 1826. The Hon. Robert Boyle, the celebrated experimental philosopher of the 17th century, in his *History of Fluidity*, says: 'If you take salt of tartar, first brought to fusion, and place it in a cellar, or even in an ordinary room, it will in a short time (now and then in a few minutes) begin to *relent*, and have its surface softened by the imbibed moisture of the air, wherein if it be left long enough it will totally be dissolved into clear liquor.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 393, ed. 1772. In a poem called *Wittes Pilgrimage*, by John Davies of Hereford, but which is erroneously attributed by Dr. Latham to his much more celebrated namesake the poetical Attorney-General for Ireland, the word is used in an active sense:

> 'Thou art a Pearle which nothing can *relent*
> But Viniger made of Deuotions teares.'
>
> Stanza 17, ed. 1603.

And Spenser in his *Hymns* uses the word in this sense:

> 'Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
> Till Love *relented* their rebellious yre.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 221.

And several times in the *Faerie Queene*:

> 'Beldame, your words doe worke me little ease;
> For though my love be not so lewdly bent
> As those ye blame, yet may it nought appease
> My raging smart, ne ought my flame *relent*.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 267.

Again:

> (Tyme) 'Beates doune both leaves and buds without regard,
> Ne ever pitty may *relent* his malice hard.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 11.

the industrie of the warke man beinge neuer so excellent is perisshed, and accounted but for a vanitie.]

So he that hath all the giftes of nature and fortune, and also in his childehode is adourned with doctrine and vertue, whiche he hathe acquired with moche trauayle, watche, and studye, if he adde nat to constance, whan he cometh to the tyme of experience, whiche experience is as it were the warke of the craftes man, but meued with any private affection, or feare of aduersitie or exterior damage, will omitte any parte of his lernynge or vertue, the estimation of his persone immediatly ceaseth amonge perfecte warkemen, that is to saye, wise men, and finally nothynge beinge in him certayne or stable, what thinge in hym may be commended? And in one thynge me semeth that Constance hathe equall prayse with iustyce, that is to saye, that he that is him selfe iniuste, loueth that persone that dealeth iustely with him, and contrary wise hateth that persone that dealeth iniustely, or dothe him wronge. In like wise, he whiche is inconstant, extolleth him whome he fyndeth constant, and desireth to haue him his frende ; on the other parte, whome he proueth inconstant and wauerynge, he is angry with him, and accounteth him a beeste, and unworthy the company of men, and awayteth diligently to trust hym with nothinge. We note in children inconstance, and likewise in women ; the one for sklendernesse of witte, the other as a naturall sickenesse.[a] Therfore men use, in rebukynge a man of inconstance, to calle hym a childisshe or womanly persone.[b] All be it some women nowe a dayes be founden more constant than men, and

[a] 'Women,' says Mr. Lecky, 'are intellectually more desultory and volatile than men. Men are most addicted to intemperance and brutality, women to frivolity and jealousy.'—*Hist. Eur. Mor.* vol. ii. pp. 379, 381, ed. 1869.

[b] 'We esteem the man who supports pain and even torture with manhood and firmness ; and we can have little regard for him who sinks under them, and abandons himself to useless outcries and womanish lamentations.'—Adam Smith, *Theory of Mor. Sent.* p. 358, ed. 1853.

specially in loue towarde their husbandes; or els mought there happen to be some wronge inheritours.[a]

Constance is as propre unto a man as is reason, and is of suche estimation, that according as it was spoken of a wise man, it were better to haue a constant enemye thanne an inconstant frende.[b] Wherof I my selfe haue had sufficient ex-

[a] Montaigne's opinion on this point was just the reverse of this: 'Il n'en est pas à douzaines, comme chascun sçait, et notamment aux debvoirs de mariage; car c'est un marché plein de tant d'espineuses circonstances, qu'il est malaysé que la volonté d'une femme s'y maintienne entiere long temps: les hommes, quoyqu'ils y soyent avecques un peu meilleure condition, y ont trop affaire. La touche d'un bon mariage, et sa vraye preuve, regarde le temps que la société dure; si elle a esté constamment doulce, loyale, et commode. En nostre siecle, elles reservent plus communement à estaler leurs bons offices, et la vehemence de leur affection, envers leurs maris perdus; cherchent au moins lors à donner tesmoignage de leur bonne volonté.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 227, ed. 1854.

[b] Apparently the reference is to the following passage in a work sometimes attributed to S. Chrysostom, but which is not generally admitted as genuine, and is not printed in Migne's collection of the works of that father: 'Nam inimicus manifestus melior est, quàm amicus fictus.'—Opus Imperfectum. *Homil. xlii. in Matt.* cap. xxii. ed. Caillau, tom. viii. p. 458. Considerable doubt was cast upon the authorship of this work by men who were contemporaries with Sir Thomas Elyot. Thus Bishop Ridley, in *A brief declaration of the Lord's Supper*, after quoting a passage from it alludes thus to its supposed spuriousness: '"The author," saith one, "is suspected." I answer, but in this place never fault was found with him unto these our days. And whether the author were John Chrysostom himself, the Archbishop of Constantinople, or no, that is not the matter: for of all it is granted, that he was a writer of that age, and a man of learning.'—*Works*, p. 33, ed. 1841, Parker Soc. And Bradford, relating a conversation between the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chichester, and himself, mentions that he quoted a phrase of Chrysostom, upon which the Archbishop exclaimed, 'Indeed that is of Chrysostom *in Opere Imperfecto*, which may be doubted of.'—*Writings*, p. 529, ed. 1848, Parker Soc. Dr. Whitaker, at the end of the century, says: 'Some do, indeed, suppose that these homilies were written by one Maximus, who was an Arian.'—*Disputation*, p. 684, ed. 1849, Parker Soc. The 'Opus Imperfectum' was interdicted by the Index Romanus of Pope Paul IV. in 1559, but the prohibitory sentence was withdrawn by Pius IV. in 1564, and by Clement VIII. in 1596. Bellarmin thinks it credible that the author was a Catholic, but that his work was depraved by the Arians; and it has been supposed by Montfaucon that he could not have lived before the sixth or seventh century. See Calfhill, p. 95, note, ed. 1846, Parker Soc. The Benedictine editors, in their prolegomena to this work say: 'Illud opus (Imperfectum) nec esse, nec esse posse, Chrysostomi certum est.'—See Sandys' *Sermons*, p. 148, note, ed. 1841, Parker Soc.

perience. But nowe to declare some experience of constance, wherby the reders may be the more therto prouoked, I will reherce some examples therof out of olde histories, as I shall happen to remembre them.

Sceuola.

After that Sylla hadde vainquisshed Marius, and destroyed the parte of his aduersaries, he with a great numbre of persones all armed, enuironed the senate, intendynge to compell them by violence to condemne Marius for a traytour; whiche request none darste agayne saye, Sceuola onely excepte, who beinge therof demaunded, wolde gyue no sentence. But whan Sylla dyd cast therfore on him a cruell countenaunce, he with a constant visage and noble courage, said to him, Sylla, all though thou facist and threttist me with thy multitude of souldiours, with whome thou hast thus besieged this court, ye and all though thou doest menace me with dethe neuer so moche, yet shalt thou neuer brynge it to passe that for shedynge a little olde blode, I shall iuge Marius a traytour, by whome this citie and all Italy haue ben preserued.[a]

Alexanders confidence.

The constance that great kynge Alexander had in trustynge his frende agayne false reporte, saued his lyfe, whereof all men despaired. For after that noble batayle wherin he had vainquisshed Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Cilicia, beynge sore chaufed with feruent heate and the lengthe of his iournay, as he came by the ryuer called Cydnus, beholding it clere and pleasaunt, and thinkynge to a swage therin the heates that he suffred, he went there into naked and dranke therof. But immediately, by the excedinge colde which was in that water, his sinewes

[a] 'Dispulsis, prostratisque inimicorum partibus, Sylla occupatâ urbe senatum armatus coegerat, ac summâ cupiditate ferebatur, ut C. Marius quàm celerrimè hostis judicaretur. Cujus voluntati nullo obviam ire audente, solus Scævola interrogatus de hâc re sententiam dicere noluit. Quin etiam truculentius sibi minitanti Syllæ, "Licet," inquit, "mihi agmina militum, quibus Curiam circumsedisti, ostentes; licet mortem identidem mineteris; nunquam tamen efficies, ut propter exiguum senilemque sanguinem meum, Marium, à quo Urbs et Italia conservata est hostem judicem." '—Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 8, § 5.

shranke, and his iointes became unweldy, and as they were dede, and all his hoste being discomforted, he was conuayed to a citie thereby, called Tarsum. Where upon the Phisicions assembled and deuisinge for the best remedy, they all were determined to gyue hym one medicine, and that it shulde be ministred by one Philippe, chiefe phisicion with Alexander. In the meane tyme, Parmenio, one of the grettest capitaynes about Alexander, aduertised hym by his letters that he shulde beware of the trayson of the sayde Philyppe, sayenge that he was corrupted with a great some of money by Darius. Wherwith he beinge nothing esbaied[a] helde in his handes the letter, and receyuinge the medicyne that Philyppe gaue hym, he at one tyme deliured the letter open to Philyppe, and dranke also the medicine, declaringe therby the constance that was in his frendship. Whiche truste nat onely caused nature the better to warke with the medicine, but also bounde so the harte of the Phisicion towarde him, that he euer after studyed more diligently for the helpe and preseruation of the noble prince that dyd so moche trust hym.[b]

[a] *I.e.* dismayed. This is simply the French word *esbahi*, the participle of *s'esbahir* Anglicised. Cotgrave translates the former, 'abashed, astonished, amazed, appalled.' The form in the text appears to be *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and is not noticed by any of the dictionaries except Richardson, who can give no other instances of it. Froissart, in his account of the siege of Bergerac in 1371, says, 'à l'endemain la truie fut levée au plus près qu'ils purent de Bergerac, qui grandement *esbahit* ceux de la ville,' which Lord Berners translates 'the whiche greatlye *abasshed* them of the towne.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 495, ed. 1812. And Philippe de Commines, speaking of the events of the year 1475, says, 'Les Anglois qui sont supicionneux, et qui estoient tous neufs par deça et *esbahis*, ne se pouvoient contenter de son allée, ni croire qu'il eut nulles gens aux champs ; et si ne sçavoit le duc de Bourgougne adouber avec eux le faict du connestable, nonobstant qu'il eut dit que, tout ce qu'il en avoit fait, estoit pour toutes bonnes fins ; et si les *esbahissoit* l'hyver qui s'approchoit, et sembloit bien, à les ouir parler, que le cœur leur tirast plus à la paix qu'à la guerre.'—Liv. iv. chap. 6. Pan. Litt. ed. Chaucer uses the word *abaiste* in the same sense in *Troylus and Cryseyde*.

[b] 'Alexander Macedonum rex inclytâ jam pugnâ, excellentissimis opibus Darii contusis, æstu et itineris fervore in Ciliciâ percalefactus, Cydno, qui aquæ liquore conspicuus Tarsum interfluit, corpus suum immersit. Subito deinde ex nimio haustu rigoris obstupefactis nervis, ac torpore hebetatis artubus, maximâ cum

Cato.

The constance of Cato Uticensis was all waye immoueable, in so moche as at sondry tymes, whanne he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale with vehement and longe orations, agayne the attemptates of ambicious persones, he was by them rebuked and committed to prisone. But he therfore nat cessynge, but goinge towarde prisone, detected to the people, as he went, the unlefull purposes and enterprises of them by whome he was punisshed with the peryle that was imminent to the publike weale. Whiche he dyd with suche courage and eloquence that as well the Senate as the people drewe so about him, that his aduersaries were fayne for feare to discharge him. Who can sufficiently commende this noble man Cato, whan he redeth in the warkes of Plutarche of his excellent courage and vertue?[a] Howe moche worthyar had he bene to haue hadde Homere, the trumpe of his fame immortall, than Achilles, who for a lytle wenche contended with Agamemnon onely, where Cato, for the conseruation of the weale publike contended, and also resisted agayne Julius Ceasar and the greatte Pompey, and nat onely agayne theyr

exanimatione totius exercitus, in oppidum castris propinquum defertur. Jacebat æger Tarsi, inque valetudine ejus adversa instantis victoriæ spes fluctuabat. Itaque convocati medici attentissimo consilio salutis remedia circumspiciebant. Qui cum ad unam potionem sententiam direxissent, atque eam Philippus medicus suis manibus temperatam Alexandro (erat autem ipsius amicus et comes) porrexisset, à Parmenione missæ literæ superveniunt, admonentes, ut rex insidias Philippi, perinde ac pecuniâ corrupti à Dario, caveret. Quas cum legisset, sine ullâ cunctatione medicamentum bausit, ac tunc legendas Philippo tradidit. Pro quo tam constanti erga amicum judicio, dignissimam à Diis immortalibus mercedem recepit: qui incolumitatis ejus præsidium falso interpellari indicio noluerunt.'—Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 8, ext. 6.

[a] *Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄλλον εἰσέφερε νόμον τὴν Καμπανίαν σχεδὸν ὅλην προσκατανέμοντα τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν. Ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. Καὶ τοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὁ Καῖσαρ εἷλκεν εἰς δεσμωτήριον οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὑφιέμενον τῆς παῤῥησίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν ἅμα περὶ τοῦ νόμου διαλεγόμενον καὶ παραινοῦντα παύσασθαι τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένους. Ἐπηκολούθει δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ κατηφείας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ βέλτιστον ἀγανακτοῦν σίωπῇ καὶ ἀχθόμενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα μὴ λανθάνειν βαρέως φέροντας, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικῶν καὶ περιμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπίκλησιν γενέσθαι καὶ δέησιν προῆγεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν δῆλος οὐδὲ μελλήσων τι ποιεῖν, ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀδοξίας ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτός τινα τῶν δημάρχων ὑφῆκε πείσας ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.*—Plut. *Cato Minor*, 33.

menaces, but also agayne theyr desyres and offres of aliaunce? Where of I wolde gladly haue made a remembrance in this warke if the volume there by shulde nat to moche haue increased, and becomen unhandsome.

Undoughtedly, constaunce is an honourable vertue, as inconstance is reprochefull and odious. Wherfore, that man whiche is mutable for euerye occasyon, muste nedes often repente hym, and in moche repentance is nat only moche foly, but also great detriment, whiche euery wyse man wyll eschue if he can.[a] Wherfore to gouernours nothing is more propre than to be in theyr lyuyng stable and constant.

CHAPTER XX.

The true signification of Temperaunce a morall vertue.

THIS blessed companye of vertues in this wyse assembled, foloweth Temperaunce, as a sad and discrete matrone and reuerent gouernesse, awaitinge diligently that in any wyse voluptie or concupiscence haue no preeminence in the soule of man.[b] Aristotle defineth this vertue to be a mediocrite in the pleasures of the body, specially in taste and touching.[c] Therfore he that is temperate fleeth pleasures vo- *Arist. Eth.*

[a] 'Do nothing without advice, and when thou hast once done repent not.'—Ecclesiasticus xxxii. 19. Montaigne was of the same opinion as Sir T. Elyot, for he says: 'Au demourant, ie hais cet accidental repentir que l'aage apporte . . . Si i'avois à revivre, ie revivrois comme i'ay vescu: ny ie ne plainds le passé, ny ie ne crainds l'advenir; et, si ie ne me deceois, il est allé du dedans environ comme du dehors.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. pp. 344, 347.

[b] Adam Smith says: 'In the command of the appetites of the body consists that virtue which is properly called Temperance. To restrain them within those bounds, which regard to health and fortune prescribes, is the part of Prudence. But to confine them within those limits, which grace, which propriety, which delicacy, and modesty, require, is the office of Temperance.'—*Theory of Mor. Sent.* p. 34, ed. 1853.

[c] *Περὶ ἡδονὰς δὲ καὶ λύπας οὐ πάσας, ἧττον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς λύπας, μεσότης μὲν σωφροσύνη, ὑπερβολὴ δὲ ἀκολασία. Περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δὴ ἡδονὰς ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ*

luptuous, and with the absence of them is nat discontented, and from the presence of them he wyllyngly abstayneth.[a] But in myne oppinion, Plotinus, the wonderfull philosopher, maketh an excellent definition of temperaunce, sayenge, that the propretie or office therof is to couaite nothynge whiche maye be repented, also nat to excede the boundes of medyocritye, and to kepe desyre under the yocke of reason.[b] He that practiseth this vertue is called a temperate man, and he that doeth contrarye there to is named intemperate. Betwene whome and a persone incontynent Aristotelle maketh this diuersytye; that he is intemperate, whyche by his owne election is ladde, supposynge that the pleasure that is presente, or (as I mought saye) in ure shulde all waye be folowed.[c] But the persone incontinent supposeth nat so, and yet he nat withstandinge dothe folowe it. The same autour also maketh a diuersitie betwene hym that is temperate and him that is continent; sayeng, that the continent man is suche one that no thinge will do for bodely pleasure whiche shall stande

ἀκολασία ἐστὶν ὧν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα κοινωνεῖ, ὅθεν ἀνδραποδώδεις καὶ θηριώδεις φαίνονται· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ἁφὴ καὶ γεῦσις.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. ii. cap. 7; lib. iii. cap. 10. (13).

[a] Ὁ δὲ σώφρων (λέγεται) τῷ μὴ λυπεῖθαι τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ ἡδέος. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 11. (13).

[b] This is not the author's own opinion, but is merely copied from Patrizi, who says: 'Academici palæstram doloris fortitudini relinquentes, dicunt temperantiam cerni in prætermittendis voluptatibus. Quâ opinione ductus, Plotinus Platonicus temperantiæ munus esse dixit, nihil appetere pœnitendum, nullâ in re metam moderationis excedere, et sub jugum rationis cupiditatem domare.'—*De Regno et Reg. Instit.* lib. vi. tit. 18. And Patrizi himself has taken the definition at second hand from Macrobius' *Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis*, as is evident on comparing the following passage in the latter: 'Sed Plotinus inter philosophiæ professores cum Platone princeps, libro de virtutibus, gradus earum verâ et naturali divisionis ratione compositos per ordinem digerit . . . Temperantiæ (est) nihil appetere pœnitendum, in nullo legem moderationis excedere, sub jugum rationis cupiditatem domare.'—Lib. i. cap. 8, §§ 5, 7. The so-called definition, it may be observed, is not to be found in Plotinus, but is simply part of an abridgment by Macrobius of the works of that philosopher.

[c] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀκόλαστος ἐπιθυμεῖ τῶν ἡδέων πάντων ἢ τῶν μάλιστα, καὶ ἄγεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὥστε ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταῦθ' αἱρεῖσθαι· διὸ καὶ λυπεῖται καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 11. (14).

agayne reason. The same is he which is temperate, sauynge that the other hathe corrupte desyres, whiche this man lacketh. Also the temperate man deliteth in nothynge contrarye to reason. But he that is continent deliteth, yet will he nat be ladde agayne reason.[a] Finally, to declare it in fewe wordes, we may well calle hym a temperate man that desireth the thynge whiche he aught to desire, and as he aught to desyre, and whanne he aught to desyre.[b] Nat withstandynge there be diuers other vertues whiche do seme to be as it were companyons with temperaunce.[c] Of whome (for the exchuynge of tediousenes) I wyll speke nowe onely of two, moderation and sobrenesse, whiche no man (I suppose) doughteth to be of suche efficacie, that without them no man may attayne unto wisedome, and by them wisedome is sonest espied.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of Moderation a spice of temperance.

MODERATION is the limites and boundes whiche honestie hath appoynted in spekynge and doynge; lyke as in rennynge passynge the gole is accounted but rasshenesse, so rennynge halfe waye is reproued for slownesse.[d] In like wise wordes and

[a] "Ὁ τε γὰρ ἐγκρατὴς οἷος μηδὲν παρὰ τὸν λόγον διὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς ποιεῖν καὶ ὁ σώφρων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔχων ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔχων φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος οἷος μὴ ἥδεσθαι παρὰ τὸν λόγον, ὁ δ' οἷος ἥδεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄγεσθαι.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. vii. cap. 9. (11).

[b] Διὸ δεῖ τοῦ σώφρονος τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν συμφωνεῖν τῷ λόγῳ· σκοπὸς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τὸ καλόν, καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ ὁ σώφρων ὧν δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ καὶ ὅτε· οὕτω δὲ τάττει καὶ ὁ λόγος.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. iii. cap. 12. (15).

[c] These are enumerated by Patrizi as follows: 'Temperantiam comitantur modestia, verecundia, pudor, abstinentia, castitas, honestas, moderatio, parcitas, sobrietas, pudicitia.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 18.

[d] This metaphor, as usual, is borrowed from Patrizi, who says: 'Moderatio actionem metitur, ne fines, quos honestas præscripsit, aut non attingat, aut longius progrediatur. Ut enim in currendi certaminibus, ultra metas currere temeritatis

actes be the paces, wherin the witte of man maketh his course, and moderation is in stede of the gole, whiche if he passe ouer, he is noted either of presumption or of foole hardinesse; if he come short of the purpose, he is contemned as dulle, and unapte to affaires of great importaunce.[a] This vertue shall best be perceiued by rehersinge of examples shewed by noble men, whiche is in effecte but dayly experience.

Fabius Maximus, beinge fyue tymes Consul, perceyuinge his father, his graundefather, and great graundefather, and diuers other his auncetours to haue had often tymes that most honorable dignitie, whan his sonne, by the uniuersall consent of the people, shulde be also made consul, he ernestly intreated the people to spare his sonne, and to gyue to the house of Fabius as hit were a vacation tyme from that honoure, nat for that he hadde anye mystrust in his sonnes vertue and honesty, but that his moderation was suche that he wolde nat that excellent dignitie shulde alway continue in one familie.[b] Scipio Affricanus the elder, whan the senate and people had purposed that accordinge to his merites he shuld haue certaine statues or images set in al courtes and places of assembly, also they wold haue set his image in triumphant apparaile within the capitole, and haue granted to him to haue ben consul and Dictator during his lyfe; he, nat withstandyng, wolde nat suffre that anye of them shulde be decreed, either by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage. Where in

esse videtur, sic vix è carceribus progredi, ignaviæ.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 24.

[a] So Montaigne says: 'L'archer qui oultrepasse le blanc fault, comme celuy qui n'y arrive pas; et les yeulx me troublent à monter à coup vers une grande lumiere, esgalement comme à devaler à l'ombre.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 295.

[b] 'Fabius vero Maximus cum à se quinquies, et à patre, avo, proavo, majoribusque suis sæpenumero consulatum gestum animadverteret, comitiis, quibus filius ejus summo consensu consul creabatur, quàm potuit constanter cum populo egit, "ut vacationem aliquando hujus honoris Fabiæ genti darent:" non quòd filii virtutibus diffideret (erat enim illustris), sed ne maximum imperium in unâ familiâ continuaretur. Quid hâc moderatione valentius, aut efficacius; quæ etiam patrios affectus qui potentissimi habentur, superavit?'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1, § 5.

he shewed hym selfe to be as valiant in refusing of honoures, as he was in the actes where in he had them well deserued.[a] There is also moderation in tolleration of fortune of euerye sorte, whiche of Tulli is called equabilite, whiche is, whan there semeth to be alwaye one visage and countenance neuer changed nor for prosperitie nor for aduersite.[b]

Toleration of fortune goode and badde.

Metellus, called Numidicus, in a common sedicion beyng banisshed from Rome, and abyding in Asia, as he hapned to sit with noble men of that countray in beholding a great play, ther were letters deliuered him, wherby he was assertained that by the hole consent of the senate and people his retourne into his countray was graunted; he (nat withstanding that he was of that tidinges exceding ioifull) remeued nat untyll the playes were ended, nor any man sitting by hym mought perceiue in his countenance any token of gladnes.[c]

The great kynge Antiochus, whiche longe tyme hadde in his dominion all Asia, whiche is accounted to be the thirde part of the worlde,[d] whan at the laste beinge vainquisshed by

[a] 'Non defuit majoribus grata mens ad præmia superiori Africano exsolvenda: siquidem maxima ejus meritâ paribus ornamentis decorare conati sunt. Voluerunt illi statuas in comitio, in rostris, in curiâ, in ipsâ denique Jovis Optimi Maximi cellâ ponere: voluerunt imaginem ejus triumphali ornatu indutam Capitolinis pulvinaribus applicare: voluerunt ei continuum per omnes vitæ annos consulatum, perpetuamque dictaturam tribuere. Quorum nihil sibi, neque plebiscito dari, neque senatusconsulto decerni patiendo, pæne tantum in recusandis honoribus se gessit, quantum gesserat in emerendis.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1, § 6.

[b] 'Præclaraque est æquabilitas in omni vitâ, et idem semper vultus, eademque frons.'—*De Off.* lib i. cap. 26.

[c] 'Numidicus autem Metellus populari factione patriâ pulsus in Asiam secessit. In quâ cum ei fortè ludos Trallibus spectanti literæ redditæ essent, quibus scriptum erat, maximo senatûs et populi consensu reditum illi in Urbem datum, non è theatro prius abiit, quàm spectaculum ederetur; non lætitiam suam proximè sedentibus ullâ ex parte patefecit; sed summum gaudium intra se continuit. Eundem constat pari vultu, et exulem fuisse, et restitutum: adeo moderationis beneficio medius semper inter secundas et adversas res animi firmitate versatus est.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1, § 13.

[d] From this passage it would seem that the author was unaware of the discovery of America. Yet this is almost incredible, even on the assumption that he had no

Lucius Scipio, he had lost the more parte of his empire, and was assigned but to a smal porcion, he used his fortune so moderately that he gaue great thankes to the Romanes, that beinge delyuered of so greatte burdon and charge, he more easely mought gouerne a litle dominion.[a] Alexander, emperour of Rome, so in this vertue excelled, that beinge electe and made emperour at xvi yeres of his age, whan the senate and people for his vertue, wherin he passed al other, wolde haue hym called the great Alexander and father of the countray, whiche of all names was hygheste, he with a wonderfull grauite refused it, sayeng, that it behoued that those names were optayned by merites and ripenesse of yeres.[b] The same

knowledge of the feat accomplished by the great Genoese navigator in 1492, because the Cabots, father and son, had at least not later than 1502, placed England in possession of the fact; and the citizens of London had had ocular proof of the results of their voyages, for Stow tells us that in 'this yeere were brought unto the king three men, taken in the new found ilands by Sebastian Gabato, before named, in anno 1498. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eate raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could understand them, of the which three men, two of them were seene in the king's court at Westminster two yeeres after, clothed like English men, and could not be discerned from English men.'—*Annales*, p. 485, ed. 1615. The probability however is, that the author did not regard the newly discovered territories as a continent. In a letter by Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, to the king, *circa* 1527, he says, 'Of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue discouered all the Indies and seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident they haue compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discouered a great part of the same seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discouered the sayd North parts, the which, it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety.'—Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 213, ed. 1599.

[a] Antiochus autem a L. Scipione ultra Taurum montem imperii finibus summotus, cum Asiam provinciam, vicinasque ei gentes amisisset, gratias agere populo Romano non dissimulanter tulit, "quòd nimis magnâ procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur." Et sane nihil est tam præclarum, aut tam magnificum, quod non moderatione temperari desideret.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1. ext. 9.

[b] 'Recusavit et *Magni* nomen, quod ei quasi Alexandro est oblatum senatûs judicio . . . Post hæc acclamatum est, "Magne Alexander, dii te servent. Si

prince also wolde nat suffre his empresse to use in her apparayle any richer stones than other ladyes; and if any were gyuen her, he either caused them to be solde or els gaue them unto Temples, affirmyng that the example of pompe and inordinate expensis shulde nat procede of the Emperours wyfe.[a] And whan, for the honoure that he dyd to the Senate and lawes, his wife and his mother rebuked him, sayenge that he shulde bring the emperyall maiestie into to lowe an astate, he aunswered that it shulde be the surer and continue the longer.[b]

There is also a Moderation to be used agayne wrathe or appetite of vengeaunce. Hadriane, the emperour, while he was but a priuate person, bare towarde a capitayne greuous displeasure, who afterwarde herynge that he was made emperour, was in great feare lest Hadriane wolde be aduenged. But whan he came to themperours presence, he nothing dyd or said to hym, but only these wordes, Thou haste well escaped.[c] By the whiche wordes he well declared his mode-

Moderation of wrathe.

Antonini nomen repudiasti, Magni prænomen suscipe. Magne Alexander, dii te servent." Et quum sæpius dicerent, Alexander Augustus, ait, "Facilius fuit, Patres Conscripti, ut Antoninorum nomen acciperem : aliquid enim vel affinitati deferrem, vel consortio nominis imperialis. *Magni* vero nomen cur accipitur? quid enim jam magnum feci? quum id Alexander post magna gesta, Pompeius vero post magnos triumphos acceperit. Quiescite igitur, venerandi patres, et vos ipsi magnifici unum me de vobis esse censete potius quàm *Magni* nomen ingerite."'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. pp. 890, 896. Sir Thos. Elyot, however, is wrong in saying that this emperor was offered and refused the title of Pater Patriæ, an honour which had been offered in vain to Hadrian and M. Aurelius Antoninus.

[a] 'Gemmarum quod fuit, vendidit, et aurum in ærarium contulit, dicens gemmas viris usui non esse : matronas autem regias contentas esse debere uno reticulo atque inauribus, et baccato monili, et coronâ cum quâ sacrificium facerent, et unico pallio auro sparso, et cyclade quæ sex unciis auri plus non haberet. Prorsus censuram suis temporibus de propriis moribus gessit. Imitati sunt eum magni viri, et uxorem ejus matronæ pernobiles.'—*Ibid.* p. 978.

[b] 'Denique quum ei objiceret nimiam civilitatem et Mammæa mater, et uxor Memmia Sulpitii consularis viri filia, Catuli neptis, et sæpe dicerent, "Molliorem tibi potestatem et contemptibiliorem imperii fecisti:" ille respondit, "Sed securiorem atque diuturniorem."'—*Ibid.* p. 911.

[c] 'Quos in privatâ vitâ inimicos habuit, imperator tantùm neglexit : ita ut uni quem capitalem habuerat, factus imperator diceret, *Evasisti.*'—*Ibid.* p. 160.

ration, and also that who so euer puttethe on the habite of a common persone or gouernour, it shall nat beseme him to reuenge priuate displesures.

Architas, whan he had bene a longe space out of his countrey and at his retourne founde his possessions and goodes distroyed and wasted, he sayd to his baylife, I wold surely punisshe the if I shuld nat be angry.[a]

Moche lyke dyd Plato, for whan his seruaunt had offended hym greuously, he desired Speusippus, his frende, to punisshe him, leeste (sayde he) if I beate hym, I shulde happe to be angry.[b] Wherin Plato deserued more praise than Architas, in as moche as he obserued his pacience, and yet dyd nat suffre the offence of his seruaunt to be unpunisshed. For most often tymes the omittynge of correction redoubleth a trespace.

Au. Gell.

Semblable moderation and wisedome, Aulus Gellius remembrethe to be in Plutarche, the philosopher, whiche was mayster to Traiane the emperour.[c]

It hapned that the bondeman of Plutarch had committed some greuous offence, wherfore his mayster wylled that he shulde be sharply punisshed. Wherfore commaunding hym to be striped naked, caused an other of his seruauntes in his presence to beate hym. But the slaue who, as it semed, was lerned, while he was in beatynge, cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of reproche sayd unto hym, Howe agreeth this with thy doctrine that preachest so moche of pacience, and in all

[a] 'Tarentinus Archytas, dum se Pythagoræ præceptis Metaponti penitus immergit, magno labore, longoque tempore solidum opus doctrinæ complexus ; postquam in patriam revertitur, ac rura sua revisere cœpit, animadvertit negligentia villici corrupta et perdita : intuensque male meritum : "Sumsissem," inquit "à te supplicium, nisi tibi iratus essem." Maluit enim impunitum dimittere, quàm propter iram gravius justo punire.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1, ext. 1.

[b] 'Nimis liberalis Archytæ moderatio : Platonis temperatior : nam cum adversus delictum servi vehementius exarsisset, veritus ne ipse modum vindictæ dispicere non posset, Speusippo amico castigationis arbitrium mandavit ; deforme sibi futurum existimans, si commisisset, ut parem reprehensionem culpa servi, et animadversio Platonis mereretur.'—Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1, ext. 2.

[c] See Vol. I. p. 53, note.

thy lessons reprouest wrathe, and nowe contrary to thyn owne teachyng, thou arte all inflamed with wrathe, and clene from the pacience which thou so moche praysest? Unto whom Plutarche, without any chaunge of countenaunce aunswered in this fourme, Thou embraydest me causeles with wrath and impacience, but I praye the what perceyuest thou in me that I am angry or out of pacience? I suppose (except I be moche deceiued) thou seest me nat stare with myn eyen, or my mouthe imbosed,[a] or the colour of my face chaunged, or any other deformitie in my persone or gesture, or that my wordes be swyfte, or my voyce louder than modestie requyreth, or that I am unstable in my gesture or motion, whiche be the sygnes and euident tokens of wrathe and impacience. Wherfore, said he to the correctour, sens he can nat proue that I am yet angry, in the meane tyme whyle he and I do dispute of this matter, and untyll he utterly do cese of his presumption and obstinacie, loke that thou styl beate him.[b] Verily, in myn oppinion Plutarch herein declared his excellent wysedome and grauitie, as well in his example of pacience as also in subduynge the stubbourne courage of an obstinate seruaunt. Whiche historie shall be expedient for gouernours to haue in

[a] See *ante*, p. 56, note.

[b] 'Plutarchus, inquit, servo suo, nequam homini et contumaci, sed libris disputationibusque philosophiæ aures imbutas habenti, tunicam detrahi ob nescio quod delictum, cædique eum loro jussit. Cœperat verberari; et obloquebatur non meruisse ut vapulet, nihil mali, nihil sceleris admisisse. Postremo vociferari inter vapulandum incipit: neque jam querimonias aut gemitus ejulatusque facere, sed verba seria et objurgatoria: Non ita esse Plutarchum ut deceret, philosophum irasci turpe esse: sæpe eum de malo iracundiæ edissertavisse: librum quoque περὶ ἀοργησίας pulcherrimum conscripsisse; iis omnibus, quæ in eo libro scripta sunt, nequaquam convenire, quod provolutus effususque in iram plurimis se plagis mulcaret. Tum Plutarchus lentè et leniter, Quid autem, inquit, verbero, nunc ego tibi irasci videor? ex vultune meo, an ex voce, an ex colore, an etiam ex verbis correptum esse me irâ intelligis? Mihi quidem neque oculi opinor truces sunt, neque os turbidum; neque immaniter clamo; neque in spumam ruboremve effervesco: neque pudenda dico aut pœnitenda: neque omnino trepido irâ et gestio. Hæc enim omnia, si ignoras, signa esse irarum solent. Et simul ad eum, qui cædebat, conversus, Interim, inquit, dum ego atque hic disputamus, hoc tu age.'—*Noct. Attic.* lib. i. cap. 26.

remembrance, that whan according to the lawes they do punysshe offendours, they them selfes be nat chaufed[a] or meued with wrath, but (as Tulli sayeth) be lyke to the lawes, whiche be prouokedde to punysshe nat by wrathe or displeasure, but onely by equitie.[b] And immediately the same autour gyueth an other noble precept concerning moderation in punysshement, sayenge, that in correcting, wrath is principally to be forboden, for he that punissheth whyle he is angry, shall neuer kepe that meane whiche is betwene to moche and to lyttell.[c]

Off. i.

[a] For other instances of the use of this word see *ante*, pp. 71, 266, 322. This is simply an adaptation of the French word *chauffer*, which Cotgrave translates 'to heat, warme, chafe;' there was also the old form *eschauffer*; thus Montaigne, who mentions the story referred to in the text, says, 'Platon de mesme, s'estant *eschauffé* contre l'un de ses esclaves, donna à Speusippus charge de le chastier, s'excusant d'y mettre la main luy mesme, sur ce qu'il estoit courroucé.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 182, ed. 1854. Chaucer borrowed this last form in the following passages. 'Ire, after the philosofer, is the fervent blood of man i-quiked in his hert, thurgh which he wolde harm to him that him hatith; for certes the hert of man by *eschawfyng* and moevyng of his blood waxith so trouble, that he is out of alle iuggements of resoun.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 308, ed. 1866; and again, 'This ire is a ful greet plesaunce to the devel, for it is the develes fornays that is *eschaufid* with the fuyr of helle.'—*Ibid.* p. 309. Spenser uses a substantive *chauff* in the *Faerie Queene*.

> 'But, when as her he by no meanes could find,
> After long search and *chauff* he turned backe
> Unto the place where me he left behind.'
> *Poetical Works*, vol. iv. p. 123, Aldine ed.

The word, which is represented by the modern *chafe*, is derived from calfare, a corruption of calefacere.

[b] 'Optandumque, ut ii, qui præsunt reipublicæ, legum similes sint, quæ ad puniendum, non iracundiâ, sed æquitate, ducuntur.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 25.

[c] 'Prohibenda autem maximè est ira in puniendo: nunquam enim, iratus qui accedet ad pœnam, mediocritatem illam tenebit, quæ est inter nimium et parum.' —*Ubi supra.*

CHAPTER XXII.

Of Sobrietie in Diete.

VERELY I nothynge doute but that the more parte of the redars of this warke wyll take in good parte al that is before written, consideringe the benefite, and also the ornament that those vertues of whom I haue spoken, of good reason and congruence, must be to them in whom they shall be planted and do contynue. But I knowe well that this chapitre whiche nowe ensueth shall uneth be thankefully receyued of a fewe redars, ne shall be accounted worthy to be radde of any honourable person, considering that the matter therin contayned is so repugnaunt and aduerse to that perniciouse custome, wherin of longe tyme men hath estemed to be the more part of honour ;[a] in so moche as I very well knowe that some shall accounte great presumption in this myne attemptate in writynge agayne that whiche haue bene so longe used.[b] But for as moche as I haue taken upon me to write of a

[a] A few years later an improvement seems to have taken place in this respect, to which the writings of the author, and the personal influence exerted by him and other men of high station, no doubt contributed in no slight measure. 'Heretofore,' says Harrison, 'there hath beene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest, now these odd repasts, thanked be God, are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomack that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner and supper onelie.'—*Descript. Engl.* p. 170.

[b] The writer quoted in the last note attributes the excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table to the Normans, who degenerated from their primitive simplicity of habits, for 'misliking the gormandise of Canutus, they ordeined after their arriuall that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice ; but in the end, either waxing wearie of their own frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie that in often feeding they surmounted Canutus, surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed.'—*Descript. of Engl.* p. 170.

publike weale, which taketh his begynnynge at the example of them that be gouernours, I wyll nat lette for the disprayse gyuen by them whiche be abused. But with all study and diligence I wyl descriue the auncient temperaunce and moderation in diete, called sobrietie, or, in a more general terme, frugalite,[a] the acte wherof is at this day as infrequent[b] or out of use amonge all sortes of men, as the termes be straunge unto them whiche haue nat bene well instructed in latin.

Frugalite.

The noble emperour Augustus, who in all the residue of his lyfe was for his moderation and temperance excellently commended, suffred no litle reproche, for as moche as he in a secrete souper or banket, hauynge with hym sixe noble men, his frendes, and sixe noble women, and naming hym selfe at that tyme Apollo, and the other men and women the names of other goddes and goddesses, fared sumptuously and delicately, the citie of Rome at that tyme beinge vexed with skarcitie of grayne. He therfore was rente with curses and rebukes of the people, in so moche as he was openly called Apollo the turmentour, sayenge also that he with his goddes had deuoured their corne.[c] With whiche libertie of speche,

[a] This word originally had a much wider application than that which is now usually implied, for according to Cicero, it was used to designate moderation in every respect. 'Omnem enim abstinentiam, omnem innocentiam, reliquas etiam virtutes, frugalitas continet . . . . Ejus enim videtur esse proprium, motus animi appetentis regere et sedare, semperque adversantem libidini, moderatam in omni re servare constantiam . . . Qui sit frugi igitur, vel, si mavis, moderatus et temperans, eum necesse est esse constantem.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iii. cap. 8.

[b] Montaigne, however, writing in the same century, was able to say, 'Il semble que touts les iours nous raccourcissons l'usage de cettuy cy ; et qu'en nos maisons, comme i'ay veu en mon enfance les desieusners, les ressiners (*Anglicè* nips) et les collations feussent plus frequentes et ordinaires qu'à present.' This, however, did not indicate an improvement in manners so much as the greater attraction of other vices, for he goes on to say, 'Ce peult estre que nous nous sommes beaucoup plus iettez à la paillardise que nos pères.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 103, ed. 1854.

[c] 'Cœna quoque ejus secretior in fabulis fuit, quæ vulgo δωδεκάθεος vocabatur : in quâ Deorum Dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas, et ipsum pro Apolline

beinge more persuaded than discontented, fro than forthe he used such a frugalitie or moderation of diete, that he was contented to be serued at one meale with thre dysshes, or sixe at the mooste, whiche also were of a moderate price, and yet therin he used suche sobrenes that either he hym selfe wolde nat sitte untyl they which dyned with him had eaten a good space, or elles if he sate whan they dyd, he wolde aryse a great space or any of them had lefte eatynge.[a] And for what purpose suppose ye dyd this emperour in this wyse, in whom was neuer spotte of auarice or vyle courage. Certes for two causes, fyrst knowing the inconueniences that alway do happen by ingurgitations[b] and excessife fedinges. Also

ornatum, non Antonii modò epistolæ, singulorum nomina amarissimè enumerantis, exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus :

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque Deas ;
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova Divorum cœnat adulteria ;
Omnia se à terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse toros.

Auxit cœnæ rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, acclamatumque est postridie, "Omne frumentum Deos comedisse ;" et "Cæsarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem:" quo cognomine is Deus quâdam in parte Urbis colebatur.'—Sueton. *Octavius*, 70.

[a] 'Convivia nonnunquam et serius inibat, et maturius relinquebat; cum convivæ et cœnare inciperent, priusquam ille discumberet, et permanerent, digresso eo Cœnam ternis ferculis, aut, cum abundantissimè, senis præbebat, ut non nimio sumtu, ita summâ comitate.'—Sueton. *Octavius*, 74.

[b] We have already seen an instance of the use of this word by the author in Vol. I. p. 97. The Latin verb *ingurgitare* is strictly assical, although there does not appear to be any instance of the use of the substantive *ingurgitatio* by the best writers. Cicero says, 'Nolim enim mihi fingere asotos, ut soletis, qui in mensam vomant, et qui de conviviis auferantur, crudique postridie se rursus ingurgitent.'—*De Fin.* lib. ii. cap. 8 ; and Aulus Gellius, 'Tanquam Plato in libris, quos de legibus composuit, laudes ebrietatis copiosissimè scripsisset, utilemque esse eam bonis ac fortibus viris censuisset; ac simul inter ejusmodi orationem crebris et ingentibus poculis omne ingenium ingurgitabat.'—*Noct. Att.* lib. xv. cap. 2. Bacon uses the word in his *Advancement of Learning* : 'It is written of Epicurus that after his disease was judged desperate, he drowned his stomach and senses with a large draught and *ingurgitation* of wine.'—*Works*, vol ii. p. 165, ed. 1825.

that lyke as to hym was commytted the soueraigne gouernance of al the worlde, so wolde he be to all men the generall example of lyuinge. Nowe what damages do happen amonge menne by immoderate eatinge and drynkynge we be euery day taught by experience;[a] but to brynge them (as it were) to mennes eyen, I wyll set them out euidently.

Firste, of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred paynfull diseases[b] and sickenesses, as squynces,[c] *Distillations* called

[a] In another work the author makes the same remark. 'What abuse,' he says, 'is here in this realme in the continual gourmandise and dayly feedyng on sondry meates at one meale, the spiryte of gluttony tryumphyng among us in his gloryous chariot, called welfare, dryuyng us afore hym as his prysoners into his dungeon of surfet, where we are tormented wyth catarres, feuers, goutes, pleuresies, and many other sicknesses.'—*Castel of Health*, fo. 45, ed. 1561. Cotgrave quotes the old French proverb, the force of which was no doubt fully realised in the sixteenth century. 'Gourmandise tue plus de gens qu' espée en guerre trenchant.' Stubbes, whose language, as we have already seen, was anything but refined, paints in the most repulsive colours the victims of this national failing. 'Doe we not see by experience that they that giue themselues to dainty fare and sweet meates are neuer in health? Doth not their sight waxe dimme, their eares hard of hearing, their teeth rotte and fall out? Doeth not their breath stinke, their stomackes belch foorth filthy humours, and their memory decay? Do not their spirites and sences become heauie and dull by reason of the filthy vapours and stinking fumes which rise from their gingered breasts and spiced stomakes, and fuming up to the head, mortifie the vitall spirites and intellectiue powers, in so much that the whole body becommeth pursie and corpulent, yea, sometimes decrepite withall, and full of all filthy corruption?'—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 72, ed. 1595.

[b] 'Itaque etiam vere tales naturæ maximè iis morbis patent qui ex plenitudine oriuntur, quales sunt synanchæ, cynanchæ, destillationes, quos catarrhos vocant, hæmorrhoides, sanguinis profluvia, articulares morbi, opthalmiæ, peripneumoniæ, laterum compunctiones, reliqui denique omnes quorum genus est phlegmone.'—Galen, *De San. Tuend.* lib. v. fo. 79, ed. 1538.

[c] This word, sometimes spelt squinzy (mod. quinsy), is an abbreviated form of squinancy, from the French *squinance*. In the author's own *Dictionary* we find the word synanche (the Latinised form of συνάγχη) translated, 'a syckenesse in the throte called the squynce.' But in his *Castel of Health* (see fo. 74, ed. 1561), he himself spells it 'quinces,' whence the transition to the modern form is of course easily made. Jeremy Taylor in the next century says, 'Without revelation we cannot tell whether we shal eat tomorrow, or whether a *squinzy* shall choak us.'—*Holy Dying*, p. 15, ed. 1651. And in his *Sermons* he says, 'Some men will never be cured without a canker or a *squinsie*.'—P. 299, ed. 1653. Bacon, speaking of the herb called Jew's ear (Peziza auricula), says, 'It is used

rewmes or poses,[a] hemorroydes, great bledynges, crampes, duskenesse of sight, the tisike,[b] and the stiche,[c] with many other that come nat nowe to my remembraunce. Of to moche drynkinge procedeth dropsies, wherwith the body, and often tymes the visage is swollen and defaced, bestly fury, wherwith the myndes be perisshed, and of all

Galenus de sa. tuend. lib. v.

for *squinancies* and inflammations in the throat, whereby it seemeth to have a mollifying and lenifying virtue.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 258, ed. 1826. In a sermon preached by John King, Bp. of London, 11 April, 1619, on the recovery of James I., he says, 'Euery apoplexie in the head, canker in the mouth, *squinanci* in the throate, may be a meanes to death.'—P. 21.

[a] In his *Castel of Health* the author says, 'By these distillacions or reumes hapneth manye other greuous dyseases, besydes those wherof I haue spoken, as in the head, whirlynges, called in latine 'vertigines,' sodeyne soundynges, fallyng sickenesse, *poses*.'—Fo. 74, ed. 1561. Cotgrave translates the French word *rheume*: 'A rheume, catarrhe, *pose*, murre;' and the author in his *Dictionary*, translates distillatio, 'a distillyng specyally from the heed, callid a reume or catarr, the *pose*.' The word is used by Chaucer in the *Reeve's Tale*,

'He yoxeth, and he speketh thurgh the nose,
As he were on the quakke or on the *pose*.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 129.

and also in the *Prologe of the Maunciple*:

He spekith in his nose,
And snesith fast, and eek he hath the *pose*.

Ibid. vol. iii. p. 251, ed. 1866.

[b] This is the author's equivalent for the word which Linacre translated peripneumonia. Cotgrave gives for the French *phtise*, 'The *Tysicke*, an incurable ulceration of the lungs, accompanied with a consumption of the whole bodie.' It is derived from the Greek φθίσις. In the author's own *Dictionary*, phthisis is rendered, 'A consumption of the body by a distillation from the heed into the lunges, whereby the lunges are exulcerate.' And in his *Castel of Health* he enumerates various 'sicknesses of age,' amongst which he includes '*tysicknes* or shortnes of breath,' fo. 81, ed. 1561. The Spanish equivalent is *tisica*; Italian, *tisico*.

[c] Thus the author renders Linacre's phrase 'laterum compunctiones.' Cotgrave gives as one of the meanings of the French word *poinct*, 'a stich in the side.' Dr. Holland, whose translation of Pliny was published at the commencement of the next century, renders lib. xxi. cap. 77, 'Laterum punctiones tollit et vesicæ calculos;' 'It taketh away the stitches in the side, cureth the pleurisie, and skoureth the stone.'—Vol. ii. p. 104, ed. 1635. Among the 'sycknesses of wynter mentioned in the author's *Castel of Health*, we find 'stitches and griefes in the sides.'—Fo. 80, b, ed. 1561.

other moste odious, swyne dronkynnesse, wherewith bothe the body and soule is deformed, and the figure of man is as it were by inchauntement transfourmed in to an ugly and lothesome ymage. Wherfore the Lacedemones somtyme purposely caused their rusticall seruauntes to be made very dronke, and so to be brought in at their commune dyners, to the intent that yonge men beholdynge the deformitie and hastye fury of them that were dronkardes, shulde lyue the more sobrely, and shulde eschue dronkynnesse as a thynge foule and abhominable.[a] Also Pittacus, (one of the seuen sages of Greece) dyd constitute for a lawe that they whiche beynge dronke dyd offende, shulde sustaine double punisshement, that men shuld the more dilygently forbere to be dronke.[b]

What profyte is in sobryetye, and what discommoditie happneth by the contrary.

It is right euident to euery wise man, who at any tyme hathe haunted affayres wherunto was required contemplation or seriouse study, that to a man hauing due concoction[c] and digestion as is expedient, shall in the mornynge, fastynge, or with a litle refection, nat onely haue his inuencion quicker, his iugement perfecter, his tonge rediar, but also his reason fressher,

[a] In this and the following passage the author has merely given us a translation of Patrizi, who says, 'Proinde ut ebrietatis turpitudinem fugiendam esse ostenderent, Lacedæmonii rusticos servos multo mero ingurgitatos in juvenum convivia inducebant, ut cernentes adolescentes temulentorum insaniam, deformitatem, præcipitemque furorem, sobriè honestèque viverent, et ebrietatem tanquam rem turpem atque abhorrendam fugerent.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 26.

[b] 'Pittacus Mittylenæus, qui unus è septem Græciæ sapientibus fuit, ebrios quum peccarent, duplici pœnâ afficiendos esse per legem statuit, ut diligentius homines temulentiam vitarent.'—Patrizi, *ubi supra.* And the Italian writer had no doubt the following passage from Plutarch in his mind when he wrote the above. Τὸν οὖν Μνησίφιλον προσαγορεύσας ὁ Πιττακὸς ἠρώτησε, Τί οὐ πίνει ὁ Σόλων, ἀλλὰ καταμαρτυρεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων, ἐν οἷς γέγραφε·

Ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου,
Καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

Ὑποφθάσας δὲ Ἀνάχαρσις, Σὲ γάρ, ὦ Πιττακὲ, καὶ τὸν σὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν χαλεπὸν φοβεῖται νόμον, ἐν ᾧ γέγραφας, Ἐάν τις ὁτιοῦν μεθύων ἁμάρτῃ, διπλασίαν ἢ τῷ νήφοντι τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι.—Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* 13.

[c] These words are used by the author in juxtaposition in his *Castel of Health*,

his eare more attentife, his remembraunce more sure, and generally all his powars and wittes more effectuall and in better astate, than after that he hath eaten abundauntly.[a] Which I suppose is the cause why the auncient courtes of recorde in this realme haue euer benne used to be kept onely before none.[b] And surely the consideration is wonderfull

where he says, 'The meates and drynks receiued into the body, yf the stomacke and lyuer doe theyr naturall office, be altered by *concoction and digestion*.'—Lib. iii. cap. 2, fo. 54, b. ed. 1561. The Latin word, of which that in the text is a mere adaptation, is constantly used by Pliny, but not by the best classical writers. The following passage may be taken as an example of its use by the former. 'Arbutus sive unedo fructum fert difficilem *concoctioni*, et stomacho inutilem.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxiii. cap. 79. Linacre, in his translation of Galen's work, *De Sanitate tuendâ*, employs this word in the sense in which it is here used. In Cotgrave's Dictionary the French word *concoction* is translated 'concoction; good digestion; a boyling or seething (of meat in the stomack).' Bacon, in his *Natural History*, explains the meaning of the term as used in the text. 'The word *concoction*, or digestion, is chiefly taken into use from living creatures and their organs; and from thence extended to liquors and fruits, &c. Therefore they speak of meat concocted; urine and excrements concocted; and the four digestions, in the stomach, in the liver, in the arteries and nerves, and in the several parts of the body, are likewise called *concoctions*: and they are all made to be the works of heat.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 447, ed. 1826.

[a] Sir Matthew Hale indeed seems to have recognised the wisdom of this advice, for one of the rules which he laid down for his own guidance declares that it is necessary 'to be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.'—Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i. p. 548, but in the eighteenth century different habits prevailed, and 'until Robert Henley held the seals, Chancellors continued to hold after-dinner sittings in the Court of Chancery on certain days of the week throughout the term.'—Jeaffreson's *Book about Lawyers*, vol. ii. p. 232, ed. 1867.

[b] With regard to the sittings of the Court of Star Chamber, we possess independent evidence to confirm the author, for Sir Thomas Smyth tells us: 'In the Terme time, euery weeke, once at the least (which is commonly on Fridaies and Wednesdaies, and the next day after that the Terme doth ende) the Lorde Chauncellor and the Lordes and other of the priuie Counsell, so many as will, and other Lordes and Barons which be not of the priuie Counsell, and be in the towne, and the Judges of England, specially the two chiefe Judges *from ix of the clocke till it le xi*, doe sit in a place which is called the Starre Chamber.'—*De Rep. Angl.* p. 94, ed. 1584. And the Lord Chancellor's Court was equally early, for Cavendish tells us that Wolsey's habit was to come out of his privy chamber 'about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red . . . and thus passed he forthe untill he came to Westminster Hall doore. And there he alighted, and went after this

excellent, and to be (as I mought saye) supersticiously obserued; the reasons why be so apparaunt that they nede nat here to be rehersed.

Pythagoras was neuer sene to eate any fysshe or flesshe, but only herbes and frutes.[a] Semblably dyd many other who exactely folowed his doctrine.[b] Wherfore it was supposed that they the rather excelled all other in findynge out the secretes and hydde knowleges of nature, whiche to other were impenetrable.[c]

manner up into the chauncery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he would goe into the chauncery, and staye a while at a barre made for him beneathe the chauncery, on the right hand, and there commune sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons. And that done he would repair into the chauncery, *sitting there till an eleven of the clocke*, hearing of suites and determining of other matters.'—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. pp. 490, 492. It was probably for the reasons mentioned by Sir Thomas Elyot that the House of Commons held only morning sittings in the sixteenth century, for we read that, 'Ordinarily, except it be for urgent causes and hasting of time, at the afternoone, they keepe no parliament.'—*De Rep. Angl.* p. 40.

[a] 'Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
Tanquam homine, et ventri indulsit non omne legumen.'
Juv. *Sat.* xv. 173.

Bishop Thirlwall says, 'Some authors represent him as forbidding all animal food, others all kind of fish, others beans; whereas Aristoxenus, a writer of great credit, asserted that he preferred beans to all other vegetables. It seems probable that he only interdicted certain parts of animals, and certain kinds of fish, and perhaps of pulse.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 168, note. The fact that he believed in the metempsychosis sufficiently explains, without seeking further, his invincible repugnance to animal food. He did not, however, as Empedocles did, extend the same intercommunion to plants.

[b] Mr. Grote has shown us that 'the abstinence from animal food was an Orphic precept as well as a Pythagorean.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 340, note.

[c] The author in this passage evidently implies that the learning which was developed by the Pythagorean order was the result of their peculiar diet, but Mr. Grote has pointed out that 'the members of the order cannot have been all subjected to the same diet, or training, or studies; for Milo the Krotoniate was among them, the strongest man and the unparalleled wrestler of his age, who cannot possibly have dispensed with animal food and ample diet (even setting aside the tales about his voracious appetite), and is not likely to have bent his attention on speculative study. Probably Pythagoras did not enforce the same bodily or mental discipline on all, or at least knew when to grant dispensations. The order, as it first stood under him, consisted of men different both in tempera-

Plato (or rather Socrates, Plato indictynge,) in his seconde boke of the publyke weale, wylleth that the people of his citye, whiche he wolde constitute, shulde be norysshed with barly brede and cakes of whete, and that the residue of their diete shulde be salte, olyues, chese, and likes, and more ouer wortes that the feldes do brynge furthe, for their potage. But he addeth to, as it were to make the dyner more delicate, figges, benes, myrtill beryes, and beeche mast, whiche they shulde roste on the coles, and drynke to it water moderately. So (sayeth he) they lyuinge restfully and in helthe unto extreme age, shall leaue the same maner of lyuinge unto their successours. I knowe well some redars, for this diete appointed by Socrates, will skorne him, accountynge hym for a foole, who nat onely by the answere of Apollo, but also by the consent of all excellent writars that folowed hym, and the uniuersall renoume of all people, was approued to be the wisest man of all Grecia. Certes I haue knowen men of worshippe in this realme, whiche durynge their yongth haue dronken for the more parte water. [Of whome some yet lyueth [b]

ment and aptitude, but bound together by common religious observances and hopes, common reverence for the master, and mutual attachment as well as pride in each other's success. It must thus be distinguished from the Pythagoreans of the fourth century, B.C., who had no communion with wrestlers, and comprised only ascetic, studious men, generally recluse, though in some cases rising to political distinction.'—*Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 340. In another place Sir T. Elyot attributes their intellectual excellence to the fact that they drank only water. 'The true folowers of Pythagoras doctryne dranke onely water, and yet lyued longe, as Appolonius and other, and in the serchynge out of secrete and mysticall thinges theyr wyttes excelled.'—*Castel of Health*, fo. 33, b. ed. 1561.

[a] Καὶ ὁ Γλαύκων ὑπολαβών, Ἄνευ ὄψου, ἔφη, ὡς ἔοικας, ποιεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑστιωμένους. Ἀληθῆ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις· ἐπελαθόμην, ὅτι καὶ ὄψον ἕξουσιν, ἅλας τε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐλάας καὶ τυρὸν, καὶ βολβοὺς καὶ λάχανα, οἷα δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἑψήματα, ἑψήσονται. Καὶ τραγήματά που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κνάμων, καὶ μύρτα καὶ φηγοὺς σποδιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, μετρίως ὑποπίνοντες· καὶ οὕτω διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγιείας, ἃς εἰκὸς, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσουσιν.—Plato *de Rep.* lib. ii. cap. 13.

[b] The allusion here intended is undoubtedly to Sir Thomas More, who at this time was in his fifty-first year, and of whom we are told by another contemporary writer that, 'When he was a young man he used and delighted in drinking of

in great auctorytie, whose excellencie as well in sharpnesse of wytte as in exquisite lernynge, is all redy knowen throughe all Christendome.[a]]

But here men shall nat note me that I wryte this as who sayeth that noble men in this realme shulde lyue after Socrates diete, wherin hauinge respecte to this tyme and region, they mought perchaunce fynde occasion to reproue me. Surely lyke as the excesse of fare is to be iustly reproued, so in a noble man moche pinchynge and nygardshyppe of meate and drinke is to be discommended.[b]

I can nat commende Aelius Pertinax, who beinge emperour of Rome, wolde haue his gestes serued with a plante of lettuse deuyded in two partes, and except some thynge were sent hym, he wolde appoynte nyne pounde weyght of flesshe unto thre messes, and if any dysshe hapned to be brought to hym, he caused it to be sette up untyll the next daye.[c] I am a shamed to remembre that he wolde sende to his frendes two morselles of meate, a pece of a podynge, or the carkaisse of a

water ; his common drinke was verie small ale, and as for wine, he did but sipp of it, and that onlie for companies sake or for pledging his friends.' In his other work, entitled the *Castel of Health*, the author repeats the observation in the text. He says, 'We have sene men and women of great age, and stronge of body, whyche neuer, or very seldome, dranke other drynke than pure water.' —Fo. 33, b. ed. 1561.

[a] The passage within brackets has been omitted in all the subsequent editions, and was probably suppressed in consequence of the disgrace and execution of Sir Thomas More.

[b] Stubbes declares that whilst 'Some be ouer largeous and profluous herein, (*i.e.* in hospitality) so other some are spare ynough ; for when any meate is stirring, then locke they up their gates that no man may come in. Another sort haue so many houses that they visite them not once in seuen yeares ; many chimneyes, but litle smoke, faire houses, but small hospitality.'—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 71, ed. 1595.

[c] 'Et quum verbis esset affabilis, re erat illiberalis ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas et carduos in privatâ vitâ convivis apponeret : et nisi quod missum esset eduliam, quotquot essent amici, novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. Si autem plus aliquid missum esset etiam in alium diem differebat, quum semper ad convivium multos vocaret. Amicis si quando de prandio suo mittere voluit misit offulas binas, aut omasi partem, aliquando lumbos gallinaceos.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i p. 564.

capon. This was but miserye and wretched nygardeshippe in a man of suche honour.

In lyke maner who will nat haue in extreme detestation the insatiable gloteny of Vitellius,[a] Fabius Gurges,[b] Apicius,[c] and dyuers other, to whiche carmorantes,[d] neither lande, water, ne ayre, mought be sufficient.

Neither the curiositie and wanton appetite of Heliogabalus, emperour of Rome, is of any wise man alowed. Who beinge at Rome, or ferre from the see, wolde eate onely see fysshe, and whan he soiourned nighe to the see, he wolde touche no

[a] Aulus Vitellius, 'the beastly Vitellius,' according to Gibbon, 'consumed in mere eating at least six millions of our money in about seven months,' and the historian adds, 'it is not easy to express his vices with dignity or even decency.'—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vol. i. p. 217, note.

[b] Q. Fabius Maximus, who was consul in B.C. 292, acquired the agnomen of Gurges, or the glutton, from his youthful extravagance; 'à devorato patrimonio cognominatus,' says Macrobius, *Sat.* lib. iii. cap. 13. Juvenal is said to allude to him in the following passage:

> 'Ære paterno,
> Ac rebus mersis in ventrem, fœneris atque
> Argenti gravis, et pecorum, agrorumque capacem?'
>
> *Sat.* xi. 39–41.

[c] M. Gabius Apicius, whom Pliny calls 'nepotum omnium altissimus gurges,' *Nat. Hist.* lib. x. cap. 68, lived in the reign of Tiberius, and may be considered the very prince of epicures, for his inventive powers in culinary matters were such that he may fairly be said to have erected gastronomy into a science, 'la science de gueule,' as it is called by a celebrated writer of that nation which has always furnished its most famous professors.

[d] This word appears to be simply the French word Anglicised. Cotgrave gives another form, Corman. There is no doubt that it is a contraction of the two words corbeau and marin, the French equivalents for the Latin *corvus marinus*. Sherwood, in his *Eng. French Dict.* has the word in the same metaphorical sense as our author, 'A cormorant, or devouring glutton,' which he translates by the French *galaffre*, *glouton*. And also Stubbes in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 'Now adayes, if the table be not pestered, from the one end to the other, as thicke as one dish can stand by another, with delicate meat of sondry sortes, one cleane different from another, and to euery dish a seuerall sawce appropriate in his kind, it is thought there unworthy the name of a dinner: yea, so many dishes shal you haue there on the table at once, as the unsatiablest Helluo, the devouringst glutton, or the greediest *Cormorant* that euer was, can scarce eate of euery one a little.' P. 69, ed. 1595.

fysshe but whiche was taken out of the ryuer of Tybre or other places of equall or of more distaunce.[a] Also he wolde haue disshes of meate made of Camelles heeles, the combes of cockes newly cutte, the tunges of pecockes and nyghtyngales, partriches egges,[b] and other thinges harde for to come by, wherto be no englysshe names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true signification.[c]

More ouer all thoughe I dispraysed nygarshippe and vicious scarcitie, in these nombre of disshes whiche I haue commended, yet I desyre nat to haue therin meates for any occasion to moche sumptuous. For in one or two disshes may be employed as moche money as in twentie, perchaunce as good or better in eatynge.[d] Wherof there re-

[a] 'Ad mare piscem nunquam comedit : in longissimis à mari locis omnia marina semper exhibuit : murænarum lactibus et luporum in locis mediterraneis rusticos pavit. Pisces semper quasi in marinâ aquâ cum colore suo coctos conditura veneta comedit.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom i. p. 855, ed. 1671.

[b] 'Comedit sæpius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum, et cristas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum: quod qui ederet, ab epilepsiâ tutus diceretur. Exhibuit et Palatinis ingentes dapes extis mullorum refertas, et cerebellis phœnicopterum et perdicum ovis, et cerebellis turdorum, et capitibus psittacorum et fasianorum et pavonum.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 835.

[c] The author, however, must have been accustomed to see delicacies quite as *récherché* as those mentioned in the text, served up in England. For Harrison, speaking of the gentry, says, 'It is a world to see what great prouision is made of all maner of delicat meats from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land ; they will seldome regard anie thing that the butcher usuallie killeth, but reiect the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also gelisses of all colours, mixed with a varietie in the representation of sundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beasts, fish, foules, and fruits, and thereunto marchpaine, wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diuerse hewes and sundrie denominations, conserues of old fruits, forren and home-bred, suckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, sugerbread, gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish confections, altogither seasoned with suger (which Plinie calleth *mel ex arundinibus*, a deuise not common nor greatlie used in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India, and Sicilia) do generallie beare the swaie, besides infinit deuises of our owne not possible for me to remember.'—*Descript. Engl.* p. 167.

[d] Stubbes, at a later period of the same century, says, 'You shall haue twenty, fourty, sixtie, yea, a hundred pound spent in some one house in banquetting and

mayneth a noble example of Cleopatra, doughter of Ptolomee, late kinge of Egypt (whome Cesar in his lyfe helde for his Concubine) the same lady Antoni (with whome Octauiane deuided the empire) loued also peramours,[a] abandonynge his wyfe, which was suster to Octauian. And the warres betwene him and Octauian ceasinge by a litle space, he (durynge that tyme) lyued in moste prodigall riotte, and thinkyng all thinge in the see, the lande, and the ayre to be made for satisfienge his gloteny, he deuoured all flesshe and fysshe that mought be anywhere founden. Cleopatra disdayninge to be vainquisshed in any excesse by a Romane, layde a wager with Antony that she her selfe wolde receyue in to her body at one souper the value of fyftie thousande poundes, whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put in to the handes of Numatius Plancus, a noble

feasting . . . Yea, it is counted but a small matter for a man that can scarsly dispende fourty poundes by the yeare, to bestowe against one time, tenne or twenty poundes thereof in spices.'—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 71, ed. 1595.

[a] This is, as Tyrwhitt says, 'A genuine old expression.' He does not, however, notice this passage. We can easily trace its origin from the French pleonasm, *aimer par amour*. Thus Froissart, in his *Chronicle*, says, 'Il (Eustace d'Aubecthi-court) *aima* adonc *par amours*, et depuis espousa, madame Ysabel de Juliers, fille jadis au comte de Juliers,' tom i. p. 203, ed. 1574, which Lord Berners translates, 'He was as than a lusty louer *paramours*, and after he maryed the lady Isabell of Jullyers, somtyme doughter to therle of Jullyers.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 233, ed. 1812. The meaning implied was not necessarily dishonourable, and in an analogous passage, 'Comment le Roy d'Angleterre fut enamouré de la Comtesse de Salebery,' (*Ibid.* p. 85) we find Lord Berners in his translation employing a similarly hybrid expression: 'Howe the kyng of England was *in amours with* the Countesse of Salisbury.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 98. Chaucer adopts the phrase in *The Knight's Tale*:

> 'For *par amour* I loved her first, then thou,'

and again,

> 'I knowe wel, that every lusty knight
> That loveth *paramours*, and hath his might,
> Were it in Engelond, or elleswhere,
> They wold, here thankes, wilne to be there.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 65.

In Palsgrave we find, 'Paramour, a man—*acoincte*; paramour, a woman—*dame peramour*.'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 251, ed. 1852.

Romane. The next day Cleopatra prepared for Antony a ryght sumptuous souper, but wherat Antony nothing meruailed, knowinge the value therof by his accustomed fare, than the quene smylyng called for a goblet, wher into she dyd poure a quantitie of very tarte vinegre, and takynge a perle which hynge at one of her eares, she quickely dyd let it fall in to the vinegre, wherein beynge shortely dissolued (as it is the nature of the perle) she immediately dranke it, and all thoughe she had vainquisshed Antony accordynge to her wager, the perle without any dought beinge of the value of L. M. li., yet hadde she lykewyse dronken an other perle of lyke value, whiche was hangynge at her other eare, had nat Numatius Plancus, as an indifferent iudge, furthewith gyuen iugement that Antony was all redy vainquisshed.[a]

Macrobius Satu. li. Plini li. ix. ca. xxxv.

I haue rehersed this historie wrytten by Macrobius and also Plini, to the intent that the vanitie in sumptuous festinge shulde be the better expressed.

Plinius li. xiv. natural hist. cap. v.

Androcides (a man of excellent wisedome) wrate unto the great kynge Alexander an epistell, desyrynge hym to refrayne his intemperance, wherin he sayd, Noble prince, whan thou wylte drynke wyne, remember thanne that thou drynkest the bloode of

[a] 'Nam cum Antonius quicquid mari aut terrâ aut etiam cælo gigneretur ad satiandam ingluviem suam natum existimans faucibus ac dentibus suis subderet, eâque re captus de Romano imperio facere vellet Ægyptium regnum, Cleopatra uxor, quæ vinci à Romanis nec luxuriâ dignaretur, sponsione provocavit insumere se posse in unam cœnam sestertium centies. Id mirum Antonio visum, nec moratus sponsione contendit, dignus sculnâ Munatio Planco qui tam honesti certaminis arbiter electus est. Alterâ die Cleopatra pertemptans Antonium pollucibilem sanè cœnam paravit, sed quam non miraretur Antonius, quippe qui omnia quæ adponebantur ex quotidianis opibus agnosceret. Tunc regina adridens fialam poposcit, cui aceti nonnihil acris infudit, atque illuc unionem demptum ex aure alterâ festinabunda demisit, eumque maturè dissolutum, uti natura est ejus lapidis, absorbuit: et quamvis eo facto sponsione vicisset, quippe cum ipsa margarita centies sestertium sine contentione evaluisset, manum tamen et ad alterius unionem auris similiter admovit, nisi Munatius Plancus, judex severissimus, superatum Antonium maturè pronuntiasset.'—Macrob. *Sat.* lib. iii. cap. 17. This story is also, as Sir Thos. Elyot reminds us, narrated by Pliny in the ninth book of his *Natural History*.

the erthe. Sygnifyenge therby (as I suppose) the myght and powar of wyne, and also warnynge Alexander of the thirste or appetyte of bloode whyche wolde ensue by his intemperate drynkynge. For Plini (that writeth this historie) sayth immediately, that if Alexander hadde obeyed the preceptes of Androcides, he hadde neuer slayne his frendes in his dronkennes.[a] For undoughtedly it maye be sayde with good right that there is nothing to the strength of mans body more profitable than wyne, ne to voluptuouse appetites more pernicious, if measure lacketh. Also it is very truely and properly written of Propertius the poete, in this sentence folowyng or like:

> By wyne beaultie fadeth, and age is defaced,
> Wyne maketh forgoten that late was embraced.[b]

Moreouer Salomon, in his boke named Ecclesiastes, calleth that countraye happy whereof the gouernours do eate in theyr tyme.[c] And what shall we suppose is there tyme but onely that which nature and the uniuersall consente of all people hathe ordayned? And of what space is that tyme? But only that which suffiseth to the abundaunt sustentation and nat oppression of nature, ne letteth any parte of their necessary affaires about the publike weale.

[This[d] me semeth may be one exposition of Salomons sentence. And here will I nowe make an ende to wryte any more at this tyme of moderate diete, which I haue nat done

[a] 'Nec alienum fuerit commemorare hoc in loco, quod Androcydes sapientiâ clarus ad Alexandrum Magnum scripsit, intemperantiam ejus cohibens: "Vinum poturus rex, memento te bibere sanguinem terræ: cicuta hominum venenum est, cicutæ vinum." Quibus præceptis si ille obtemperavisset, profecto amicos in temulentiâ non interemisset. Prorsus ut jure dici possit, neque viribus corporis utilius aliud, neque aliud voluptatibus perniciosius, si modus absit.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xiv. cap. 7.

[b] 'Vino forma perit; vino corrumpitur ætas;
Vino sæpe suum nescit amica virum.'
Prop. lib. ii. el. 33.

[c] See Eccles. x. 17.

[d] The passage within brackets has been omitted in all the subsequent editions.

of any presumption, but all onely to exhorte gentyll men to preserue and augment their wittes by this exhortation to temperaunce,[a] or suche lyke by them selfes or some other better deuysed.]

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of Sapience, and the definition therof.

ALL be it that some men whiche haue hiderto radde this boke will suppose that those vertues whereof I haue treated be sufficient to make a gouernour vertuous and excellent, nethelas for as moche as the effecte of myne enterprise in this warke is to expresse, as farre furthe as god shall instructe my poore witte, what thinges do belonge to the makinge of a perfeyte publike weale, whiche well nigh may no more be without an excellent gouernour thanne the uniuersall course of nature may stande or be permanent without one chiefe disposer and meuer, which is ouer all supereminent in powar, understanding, and goodnes.[b] Wherfore because in gouernaunce be included disposition and ordre, whiche can nat be without soueraigne knowlege, procedynge of wisedome, in a more elegant worde called Sapience,[c] therfore I will nowe declare as moch as my litle witte doth comprehende of that parte of Sapience that of necessitie must be in euery gouernour of a iuste or perfeyte publike weale.

[a] That such 'exhortation' was not altogether unnecessary, the author shows us pretty conclusively in another place; for in speaking of the sumptuary laws, which were mainly designed to check 'the vayne and sumptuous expenses of the meane people,' he proceeds with a touch of dry humour to inform us that 'the nobylitee was exempted, and had libertee to abyde styl in the dungeon, if they would, and to lyue lesse whyle than other men.'—*Castel of Health*, fo. 45, ed. 1561.

[b] Compare with this the author's remarks in Vol. I. p. 12.

[c] So Patrizi says: 'Civilis ergo scientia, quam sapientiam possumus appellare.' —*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. vi. tit. 6.

The noble philosopher and moste excellent oratour, *Tullius Cicero*, in the iv boke of his Tusculane questions saieth in this wise, Sapience is the science of things diuine and humaine, which considereth the cause of euery thing, by reason wherof that which is diuine she foloweth, that whiche is humane she estemith ferre under the goodnes of vertue.[a] This definition agreeth wel with the gifte of sapience that god gaue to Salomon, king of Israell, who asked onely wisedome to gouerne therwith his realme.[b] But god, which is the fountayne of sapience, graciously ponderinge the yonge princes petition which proceded of an apt inclination to vertue, with his owne moste bounteous liberalitie, whiche he purposed to employe on him for the entiere loue that he had to his father; he therfore infuded[c] in him plentie of all wisedome and connynge in thinges as well naturall as supernaturall, as it appereth by the warkes of the same kynge Salomon, wherin be well nyghe as many wysedomes as there be sentences. And in myne oppinion one thynge is specially to be noted. Kynge Dauid, father to Salomon, was a man of a *Ci. tusc. q. li. iv.*

[a] 'Sapientiam esse rerum divinarum et humanarum, scientiam, cognitionemque, quæ cujusque rei causa sit: ex quo efficitur, ut divina imitetur, humana omnia inferiora virtute ducat.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. cap. 26.

[b] See 2 Chron. i. 10.

[c] *I.e.* infused, from the perfect tense of *infundo*. The author has simply adopted the Latin form. This word appears to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, for though Mr. Halliwell, in his *Dict. of Archaic, etc., Words*, quotes Palsgrave as an authority for this word, he gives no exact reference, and the Editor has been unable to verify the assertion. The word, however, certainly does not appear in its proper place in the alphabetical list of verbs given in *L'Esclaircissement de la Langue Française*. Another form of the same word is used by Sir Thomas More in the following passage, 'But I say that albeit God is hable in such wyse to inspire and *infounde* the faythe, if that him lyste.'—*Works*, vol. i, p. 582, ed. 1557; and also by Thomas Becon in his *Castle of Comfort*, which was dedicated to the Lady Mary Howard. 'Doth not St. Paul, James, Peter, and Jude, call themselves the servants of Jesu Christ in all their epistles, declaring thereby that they are not the self master, by whom remission and absolution of sins cometh; but only the ministers of him, which *infundeth* and poureth into all men grace, favour, remission of sins, and everlasting life?'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 562, ed. 1844. Parker Soc.

rare and meruaylous strength, in so moche as he hym selfe reporteth in the booke of kinges that he, beinge a chylde and caryeng to his bretherne their dyner, where they kept their cattell, slewe firste a great beare, and after a lyon, whiche fierce and hungrye, assaulted him,[a] all though he were unarmed and whether he had any weapon or no, it is uncertaine, sens he maketh therof no mencion. Also of what prowes he was in armes and howe valiaunt and good a capitayne in batayle hit maye sufficiently appere to them that wyll rede his noble actes and achieuaunces[b] in the bokes before remembred. Wherein no good catholyke man wyll any thynge doute, though they be meruaylous, yet nat withstandynge, all his strength and puyssaunce was nat of suche effecte that in the longe tyme of his raygne, whiche was by the space of xl yeres,[c] he coulde haue any tyme vacant from warres. But alway had either continuall bataile with the Philisties, or els was molested[d] with his owne children and suche as aught to haue ben his frendes. Contrary wise, his son Salomon, of whome there is no notable mention made

[a] See 1 Sam. xvii. 34–37. It is curious that Sir Thomas Elyot has reversed the order in which, according to the A.V., these feats were performed.

[b] *I.e.* achievements, deeds, or feats. This word appears to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

[c] See 2 Sam. v. 4.

[d] This is evidently only the Anglicised form of the French word *molester*, which again is derived from the Latin *molestare*, a verb unknown to writers of the Augustan age. Amyot, who translated the works of Plutarch in the sixteenth century, uses the word in his version of the latter's treatise : 'De vitioso Pudore,' cap. 13 ad fin. 'Mais de repoulser ceux qui nous *molestent* impudemment et effronteement, en ne nous laissant point vaincre à la honte, et ne conceder point choses desraisonnables et deshonestes à tels effrontez, pour estre honteux de leur refuser, ce sont hommes sages et bien aduisez qui le font ainsi.'—*Œuvres de Plut.* tom. i. p. 80, ed. 1572. It is used by Chaucer in *Troylus and Cryseyde* :

> 'But how this cas doth Troylus *moleste*
> That may non erthly mannes tonge seye ;
> For verray wo his wit is alle aweye.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 336.

And also by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* :

> 'And lost an old foe that did you *molest*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 133, ed. 1866.

that he shewed any commendable feate concerning martiall prowesse, sauynge the furniture of his garrysones [a] with innumerable men of warre, horses and chariotes; whiche proueth nat hym to be valiaunt and stronge, but onely prudent; he after a lyttell bikerynge [b] with the Philisties in the begynnyng

[a] This, like the word referred to in the last note, is simply the Anglicised form of the French word. Palsgrave gives, 'garyson of men of armes, *garnison.*'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 224, ed. 1852. It is derived from the verb *garnir*, which again is connected with the German *wahren*, from the root *war*. The verb in the sense of to fortify is frequently used by old French writers. Thus, Guillaume de Nangis, who died in 1302, says, 'Li chastiaus de Saint Germain estoit de tous les autres dou pays li plus fors et li mieus *garnis*, et y avoit tant de gens darmes et si grant plenté de vitaille, que on ne creut pas quil peust estre pris.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 421, ed 1840. Chaucer uses the original word in *The Tale of Melibeus* : 'For Tullius saith, that long apparaylyng byfore the bataille maketh schort victorie. And Cassidorus saith, the *garnisoun* is strenger whan it is long tyme avysed.'—*Poetical Works*, vol. iii. p. 167, ed. 1866.

[b] This is a very old English word, and originally signified fighting in a literal sense. In the Promptorium Parvulorum, which was compiled about A.D. 1440, we find, '*Bikyr* of fytynge (*bykere* or feightinge) Pugna. And *Bekeryn* or fyghtyn (*bikkeringe*) Pugno, dimico.' Skinner thinks that it is of Anglo-Saxon origin, though he also suggests the Welsh word *bicre* = conflictus, as a possible root. Palsgrave has '*Bicker*, fightyng, *escarmouche*, *bescousse*,' and also 'I *bicker*, I skyrmysshe, *je escarmouche*. They *byckered* togyther halfe an houre and more, *ilz escarmoucherent ensemble*, or, *ilz escarmouchoyent une heure et dauantage*.' Lord Herbert, in his *Life of Hen. VIII.*, speaking of the events of the year 1533–4, says, 'After many *bickerings* betwixt the English and Scotch, a truce first, and afterwards a peace, was concluded betwixt our king and King James.'—Kennet's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 176. Fabyan, in his account of the French in Flanders in the fourteenth century, says, 'Thus the Frenchmen liynge before the towne, manye frayes and *bickerynges* were made betwene the Flemminges and theym, to theyr bothe paynes.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 155, ed. 1559. Holinshed, in his account of the capture of St. Cloud by the English in 1412, says, 'At another *bickering* also it chanced that the Englishmen, under the leading of the Earle of Angus or Kime, had the upper hand, and tooke manie prisoners.'—*Chron.* vol. iii. p. 537; and again, under date 1420, he says, 'The earles Marshall and Huntington, Sir John Greene Cornewall, Sir Philip Leech, and diuerse other were sent into the countrie of Maine, where, not farre from the city of Mens, they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe *bickering* betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen.'—*Ibid.* p. 572. Shakspeare uses the word in its modern sense : 'If I longer stay, we shall begin our ancient *bickerings*.'—*King Hen. VI.*, Pt. II., Act I. sc. i.

of his raygne, afterwarde durynge the tyme that he raygned, contynued in peace without any notable bataile or molestation of any persone. Wherfore he is named in scripture *Rex pacificus*,[a] whiche is in englysshe the peasible kinge. And onely by sapience so gouerned his realme, that though it were but a lytle realme in quantite, it excelled incomparably all other in honour and ryches; in so moche as syluer was at that tyme in the citie of Hierusalem as stones in the strete.[b] Wherfore it is to be noted that sapyence in the gouernaunce of a publike weale is of more efficacie than strength and puissaunce. The auctoritie of sapience is well declared by Salomon in his prouerbes. By me (sayth sapience) kynges do raigne, and makers of lawes discerne thinges that be iuste. By me prynces do gouerne, and men hauynge powar and auctorytie do determyne Justyce. I loue all them that loue me, and who that watcheth to haue me shall fynde me. With me is bothe ryches and honour, stately possessyons, and Justyce. Better is the frute that commeth of me than golde and stones that be precyouse.[c] The same kynge sayth in his boke called Ecclesiastice: A kynge without sapyence shall lose his people, and cities shall be inhabited by the wytte of them that be prudent.[d] Whiche sentence was verefied by the sonne and successour of the same kynge Salomon, called Roboaz,[e] to whome the sayde boke was written.[f] Who neglect-

[a] See 1 Chron. xx. 9. The Hebrew word Shelomah, which is translated Σαλωμών in the Septuagint, signifies 'the peaceful.' Was it on account of his prudence and 'sapience,' that Wolsey in his triumphal procession through France, on his arrival at Montreuil 'was called in the French tongue there, and in all other places through the realme, where he rode or came, *Le Cardinall Pacifick*, and in Latine *Cardinalis Pacificus*?'—See Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 527.

[b] See 1 Kings, x. 27.

[c] See Prov. viii. 15–19.

[d] See Ecclesiasticus, x. 3.

[e] *I.e.* Rehoboam, which in the Septuagint is represented by Ροβοαμ.

[f] This is a mistake, probably arising from the fact, that inasmuch as the original Hebrew title was Proverbs, this, like the Book of Wisdom, 'has sometimes been considered as the production of Solomon. Whence the Council of Carthage (A. D. 397) deemed it canonical, under the title of the fifth book of Solomon; and their

inge the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contempned the sage counsayle of auncient men and imbraced the lyte persuasions of yonge men and flaterers ;[a] wherby he loste his honour and brought his realme in perpetuall deuision.

The empire of Rome (whose begynnyng, prosperitie, and desolation semeth to be a mirrour and example to all other realmes and countryes) declareth to them that exactely beholdeth it, of what force and value sapience is to be estemed, beynge begonne with shepeherdes fleynge the wrathe and displeasure of their maysters.[b]

decision was adopted by the Council of Trent.'—Horne, *Introd. to Old Test.* p. 894, ed. 1860.

[a] See 1 Kings, xii. 8.

[b] The reader who compares the following passage, in which the author laments the decline and fall of the Roman Empire with Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*, can hardly fail to notice the great similarity of language ; and although the latter professes to be merely a translation of some sonnets of Bellay, 'The French Ovid,' it is not at all improbable that the poet was indebted also to some extent to the author of *The Governour*. One or two stanzas in particular may be referred to as suggesting this idea in a remarkable manner :

'Who lists to see what ever nature, arte,
And heaven could doo, O Rome ! thee let him see,
In case thy greatnes he can gesse in harte,
By that which but the picture is of thee.
Rome is no more : but if the shade of Rome
May of the bodie yeeld a seeming sight,
It's like a corse drawne forth out of the tombe
By Magicke skill out of eternall night.
. . . . . .
These heapes of stones, these old wals, which ye see,
Were first enclosures but of salvage soyle ;
And these brave Pallaces, which maystred bee
Of time, were shepheards' cottages somewhile.
Then tooke the shepheards Kingly ornament,
And the stout hynde arm'd his right hand with steele.
. . . . . .
This Citie, which was first but shepheards shade,
Uprising by degrees, grewe to such height,
That Queene of land and sea her selfe she made.
At last, not able to beare so great weight,
Her power, disperst through all the world, did vade ;
To shew that all in th' end to nought shall fade.'

Spenser, *Poet. Works*, vol. v. pp. 41–48, ed. 1866.

Romulus duryng the tyme of his raygne, (whiche was xxxvii yeres[a]), he nothyng dyd enterprise without the authorytie and consent of the fathers, whome he him selfe chase to be Senatours.[b] And finally, as longe as the senate contynued or increased in the citie of Rome, and retayned their auctoritie, whiche they receyued of Romulus, and was increased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde kyng, they wonderfully prospered, and also augmented theyr empyre ouer the more parte of the worlde. But soone after the emperour Constantine had abandoned the citie and translated the Senate from thens to Constantinople,[c] and that, finally, the name and auctoritie of the Senate was by litle and litle exhauste by the negligence and foly of ignoraunt emperours,[d] nat onely that moste noble citie, hedde and princesse of the worlde, and fountayne of all vertue and honour, felle in to

Diodorus Siculus liber i.

[a] The marginal reference is probably a mistake for Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is the authority for the duration of the reign of Romulus, given in the text. The passage alluded to is as follows : 'Ρωμύλος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὴν πόλιν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη λέγεται κατασχεῖν τὴν δυναστείαν.—*Antiq. Rom.* lib. i. cap. 75.

[b] This is hardly a correct representation of the account given by Dionysius, who tells us that Romulus *personally* selected only the Præfectus Urbis : Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε βουλευτὰς εὐθὺς ἔγνω καταστήσασθαι, μεθ' ὧν πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ ἔμελλεν, ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε τὴν διαίρεσιν· αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἕνα τὸν ἄριστον ἀπέδειξεν, ᾧ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν οἰκονομίας, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐξάγοι στρατιὰν ὑπερόριον· τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἑκάστῃ προσέταξε τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ τε ὄντας ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δι' εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανεῖς. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐννέα τούτους ἑκάστῃ φράτρᾳ πάλιν ἐκέλευσε τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιλέξαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους· ἔπειτα τοῖς πρώτοις ἐννέα τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ἀποδειχθεῖσι τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα προσθεὶς, οὓς αἱ φρᾶτραι προεχειρίσαντο, καὶ τούτων, ὃν αὐτὸς προέκρινεν, ἡγεμόνα ποιήσας τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξεπλήρωσε βουλευτῶν ἀριθμόν.—*Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

[c] At the foundation of Constantinople in A.D. 324, the emperor 'dignified the public council with the appellation of senate.'

[d] It was not until A.D. 363 that the emperor Julian 'conferred on the senate of Constantinople the same honours, privileges, and authority which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome.' On the capture of Rome by Narses, 'the institution of Romulus expired, and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate !'—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vols. iii. p. 130, v. p. 235.

moste lamentable ruyne ;[a] but also the maiestie of the empyre decayed utterly, so that uneth a litle shadowe therof nowe remayneth; whiche who so beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome whan it flourished,[b] accordinge as it is lefte in remembraunce by noble writars, he shall uneth kepe teares out of his eyen, beholdynge it nowe as a rotten shepecote, in comparison of that citie noble and triumphant.[c] O poure and

[a] 'O Rome! thy ruine I lament and rue,
And in thy fall my fatall overthrowe,
That whilom was, whilst heavens with equall vewe
Deignd to behold me, and their gifts bestowe,
The picture of thy pride in pompous shew:
And of the whole world as thou wast the empresse,
So I of this small northerne world was princesse.'
Spenser, *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 293.

[b] 'All that which Aegypt whilome did devise,
All that which Greece their temples to embrave
After th' Ionicke, Atticke, Doricke guise;
Or Corinth skil'd in curious workes to grave;
All that Lysippus practike arte could forme,
Apelles wit, or Phidias his skill,
Was wont this auncient Citie to adorne,
And the heaven it selfe with her wide wonders fill;
All that which Athens ever brought forth wise;
All that which Afrike ever brought forth strange;
All that which Asie ever had of prise,
Was here to see. O mervelous great change!
Rome, living, was the worlds sole ornament,
And, dead, is now the worlds sole moniment.'
Spenser, *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 51.

[c] When *The Governour* was written, only eighty years had elapsed since the Italian scholar, Poggio Bracciolini, moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune as he sat amongst the ruins of Rome, had drawn from the life a melancholy picture of the fallen city as it then appeared. 'Id vero gravissimum et haud parvâ cum admiratione recensendum, hunc Capitolii collem, caput quondam Romani Imperii, atque orbis terrarum arcem, quem omnes Reges ac Principes tremebant, in quem triumphantes tot Imperatores ascenderunt, donis ac spoliis tot tantarumque gentium ornatum, florentemque, ac universo orbi spectandum adeo desolatum atque eversum, et à priori illo statu immutatum, ut vineæ in Senatorum subsellia succeserint, *stercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum.* Respice ad Palatinum montem, et ibi fortunam incusa, quæ domum à Nerone post incensam Urbem totius orbis spoliis

miserable citie! what sondry tourmentes, excisions, subuertions, depopulations, and other euill aduentures hathe hapned unto the, sens thou were birefte of that noble courte of Sapience. Whose autoritie, if it had alwaye contynued, beynge also confirmed in the fayeth and true religion of Christe, god beynge with the pleased, thou couldest neuer haue bene thus desolate unto the fynall consummation and ende of the worlde.[a] [Nowe haue I briefely and generally declared the utilitie of Sapience, and the mischiefe that hapneth by the defaulte or lacke thereof. The particuler effectes we wyll declare hereafter more specially.[b]]

I dought nat but it is well knowen to euery Catholyke man that hath the liberall use of reason, that all maner of understandyng and knowlege, whereof procedeth perfecte operation, do take their origynall of that hyghe sapience whiche is the operatrice[c] of all thynges. And therfore Salomon, or

confectam, atque absumptis Imperii viribus ornatam, quam silvæ, lacus, obelisci, porticus, colossi, theatra varii coloris marmorea admirandam videntibus reddebant, ita prostravit, ut nulla rei cujusquam effigies superextet, quam aliquid certum, præter vasta rudera queas dicere. Cæteros urbis colles perlustra, omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis, vineis oppleta conspicies. Forum jure dicundo, ferendis legibus, plebe ad concionem advocandâ celeberrimum urbis locum, et juxta Comitium creandis magistratibus insigne, *deserta squallent malignitate fortunæ, alterum porcorum, bubalorumque diversorium, alterum serendis oleribus cultum.*'—*Hist. de Var. Fortunæ*, lib. I, p. 21, ed. 1723.

[a] 'Was this (ye Romanes) your hard destinie,
Or some old sinne, whose unappeased guilt
Pour'd vengeance forth on you eternallie?
Or brothers blood, the which at first was spilt
Upon your walls, that God might not endure
Upon the same to set foundation sure?'
Spenser's *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 49.

[b] The passage within brackets is omitted in later editions.

[c] *I.e.* worker or performer, from the Latin word *operatrix*, which is however not used by classical writers. Tertullian in his *Liber de Animâ*, says, 'Cecidit enim ecstasis super illum, Sancti Spiritus vis, *operatrix* prophetiæ.'—Cap. 11. And again, 'Ipsa illa ratio *operatrix* mortis, simplex licet, vis est.'—Cap. 52. We meet again with the word in the Middle Ages, for Du Cange quotes from the Statutes of the City of Savona in Italy, the following passage: 'Item alios quoscunque, qui eorum criminum conscii forent, vel participes, ac eos, qui in hujusmodi

Philo,[a] or who so made the boke called *Sapientia*, made his prayer to god in this wise: Gyue to me, good lorde, sapience that sytteth by thy throne.[b] And in the later ende of the prayer he sayeth: Sende her from the sete of thy holynesse that she may be with me, and labour with me, and that I may knowe what may be accepted with the.[c]

Orpheus (one of the eldeste poetes of Grece[d]) affirmeth in his hymmes[e] that the Musis were goten betwene Jupiter and

artibus vel maleficiis ministrandis vel docendis magistræ seu *operatrices* dicerentur, contra quos omnes habeat magistratus plenum et liberum arbitrium agendi, et in eos animadvertendi, quemadmodum sibi videbitur.'—*Stat. Crim. Civ. Saonæ*, p. 10, ed. 1610. Genuæ. As signifying a female charlatan, or quack doctor, the French form of the word is used by Paul Scarron, the burlesque writer of the 17th century, in *Le Romant Comique.* 'Cette *operatrice* auoit nom Dona Inezilla del Prado, natifue de Malaga, et son mary, ou soy disant tel, le seigneur Ferdinando Ferdinandi, gentilhomme Venitien, natif de Caen en Normandie.'—P. 416, ed. 1651.

[a] Philo Judæus, a native of Alexandria, was born about B.C. 20, and was an earnest student of Greek, especially the Platonic, philosophy. It was formerly supposed that he was the author of the Book of Wisdom, in the Apocrypha; but this opinion has not stood its ground before modern critical examination.

[b] See Wisdom ix. 4.

[c] See Wisdom ix. 10.

[d] 'It is remarkable, considering the lustre which has since attended this name, that no mention of it should occur in Homer, Hesiod, or other most ancient poetical authorities. Whilst Amphion represents the popular genius of primeval poetry, Orpheus may be considered as the type of its religious or sacerdotal element. Accordingly, the mystical school of composition, which sprang up towards the commencement of the Attic period of literature, simultaneously with a new and abstruse philosophy, connected itself inseparably with his name as its mythical founder. The works which passed vulgarly current in Plato's time as Hymns of the "Thracian" bard were probably some of the more esteemed productions of Onomacritus, Cercops, and other scholars of the time of the Pisistratidæ, celebrated for the concoction of such spurious compositions.'—Mure, *Lan. and Lit. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 156, ed. 1850.

[e] The writer of the article on Orpheus in Smith's *Biog. Dict.* says, 'It is now fully established that the bulk of these poems are the forgeries of Christian grammarians and philosophers of the Alexandrian school; but that among the fragments, which form a part of the collection, are some genuine remains of that Orphic poetry which was known to Plato.' An edition of the Orphic poems was published at Florence, A.D. 1500, by Philip Junte, or Giunti, the celebrated printer of that city.

memorie.[a] Whiche sayenge beinge well understande and exactly tried, it shall appere manifestly with the sayenge of the wyse man, contayned in the sayd prayer late rehersed.

Eustathius[b] (the expositour of Homere) sayeth that *Musa* is the knowlege of the soule, and is a thyng diuine as the soule is.[c] But, fynally, as by olde autours a man may aggregate[d] a definition, that whiche is called in greke and latyne *Musa*, is that parte of the soule that induceth and moueth a man to serche for knowlege, in the whiche motion is a secrete and inexplicble delectation.[e] All be it bicause knowlege is in sondry wise

[a] Μνημοσύνην καλέω, Ζηνὸς σύλλεκτρον, ἄνασσαν,
ἣ Μούσας τέκνωσ' ἱερὰς, ὁσίας, λιγυφώνους.
Hymn. 76, tom. i. p. 345, ed. Hermann. 1805.

'For they be daughters of Dame Memorie
And Jove, the father of eternitie.'
Spenser, *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 301.

[b] Eustathius, by far the most eminent of the Byzantine commentators, was a native of Constantinople, and, after being bishop elect of Myra, was raised to the archbishopric of Thessalonica, which he held till his death in A.D. 1198. Gibbon mentions, 'for the honour of learning,' that when the city of Thessalonica was sacked by the Normans in A.D. 1185, Eustathius 'refused to desert his flock.' As the first edition of his Commentary was not published till 1542, the passage in the text shows that Sir Thomas Elyot must have perused a MS. copy of this great work.

[c] Οὕτω δέ πως προκαλοῦνται καὶ οἱ ἐκ Διὸς εἰπόντες ἄρχεσθαι, εἴ γε Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ νοῦς, Μοῦσαι δὲ ἡ κατὰ νοῦν γνῶσις . . . . . θεῖον μὲν γάρ τι ἡ γνῶσις, ὥς περ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ.—*Comment. ad Hom.* tom. i. p. 9, ed. 1827.

[d] *I.e.* collect, gather. The Latin word *aggregare* is quite classical. Thus Cicero says, in his first Oration against Catiline: 'Quod si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit.'—Cap. 12. And again, in his Oration for L. Murena, 'Quare ego te semper in nostrum numerum aggregare soleo.'—Cap. 7. The French have also the word *aggreger*, which Cotgrave translates, 'to assemble, *aggregate*, congregate, gather together, also to adde or joyne unto a societie, also to aggravate.' Richardson does not give any other instances of the use of this word in an active sense.

[e] Suidas defines Μοῦσα as ἡ γνῶσις, and derives it ἀπὸ τοῦ μῶ, τὸ ζητῶ· ἐπειδὴ ἀπάσης παιδείας αὕτη τυγχάνει αἰτία. For this, although he does not acknowledge the obligation, he was indebted to Plato, who had said long before, Τὰς δὲ Μούσας τε καὶ ὅλως τὴν μουσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μῶσθαι, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τῆς ζητήσεώς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπωνόμασεν.—Cratyl. cap. 22.

distribute,[a] and the nombre of nyne amonge olde autours was alwaye rehersed where they spake of a multitude,[b] as it shall appere to them that rede Homere and Virgile,[c] therfore there were diuised to be nyne Muses,[d] whiche also for the resemb-

[a] Ἀπάσας δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὰς διὰ λόγου περαινομένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οὔσας, τῷ φιλοσοφῷ, καὶ τῷ ῥητορικῷ, καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ, τριῶν ἐποιοῦντο δῶρα καὶ χάριτας θεῶν, καὶ τρεῖς τὰς Μούσας ὠνόμαζον. Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ καθ' Ἡσίοδον ἤδη μᾶλλον ἐκκαλυπτομένων τῶν δυνάμεων, διαιροῦντες εἰς μέρη καὶ εἴδη, τρεῖς πάλιν ἑκάστην ἔχουσαν ἐν αὑτῇ διαφορὰς ἑώρων· ἐν μὲν τῷ μαθηματικῷ τὸ περὶ μουσικήν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τὸ περὶ γεωμετρίαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τὸ λογικὸν, καὶ τὸ ἠθικὸν, καὶ τὸ φυσικόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ῥητορικῷ τὸ ἐγκωμιαστικὸν πρῶτον γεγονέναι λέγουσι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ συμβουλευτικὸν, ἔσχατον δὲ τὸ δικανικόν.—Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* lib. ix. quæst. 14, cap. 3.

[b] It was also considered the most perfect number, as being the square of an odd number and capable of division into three equal parts, each containing an odd number. Πᾶσι γὰρ διὰ στόματός ἐστι καὶ πάσαις ὑμνούμενος τῆς ἐννεάδος ἀριθμὸς, ὡς πρῶτος ἀπὸ πρώτου περισσοῦ τετράγωνος ὢν, καὶ περισσάκις περισσὸς, ἄτε δὴ τὴν διανομὴν εἰς τρεῖς ἴσους λαμβάνων περισσούς.—Plut. *Quæst. Conviv.* lib. ix. quæst. 14, cap. 2. Eustathius, in his commentary upon Il. ii. 96, assigns several reasons for the employment of this number by Homer. Ὅτι ἐννέα κήρυκες βοῶντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατεσίγαζον. αὔξησις δέ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ θορύβου τῆς ἀγορᾶς, εἰ τοσοῦτοι κήρυκες μόλις ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς σχέσθαι μὲν τῆς βοῆς, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ τῶν βασιλέων. σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅτι, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς πολλαχοῦ φανήσεται, προσπαθῶς ἔχει ὁ ποιητὴς τῷ ἐννέα ἀριθμῷ διά τε ἄλλας αἰτίας, ἅς λέγουσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ, οἷον καὶ ὅτι τετράγωνός ἐστι καὶ τέλειος, ἐκ τελείου τοῦ τρία γινόμενος πολυπλασιασθέντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰς Μούσας, αἳ τῷ ἀρίθμῷ τούτῳ περιγράφονται. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὡς περισσάκις περισσὸν τὸν ἐννέα σεμνύνουσιν ἀριθμὸν, εἰς τρεῖς διαιρούμενον τριάδας, ὧν ἑκάστη πάλιν τριὰς εἰς μονάδας τρεῖς. πολλαχοῦ τοίνυν ὁ ποιητὴς εὐεπίφορός ἐστιν εἰς τὸν ἐννέα ἀριθμὸν, ὡς δειχθήσεται.—*Comm. ad Hom.* tom. i. p. 147, ed. 1827.

[c] Homer uses this number very frequently, and, curiously, much more often than eight, but not than seven or ten. Mr. Gladstone says that 'All Homer's numerical expressions are in the most elementary forms—such forms as are without composition, and refuse all further analysis. His use of number appears to have been confined to simple addition: and it is probable that all the higher numbers which we find in the poems, were figurative and most vaguely conceived.'—*Stud. on Hom.* vol. iii. p. 431. There are probably not more than half a dozen instances of the use of the number nine by Virgil. It is asserted by Gibbon that the Tartars exhibit profound respect for this mysterious number. – See *Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.* vol. viii. p. 44, note.

[d] Πολλὰς ἐγέννησε Μούσας ὁ Ζεύς. Ὅτι δ' ἐννέα, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οὐδὲ πλείους, ἆρα ἡμῖν φράσειας; οἶμαι δέ σε πεφροντικέναι φιλόμουσον οὕτω καὶ πολύμουσον ὄντα. . . . . Ὥσπερ οὖν τὰ ἐννέα διαίρεσιν εἰς τρεῖς λαμβάνει τριάδας, ὧν ἑκάστη πάλιν εἰς μονάδας διαιρεῖται τοσαύτας· οὕτως ἓν μέν ἐστι καὶ κοινὸν, ἡ τοῦ λόγου περὶ τὸ

launce of their disposition were fayned by the poetes to be nyne virgines, that firste inuented all lyberall sciences, but the other oppinion approcheth more nere unto the trouthe, and agreeth better unto my purpose.[a] More ouer, Jupiter was alwaye taken of the poetes and Philosophers for the supreme god, whiche was the gyuer of lyfe and creatour of all thinges, as it appereth in all their warkes. Wherfore somtyme they calle him omnipotent, somtyme the father of goddes and of men, so that under that name they knowleged to be a very god, though they honored nat him as one only god, as they aught to haue done.[b]

But nowe Orpheus sayenge that the Muses proceded of Jupiter and Memorie, may be in this wyse interpreted:

κύριον ὀρθότης, νενέμηνται δὲ συντρεῖς εἰς τῶν τριῶν γενῶν ἕκαστον· εἶτα πάλιν αὖ μοναδικῶς ἑκάστη μίαν περιέπει λαχοῦσα, καὶ κοσμεῖ δύναμιν.—Plut. *Quæst. Conviv.* lib. ix. quæst. 14, cap. 2–3.

[a] The rest of this chapter is omitted in Mr. Eliot's edition.

[b] A distinguished modern writer has, however, detected in the Homeric poems 'the vestiges of a real traditional knowledge derived from the epoch when the covenant of God with man, and the promise of a Messiah, had not yet fallen within the contracted forms of Judaism for shelter, but entered more or less into the common consciousness, and formed a part of the patrimony of the human race.' And thence he argues that 'the theological and Messianic traditions which we find recorded in Scripture, when compared with the Homeric theogony, will be found to correspond with a large and important part of it.' He finds 'the unity and supremacy of the Godhead represented in Jupiter as the administrator of sovereign power.' But inasmuch as the original conception of an all-good and all-wise Being had undergone a miserable transmutation, 'the figure of Jupiter, as it is the principal so it is also the most anomalous in the whole Homeric Assemblage. With some of the substantial, he has all the titular appendages of a high supremacy. He is habitually denominated the Father of gods and men. He is much more frequently identified with the general government of the world, than is any other deity. He governs the issue of all human toil, and gives or withholds success . . . If, however, he is more identified with the general idea of Providence than are Apollo and Minerva, it is plain, on the other hand, that his agency is more external, abstract, and remote: theirs more inward and personal.' This was probably the result of 'two processes, each of which had been actively advancing: the breaking up of Godhead into fragments, which diminished the relative distance between Jupiter and the other Immortals: and the reflection of human ideas of polity upon Olympus, which gave a growing prominence to the element of aristocracy.'—Gladstone, *Studies on Homer*, vol. ii. pp. 3–177.

that god almyghtie infuded[a] Sapience into the Memorye of man, (for to the acquirynge of science belongeth understandynge and memorie), whiche, as a Treasory, hathe powar to retayne, and also to erogate[b] and distribute, whan oportunitie hapneth. And for the excellencie of this thynge some noted to be in mannes soule a diuine substaunce. As Pythagoras, or some of his scholers writynge his sentence, sayeth in this wyse spekynge to man :

> Nowe in thy selfe haue thou good confidence,
> Sens mortall men be of the kynde diuine,
> In whose nature a reuerent excellence
> Appereth clere, whiche all thinge dothe define.[c]

Whiche sentence of Pythagoras is nat reiecte eyther of Plato,[d] whyche approched nexte unto the catholike writars, or of diuines whiche interprete holy scripture ; takynge the soule for the ymage and similytude of god.[e]

More ouer Plato, (in his boke called Timeus), affirmeth that there is sette in the soule of man commyng *Plato in Tim.*

[a] See *ante*, p. 351, note.

[b] See *ante*, p. 91, note.

[c] Ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσει· ἐπεὶ θεῖον γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν,
Οἷς ἱερὰ προφέρουσα φύσις δείκνυσιν ἕκαστα.
Stobæus, *Eclog.* tom. ii. p. 8, ed. Gaisford, 1850.

[d] 'Much of the exposition assigned to Timæus,' says Mr. Grote, in his Analysis of Plato's treatise bearing that name, 'is founded on Pythagorean principles, though blended by Plato with other doctrines, either his own or borrowed elsewhere.'—*Plato*, vol. iii. p. 244, ed. 1867.

[e] 'The idea of a pre-kosmic Demiurgus formed the suitable point of conjunction, between Hellenic and Judaic speculation. The marked distinction drawn by Plato between the Demiurgus, and the constructed or generated Kosmos, with its in-dwelling Gods, provided a suitable place for the Supreme God of the Jews, degrading the Pagan Gods in comparison. The *Timæus* was compared with the Book of Genesis, from which it was even affirmed that Plato had copied. He received the denomination of the Atticising Moses : Moses writing in Attic Greek. It was thus that the Platonic Timæus became the medium of transition, from the Polytheistic theology which served as philosophy among the early ages of Greece, to the omnipotent Monotheism to which philosophy became subordinated after the Christian era.'—Grote's *Plato*, vol. iii. p. 285.

into the worlde certayne spices, or as it were sedes of thynges and rules of Artes or sciences.[a] Wherfore Socrates (in the boke of Science[b]) resembleth hym selfe to a mydwyfe, sayenge that in teachinge yonge men, he dyd put in to theim no science, but rather brought furthe that which all redy was in them, like as the mydwife brought nat in the childe, but, beinge conceyued, dyd helpe to bringe it furthe.[c] And like as in houndes is a powar or disposition to hunte, in horses and grehoundes an aptitude to renne swiftely, so in the soules of men is ingenerate a leme[d] of science, whiche

Plato in Theætet.

[a] It is probable that the author refers to the following passage, in which the Demiurgus bids the Gods take upon themselves the formation of the human race, imitating the power which he had displayed in the generation of themselves. *Ἵνα οὖν θνητά τε ᾖ τό τε πᾶν τόδε ὄντως ἅπαν ᾖ, τρέπεσθε κατὰ φύσιν ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ζῴων δημιουργίαν, μιμούμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γένεσιν. καὶ καθ' ὅσον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀθανάτοις ὁμώνυμον εἶναι προσήκει, θεῖον λεγόμενον ἡγεμονοῦν τ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀεὶ δίκῃ καὶ ὑμῖν ἐθελόντων ἕπεσθαι σπείρας καὶ ὑπαρξάμενος ἐγὼ παραδώσω.*—*Timæus*, 41 C. 'The Platonic Timæus starts in the same manner as Hesiod, from an original Chaos. But then he assumes also, as coæval with it, but apart from it, his eternal Forms or Ideas.'—Grote, *ubi supra*, p. 250.

[b] The passage alluded to occurs in the dialogue called Theætetus, in which, says Mr. Grote, 'the main question is, What is knowledge—cognition—science?' And, therefore, the original side-note opposite to this passage which refers to the *Theages* is evidently a misprint, and is now corrected. The reader will observe that the author has confounded the very same treatises in a subsequent passage. See p. 366, *infra*.

[c] *Ἐπεὶ τόδε γε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπάρχει, ὅπερ ταῖς μαίαις· ἄγονός εἰμι σοφίας, καὶ ὅπερ πολλοί ἤδη μοι ὠνείδισαν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐρωτῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνομαι περὶ οὐδενὸς διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν σοφόν, ἀληθὲς ὀνειδίζουσι. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε· μαιεύεσθαί με ὁ θεὸς ἀναγκάζει, γεννᾶν δὲ ἀπεκώλυσεν.*—Plato, *Theætetus*, cap. 7.

[d] This word (which has been already used by the author, see Vol. I. p. 3) is now obsolete, and is represented by the modern form 'gleam.' Chaucer uses it in *The Romaunt of the Rose.*

> 'She is enlumyned ageyn as faste,
> Thurgh the brightnesse of the sonne bemes,
> That yeveth to hir ageyne hir *lemes*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 163, ed. 1866.

Fabyan, in his account of the year A.D. 1093–4, says, 'Many grysely and uncuth syghtes wer this yere sene in England, as hostes of men fyghting in the skye, and fyre *leames* and other.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 314, ed. 1559. In *Prompt. Parv.* the word '*leem*' is translated 'flamma' and 'glemyn, or *lemyn*, as fyyr or as lyghte,' by

with the mixture of a terrestryall substaunce is obfuscate or made darke; but where there is a perfeyte mayster prepared in tyme, than the brightnes of the science appereth polite and clere. Like as the powar and aptitude of the bestes before rehersed appereth nat to the uttermoste, excepte it be by exercise prouoked, and that slouthe and dulnesse beynge plucked from them by Industrie, they be induced unto the continuall acte.[a] Whiche, as Plato affirmeth, is proued also in

flammo and *radio* respectively. Also 'glemynge, or *lemynge*, of lyghte' by *conflagracio*, *flammacio*, pp. 198, 295. Jasper, the son of John Heywood, the dramatist, in his *Troas of Seneca*, published in 1559, says,

> 'May thys be true, or doth the fable fayne,
> When corps is dead the sprite to liue as yet?
> When death our eyes with heauy hand doth straine,
> And fatall day our *leames* of light hath shet,
> And in the tombe our ashes once be set,
> Hath not the soule likewise his funerall
> But still, alas, do wretches liue in thrall?'

In the *Flowers of Epigrams* of Timothy Kendall, an Eton and Oxford man, but a wretched poetaster, published in 1577, we find—

> 'When firie flakes and lightnyng *leames*
> Gan flashe from out the skies.'—Fo. 99.

Thomas Sackville, in his *Induction*, which forms part of the *Mirour for Magistrates*, uses the word.

> 'Then looking upward to the heauens *leames*,
> With nightes starres thicke powdred euerywhere,
> Which erst so glistned with the golden streames,
> That chearful Phœbus spred downe from his sphere.'
>
> Fo. 206 b. ed. 1587.

And in the same collection we find an instance of the use of the verb.

> 'And when shee spake her eyes did *leame* as fire.'
>
> *Ibid.* fo. 18 b.

In a MS. belonging to Caius Coll., intituled Abbreviata Chronica, under date A.D. 1402, appears the following entry: 'Hoc anno apparuit stella comata (Anglicè vocata "*lemyng* sterr") pronosticans bellum futurum, scil. bellum Salopiæ.'—*Camb. Ant. Soc.* vol. i. p. 3, 1840–46.

[a] Does not this passage reveal an acquaintance by the author with the principle of 'natural selection'? 'Selection,' says Mr. Darwin, 'is either checked or

the mayster and the disciple.[a] Semblably the foresayde Socrates in Platons boke of Sapience sayeth to one Theages: Neuer man lerned of me any thinge, all thoughe by my company he became the wiser. I onely exhortynge and the good spirite inspyringe.[b] Whiche wonderfull sentence, as me semeth, may well accorde with our catholyke fayeth, and be receyued in to the commentaries of the mooste perfecte diuines. For as well that sentence, as all other before rehersed, do comprobate[c] with holy scripture that god is the fountayne

favoured by the effects of use or habit. Our wonderfully-improved pigs could never have been formed if they had been forced to search for their own food; the English racehorse and greyhound could not have been improved up to their present high standard of excellence without constant training.'—*Variation of Animals and Plants*, vol. ii. p. 234, ed. 1868.

[a] Οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ ξυγγιγνόμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φαίνονται ἔνιοι μὲν καὶ πάνυ ἀμαθεῖς, πάντες δὲ προϊούσης τῆς ξυνουσίας, οἷσπερ ἂν ὁ θεὸς παρείκῃ, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον ἐπιδιδόντες, ὡς αὑτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δοκοῦσι.—*Theætetus*, cap. 7.

[b] Apparently the allusion is to the following passage, although the author has here, as on another occasion (see p. 364 *ante*), confounded the treatise called *Theages* with the *Theætetus*, and referred us by mistake to the former. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐναργὲς ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν πώποτε μαθόντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παρ' αὑτῶν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ εὑρόντες τε καὶ κατέχοντες. τῆς μέντοι μαιείας ὁ θεός τε κἀγὼ αἴτιος.—*Theætetus*, *ubi supra*.

[c] *I.e.* agree with, confirm, verify, from the Latin word *comprobare*, which is quite classical. Thus Cicero, in the *Verrine Orations*, says, 'Meministis Q. Varii testimonium, remque hanc totam C. Sacerdotis, hominis ornatissimi, testimonio comprobari.'—Act ii. lib. ii. cap. 48. Again, 'Neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vitâ, et factis, et moribus comprobavit.'—*De Fin.* lib. i. cap. 20. And in his oration for Cæcina, 'Judica hoc factum esse, aut nunquam esse factum vel cogitatum; crede huic testi; has comproba tabulas.'—Cap. 25. The English form seems to be uncommon. It is used, however, by Sir Thomas More in the following passage: 'Nor, besides this, haue I nothing spoken of the generall counsails, condempning your parte by good and substancial aucthorite, *comprobate* and corroborate by the whole body of christendom.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 187, ed. 1557. And the substantive formed from the verb is used by the King himself, in a letter to the University of Oxford, written March 17, A.D. 1529–30. 'As we trust you that be heads and rulers, for the *comprobation* and declaration of particular good minds, ye will not fail to do accordingly, and so by your diligence to be shewed hereafter, to redeem your errors and delays past.'—Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* vol. vi. p. 40, ed. 1865. And also by Foxe in his account of the King's marriage with Ann Bullen. 'By these matters thus passed and discoursed to-and-fro, between the king and these foreign princes above rehearsed, many things are to be

of Sapience, lyke as he is the soueraygne begynnynge of all generation.

Also it was wonderfully well expressed of whom Sapience was engendred by a poete, named *Affranius*, whose verses were sette ouer the porche of the Temple where the Senate of Rome mooste commonly assembled.[a] Whiche verses were in this maner:—

> Usus me genuit, mater peperit memoria.
> Sophiam me Graii vocant, vos Sapientiam.

Whiche in englysshe maye be in this wyse translated:—

> Memorye hyght my mother, my father experience.
> Grekes calle me Sophi, but ye name me Sapience.

By use or experience in these versis expressed the poete intended as well those actes whiche we our selfe dayly do practyse, as also them whiche beynge done by other in tyme passed, for the frute or utilitie whiche therof succeded, were alowed, and also proued to be necessary. And the cause why that the poete conioyneth experience and memorie together, as it were in a lefull matrimony, experience bigettynge, and memorye alwaye producynge that incomparable frute called Sapience, is for that memorie in her operation proprely succedeth experyence. For that which is presently done we perceyue, that which is to come we coniecte or diuine, but that whiche is passed onely we haue in our memorie. For as Aris-

understood of the reader, whoso is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of public affairs, as well to the Church appertaining, as to the Commonwealth. First, how the King cleareth himself, both justly and reasonably, for his divorce made with the Lady Katharine, the Emperor's aunt. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with Queen Anne to be just and lawful, both by the authority of God's word, and the *comprobation* of the best and most famous learned men and universities, and also by the assent of the whole realm.' —*Acts and Mon.* vol. v. p. 113, ed. 1846.

[a] 'Versus Afranii sunt in togatâ, cui Sellæ nomen est:

> "Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.
> Sophiam vocant me Graii, vos Sapientiam."'
>
> Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* lib. xiii. cap. 8.

totell declareth wonderfully in an example, in the princi-
Aristoteles de memoriâ et reminis-centiâ, li. ii.
pall sense of manne there is conceyued an ymage or figure of a thynge, whiche by the same sense is perceyued as longe as it is retayned intiere or hole, and, (as I mought saye), consolidate, pure, manifeste, or playne and without blemmisshe, in suche wise that in euery parte of it the mynde is stered or occupyed, and by the same mynde it may be throughly perceyued and knowen, nat as an ymage in it selfe, but as representynge an other thinge; this is proprely memorie.[a] But if the hole ymage or figure be nat retayned in the mynde, but parte therof onely remayneth, parte is put out eyther by the lengthe of tyme, or by some other mishappe or iniurie, so that it neither can bring the mynde eftsones unto it, nor it can be called agayne of the mynde, as often as by that portion whiche styll remayneth and hathe aboden alwaye intiere and clene, the residue that was therto knytte and adioyned and late semed for the tyme ded or bireft from the mynde, is reuiued and (as it were) retourned home agayne, it is than had for redemed or restored, and is proprely called remembraunce.[b]

[a] Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡ μνήμη οὔτ' αἴσθησις, οὔθ' ὑπόληψις, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὸς ἕξις, ἢ πάθος, ὅταν γένηται χρόνος . . . . . Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ φαντασίας εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ νοεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ φαντάσματος : . . . . καὶ τὸ φάντασμα τῆς κοινῆς αἰσθήσεως πάθος ἐστὶν, ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι τῷ πρώτῳ αἰσθητικῷ τούτων ἡ γνῶσίς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ μνήμη, καὶ ἡ τῶν νοητῶν, οὐκ ἄνευ φαντάσματός ἐστιν, ὥστε τοῦ νοουμένου κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἂν εἴη, καθ' αὑτὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητικοῦ . . . . . Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, πῶς ποτε τοῦ μὲν πάθους παρόντος, τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ἀπόντος, μνημονεύεται τὸ μὴ παρόν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ νοῆσαι τοιοῦτον τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ μωρίῳ τοῦ σώματος τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὴν, οἷον ζωγράφημά τι τὸ πάθος, οὗ φαμεν τὴν ἕξιν μνήμην εἶναι . . . . . Ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ συμβαῖνον περὶ τὴν μνήμην, πότερον τοῦτο μνημονεύει τὸ πάθος, ἢ ἐκεῖνο ἀφ' οὗ ἐγένετο; . . . . . οἷον γὰρ τὸ ἐν τῷ πίνακι γεγραμμένον ζῷον καὶ ζῷόν ἐστι καὶ εἰκών, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἕν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄμφω, τὸ μέντοι εἶναι οὐ ταὐτὸν ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἔστι θεωρεῖν καὶ ὡς ζῷον καὶ ὡς εἰκόνα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν φάντασμα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ αὐτό τι καθ' αὑτὸ εἶναι θεώρημα καὶ ἄλλου φάντασμα. ᶜΗ μὲν οὖν καθ' αὑτὸ, θεώρημα, ἢ φάντασμά ἐστιν, ᾗ δ' ἄλλου, οἷον εἰκὼν καὶ μνημόνευμα . . . . . Αἱ δὲ μελέται τὴν μνήμην σώζουσι τῷ ἐπαναμιμνήσκειν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ θεωρεῖν πολλάκις ὡς εἰκόνα, καὶ μὴ ὡς καθ' αὑτό.—Arist. *De Memoriâ*, cap. I.

[b] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἐπι

This is the exposition of the noble Philosopher, whiche I haue writen principally to thentent to ornate our langage with usinge wordes in their propre signification. Wherof what commoditie may ensue all wise men wyll, I dought nat, consider.

CHAPTER XXIV.

What is the true signification of understandynge.

FOR as moche as in the begynnynge of the fyrste boke of this warke[a] I endeuoured my selfe to proue, that by the ordre of mannes creation, preeminence in degree shulde be amonge men according as they do excell in the pure influence of understandynge, whiche can nat be denyed to be the principall parte[d] of the soule, some reder perchaunce meued with disdayne will for that one assertion immediately reiecte this warke, saieng that I am of a corrupt or folisshe oppinion ; supposing that I do intende by the said wordes that no man

χειρηματικοῖς λόγοις ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, δεῖ τίθεσθαι ὡς ὑπάρχοντα· οὔτε γὰρ μνήμης ἐστὶν ἀνάληψις ἡ ἀνάμνησις, οὔτε λῆψις· ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ μάθῃ, ἢ πάθῃ, οὔτ' ἀναλαμβάνει μνήμην οὐδεμίαν (οὐδεμία γὰρ προγέγονεν) οὔτ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς λαμβάνει· ὅταν δ' ἐγγένηται ἡ ἕξις καὶ τὸ πάθος, τότε ἡ μνήμη ἐστὶν, ὥστε μετὰ τοῦ πάθους ἐγγινομένου οὐκ ἐγγίνεται. Ἔτι δ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐγγέγονε τῷ ἀτόμῳ καὶ ἐσχάτῳ, τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐνυπάρχει ἤδη τῷ παθόντι καὶ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, εἰ δεῖ καλεῖν ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἕξιν, ἢ τὸ πάθος (οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ μνημονεύειν ἔνια ὧν ἐπιστάμεθα)· τὸ δὲ μνημονεύειν καθ' αὑτὸ οὐχ ὑπάρχει πρὶν χρονισθῆναι· μνημονεύει γὰρ νῦν ὃ εἶδεν, ἢ ἔπαθε πρότερον, οὐχ ὃ νῦν ἔπαθε, νῦν μνημονεύει. Ἔτι δὲ φανερὸν ὅτι μνημονεύειν ἔστι μὴ νῦν ἀναμνησθέντα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰσθόμενον, ἢ παθόντα, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀναλαμβάνῃ ἣν πρότερον εἶχεν ἐπιστήμην, ἢ αἴσθησιν, ἢ οὗ ποτε τὴν ἕξιν ἐλέγομεν μνήμην, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τότε τὸ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων τι· τὸ δὲ μνημονεύειν συμβαίνει, καὶ μνήμη ἀκολουθεῖ.—Arist. *De Memoriâ*, cap. 2.

[a] See Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.

[b] The author of *Le Trésor* says, 'À la verité dire, l'entendemenz est la plus haute partie de l'ame.'—P. 22. Locke calls it 'the most elevated faculty of the soul,' and defines it as the power of perception ; (1) of ideas in our minds, (2) of the signification of signs, (3) of the connexion or repugnancy, agreement or disagreement, that there is between any of our ideas.—*Works*, vol. i. pp. 116, 364.

shulde gouerne or be in authoritie, but onely he whiche surmounteth all other in doctrine, whiche, in his hasty malice, he demeth that I onely do meane where I speke of understandynge.

I suppose all men do knowe that man is made of body and soule, and that the soule in preeminence excelleth the body as moche as the maister or owner excelleth the house, or the artificer excelleth his instrumentes, or the king his subiectes.[a] And therfore Saluste in the conspiracie of Cathaline sayeth, We use specially the rule of the soule and seruice of the body; the one we participate with goddes, the other with bestes.[b] And Tulli saieth in Tusculane questions: *Ci. Tusc. q. li. i.* Mannes soule, beinge decerpt or taken of the portion of diuinitie called *Mens*, may be compared with none other thinge, (if a man mought lefully speke it), but with god hym selfe.[c] Also the noble diuine *Chrisostomus* *Chrisosto. de reparatione lapsi.* sayeth that the body was madè for the soule, and nat the soule for the body.[d] Nowe it is to be further

[a] 'Mais toutes ces choses (les sens) sormonte l'ame, qui est assise en la maistre forteresce, dou chief, et esgarde par son entendement neis ce que son cors ne touche et qui ne vient jusque as autres sens dou cors.'—*Le Trésor*, p. 22, ed. 1863. Sir John Davies may have borrowed this metaphor for the following passage of his *Nosce teipsum*:

'The workman on his stuffe his skill doth show,
And yet the stuffe giues not the man his skill:
Kings their affaires do by their seruants know,
But order them by their owne royall will.

So, though this cunning mistresse and this queene,
Doth, as her instrument, the *Senses* use,
To know all things that are felt, heard, or seene,
Yet she herselfe doth onely iudge and chuse.'
Poetical Works, vol. i. p. 32, ed. 1876.

[b] 'Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum Dis, alterum cum belluis commune est.'—Sallust. *Catalina*, cap. 1.

[c] 'Humanus autem animus, decerptus ex mente divinâ, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso Deo, (si hoc fas est dictu) comparari potest.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. cap. 13.

[d] 'Non enim anima pro corpore sed corpus pro animâ factum est.' These

knowen that the soule is of thre partes: the one, wherin is the powar or efficacie of growinge, which is also in herbes and trees as well as in man, and that parte is called vegetatife.[a] An other parte, wherin man doth participate with all other thynges lyuynge, whiche is called sensitife, by reason that therof the sensis do procede, whiche be distributed in to dyuers instrumentall partes of the body; as sight in to the eyen, herynge to the eares, smellyng to the nose, tastynge to the mouthe, felynge to euery parte of the body wherin is bloode, without the whiche undoughtedly maye be no felynge. The thirde parte of the soule is named the parte intellectuall or of understandynge, whiche is of all the other mooste noble, as whereby man is mooste lyke unto god, and is preferred before all other creatures.[b] For where other beastes by theyr senses do feele what thynge do profyte theim, and what

words are not given by Migne in his edition of the first exhortation *Ad Theodorum lapsum* (see tom. i. part i. col. 299), and were omitted in the Montfaucon edition and in that published at Basle A.D. 1547, but they are to be found in two black-letter copies in the British Museum, one of which is supposed to have been printed by Ulric Zell, about A.D. 1467-70, but is without title-page, date, pagination, and signatures, whilst the other, which is equally imperfect with regard to these typographical characteristics, is referred to the year 1500. The passage in question will be found on the 50th leaf of the former, and at signature E of the latter. It also appears (signat. E. v.) in a translation, printed in 1553 'by Robert Calye within the precinct of the late dissolued house of the graie Freers, nowe conuerted to an hospitall, called Christes hospitall.'

[a] This is simply the French word *vegetatif*, which Cotgrave translates, '*Vegetative*, lively, quick, fresh growing, or giving life, quicknesse, growth, increase.' And it seems very probable, from a comparison of the following passage with that in the text, that Sir Thomas Elyot borrowed the ideas contained in the latter from a work which enjoyed a very high reputation in the 14th century, entitled *Le Livre du Trésor*, and which was written in French by the celebrated Italian writer Brunetto Latini. 'L'ame de l'ome a iii puissances. *L'une est vegetative, et ce est commun as arbres et as plantes*, car ils ont ame vegetative aussi comme li home ont; *la seconde est apelée sensitive*, et est commune à toutes bestes, car eles ont ames sensitives; *la tierce est apelée rationable*, et por ceste est li hom divers de toutes choses, porce que nule autre chose n'a ame rationable se li hom non.'—P. 260, ed. 1863, Coll. de Doc. Inéd. deuxième série. Sir John Davies has adopted the same division of the powers of the soul in his poem *Nosce teipsum*.

[b] 'Hæc (sc. ratio) præcipua est quæ nos secernit à belluis, et ad numina ipsa

dothe anoy them, only man understandeth wherof the sayd contrary dispositions do comme,[a] and by what meanes they do either helpe or anoye; also he perceyueth the causes of the same thynge, and knoweth howe to resyste, where and whan nede dothe requyre, and with reason and crafte howe to gyue remedy, and also with labour and industry to prouyde that thing whiche is holsome or profitable.[b] This moste pure parte

proximè ut accedamus efficit.'—Patrizi, *de Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 9. Sir John Davies thus describes 'the intellectual power of the soul:'

> 'But now I haue a will, yet want a wit,
> To expresse the working of the wit and will;
> Which, though their root be to the body knit,
> Use not the body, when they use their skill.
>
> These powers the nature of the Soule declare,
> For to man's soule these onely proper bee,
> For on the earth no other wights there are
> That haue these heauenly powers, but only we.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 75, ed. 1876.

Patrizi held that man displays a superiority to the brute creation in the senses of touch and taste, which is certainly open to doubt. 'Ex quinque sensibus . . . . duo sunt quibus homo cæteris præstat, tactus scilicet et gustus: in reliquis autem superatur à multis.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 10. 'The having of general ideas,' says Locke, 'is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes, and is an excellency which the faculties of brutes do by no means attain to; for it is evident we observe no footsteps in them of making use of general signs for universal ideas; from which we have reason to imagine that they have not the faculty of abstracting, or making general ideas, since they have no use of words, or any other general signs.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 275, ed. 1854.

[a] 'If we had nought but *Sense*, each liuing wight
Which we call brute, would be more sharp than we;
As hauing sense's apprehensiue might,
In a more clear and excellent degree.

But they doe want that quicke discoursing power,
Which doth in us the erring *Sense* correct;
Therefore the bee did sucke the painted flower,
And birds of grapes the cunning shadow peckt.'

Sir J. Davies, *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 37.

[b] The author curiously enough omits to mention the faculty of speech in which man displays the most marked superiority over animals; for while, as Dr. Reid says, 'some operations of brute-animals look so like reason that they are not easily distinguished from it' (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 548); the incapacity of language

of the soule, and (as Aristotle sayeth) diuyne, impassible,[a] and incorruptible [b] is named in latine *Intellectus*, *Arist. li. i. de ais.* whereunto I can fynde no propre englysshe but understandynge.[c] For intelligence, whiche commeth of *Intelligentia*, is the perceyuyng of that whiche is fyrst conceyued by understandyng, called *Intellectus*.[d] Also intelligence is nowe used for an elegant worde where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes, eyther by letters or message, specially concernynge warres, or like other great affaires betwene

'alone would render them totally incapable of forming any general conclusions, and would confine their knowledge entirely to particular objects and particular events. Nor is this all. The same defect would necessarily confine to each individual his personal acquisitions, and would prevent the possibility of any improvement resulting from the mutual communication of ideas, or from a transmission of knowledge from one generation to another.'—Stewart, *Phil. of Hum. Mind*, vol. iii. p. 292, ed. 1854.

[a] This is simply the French word *impassible*, which Cotgrave translates, "*Impassible*, sencelesse, unpassionate, unperturbed; also impatient, which cannot suffer, or will not beare with.' It answers here to the Greek ἀπαθής. And is used also by Sir Thomas More in his *Treatise upon the Passion*, in the following passage: 'But when they receyued it (*i.e.* the body of Christ) agayne sacramentallye after hys resurreccyon, then was it in eternall glorye so confyrmed, and in such wise immortall and *impassyble*, that it shoulde neuer dye, nor neuer suffer payne after.' *Works*, vol. ii. p. 1329, ed. 1557.

[b] 'Ο δὲ νοῦς ἔοικεν ἐγγίνεσθαι οὐσία τις οὖσα, καὶ οὐ φθείρεσθαι· . . . . . Καὶ τὸ νοεῖν δὴ καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν μαραίνεται, ἄλλου τινὸς ἔσω φθειρομένου, αὐτὸ δ' ἀπαθές ἐστιν. Τὸ δὲ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν ἢ μισεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνου πάθη, ἀλλὰ τουδὲ τοῦ ἔχοντος ἐκεῖνο, ᾗ ἐκεῖνο ἔχει· διὸ καὶ τούτου φθειρομένου, οὔτε μνημονεύει, οὔτε φιλεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὃ ἀπόλωλεν· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἴσως θειότερον τι καὶ ἀπαθές ἐστιν.—Arist. *De Anima*, lib. i. cap. 4.

[c] In the *Prompt. Parvul.* we find 'Understondynge yn wytte. *Intelligencia, intellectus*,' and 'Understondynge or wytty. *Intelligens*.' Whilst Palsgrave, the contemporary of our author, translates 'understandyng' into the French words 'entendement, raison, intellecture, sentement.'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 285.

[d] Patrizi says, 'Intellectus quem, nonnulli intelligentiam appellant, proximus accedit. Sunt enim qui hæc duo verba inter se differre putent, ut sit intellectus animi potentia quâ intelligimus, intelligentia autem actus ipse intelligendi; sed eam animi vim Stoici dicunt esse, per quam ea planè et sine fallaciâ perspicimus quæ sunt.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 10. According to Dugald Stewart, 'the word *intellect* can be of no essential use whatever, if the ambiguity in the signification of the good old English word *understanding* be avoided.'—*Phil. Hum. Mind*, vol. ii. p. 14, ed. 1854.

princes or noble men.[a] Wherfore I wyll use this worde understandynge for *Intellectus*, untyll some other more propre englysshe worde maye be founden and brought in custome. But to perceyue more playnly what thinge it is that I call understandynge. It is the principall parte of the soule whiche is occupied about the begynnynge or originall causes of thynges[b] that may falle in to mannes knowlege, and his office is, before that any thynge is attempted, to thinke, consydre, and prepence,[c] and, after often tossyng it up and

[a] The special meaning attributed to this word here, and also at p. 259 *ante*, was evidently derived from the French usage. Thus, in the 15th century, Commines employs the word in this sense in the following passage: 'Parquoy le roy chercha leur accointance, et vindrent devers luy à Sainct Jean-de-Luz, et prit grande *intelligence* et amitié avec eux, et peu estima leur roy.'—*Mémoires*, p. 48, ed. Pan. Litt. At the latter end of the 15th century the word seems to have been employed in State Papers of the period in the sense to which the author here alludes. Thus in the Treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Catherine of Spain in 1496, power is given by the King to the Bishop of London to conclude with the King and Queen of Spain 'Confœderationem, Amicitiam, Ligam et *Intelligentiam* strictam vel minus strictam, perpetuam vel ad tempus.'—Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. xii. pp. 637, 659. Again, the parties to what was called the Italian League concluded in the same year agree to preserve 'bonam meram et puram Unionem, Confœderationem, *Intelligentiam*, et Ligam duraturam usque ad annos viginti quinque.' And also 'Quòd aliqua pars prædictarum, factâ conclusione præsentis Ligæ, non possit ad aliquam *Intelligentiam*, seu Ligam devenire cum aliquâ Potentiâ, habente in Italiâ statum, nisi de communi consensu, et voluntate omnium partium.'—*Ibid.* p. 639. The 1st article of the Treaty of Madrid between Charles V. and Francis I., A.D. 1529, declares that 'D'oresnavant entre les dits Seigneurs Empereur et Roy Treschristien soit et s'entende estre establie conclute, et firme perpetuellement et à toujours, bonne entiere, et seure Paix, Amitie, Alliance, Unione, *Intelligence*.'—Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 309. Article XIX. of the Treaty of Cambray, made the same year, asserts that its object is 'pour nourrir et entretenir vraye et bonne Amitie, Communication, et *Intelligence* entre les Subjetz Manans et Habitans des Duchez, Comtez, Terres et Seigneuries du dit Seigneur Empereur es Paiis de par deca, et les Subjetz Manans et Habitans du dit Royaume de France.'—*Ibid.* p. 334. It would be interesting to know to whom Diplomacy was indebted for the introduction of this 'elegant' word, which has quite recently acquired further prominence in connection with one of the great Departments of State.

[b] This seems to have been suggested by the following passage in *Le Trésor*: 'Intellect est cele chose par cui l'on entent les commencemens des choses.'—P. 298, ed. 1863.

[c] Richardson's, and other Dictionaries, derive this word from '*Pre*, before,

downe in the mynde, than to exercise that powar, the propretie wherof is to espie, seke for, enserche, and finde out; which vertue is referred to wit, which is as it were the instrument of understanding.[a]

and *penser*, to weigh, from *pensum*, past. part. of *pendere*, to weigh;' but they do not notice that it is simply the English form of the French word *Pourpenser*, which Cotgrave translates 'to bethinke himselfe; throughly to think, or consider of; seriously to weigh, perpend, or digest, in the thoughts; exactly to recount, cast, examine, revolve, in the mind.' That this is so, however, appears evident from the fact that, in the preamble of stat. 12 Hen. VII. cap. 7, passed A.D. 1496, the French form is used. For it recites as follows: 'Where abhominable and wilfull *purpensed* murders be by the lawes of God and of naturall reason forbeden and ar to be eschewed, yet nat the lesse many and divers unresonable and detestable persones lacking grace wilfully committe murdre, to the high displeasure of God and contrarie to all the Lawes abovesaid, and, morover, ayenst their naturall and oblieged dutie wilfully commytte *purpensed* murdre in sleyng their Maister &c.' The word, indeed, occurs much earlier, viz. in the Laws of William the Conqueror, where we find the phrase 'aweit *prepensed*' used as the equivalent of 'guet-apens.' See A. de Chevallet, *Origine et formation de la langue Française*, tom. i. pp. 96, 129, ed. 1853. In the Additions to the Author's own Dictionary we find 'accuratum habere' translated 'to *prepense*,' and the phrase 'accurata malitia' (Plautus, *Truc.* act ii. sc. 5. 20), 'malyce *prepensed*,' which, no doubt, was the origin of the legal phrase. The latter, it may be observed, occurs for the first time in 4 Hen. VIII. cap. 2, A.D. 1512. The verb *pourpenser* is given by Palsgrave (p. 453), who renders it 'I bethynke me, I take consyderacion with my selfe in a thyng what shulde be done.' And he, as well as Cotgrave, also gives the substantival form *pourpens*, 'purpose;' but this seems to be extremely rare, and is not noticed by Littré. Froissart uses the verb in the following passage: 'Et quand le chevalier l'entendit, si fut tout ebahi; et prit ceux de sa charge, où bien avoit soixante lances, et s'en alla de maison en maison à ceux qui la trahison avoient *pourpensée*, et les prit tous.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 324, ed. Panth. Litt. Spenser uses the same form as our author, and in the same sense, in *The Faerie Queene.*

'And ever in your noble hart *prepense*,
That all the sorrow in the world is lesse
Then vertues might and values confidence.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 78, ed. 1866.

Holinshed, in his account of the riots in the city, A.D. 1518, says, 'Now, upon examination, it could neuer be proued of anie meeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle at anie daie or time before that daie; but that the chaunce so happened without anie matter *prepensed* of anie creature sauing Lincolne.'—*Chron.* vol. iii. p. 842.

[a] 'The Wit, the pupill of the Soule's cleare eye,
And in man's world, the onely shining starre,

More ouer, after the thinges be inuented, coniected, perceyued, and by longe tyme and often considered, and that the mynde disposeth her selfe to execution or actuall operation, than the vertue, named Prudence,[a] fyrst putteth her selfe forwardes, and than appereth her industrye and labour; for as moche as she teacheth, warneth, exhorteth, ordereth, and profiteth, like to a wise capitaine that setteth his hoste in araye. And therfore it is to be remembred that the office or duetie of understandynge precedeth the interprise of actes, and is in the begynning of thinges. I call that begynning, wherin, before any mater taken in hande, the mynde and thought is occupied, and that a man sercheth, and doughteth whether it be to be entreprised, and by what waye, and in what tyme it is to be executed. Who by this litle introduction knowynge what understandynge do signifie will nat suppose that he which therin dothe excelle is nat with honour to be aduaunced? Than it foloweth nat by this argument that for as moche as he that excelleth other in understanding shulde be preferred in honour, that therfore no man shulde be preferred to honoure, but onely they that excell other in lerninge. No man hauinge naturall reason, thoughe he neuer radde logyke, wyll iudge this to be a good argument, considering that understandyng, called in latine *Intellectus* and *Mens*, is by it selfe sufficient, and is nat of any necessite

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Lookes in the mirror of the Fantasie,
Where all the gatherings of the *Senses* are.

From thence this power the shapes of things abstracts,
And them within her *passiue part* receiues;
Which are enlightned by that part which acts,
And so the formes of single things perceiues.

But after, by discoursing to-and-fro,
Anticipating, and comparing things;
She doth all universall natures know,
And all *effects* into their *causes* brings.'

Sir J. Davies, *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 75.

[a] 'Prudence amesure les commencemens et la fin et l'issue des choses.'—Brunetto Latini, *Le Trésor*, p. 298. Patrizi's definition of prudence is as

annexed to doctrine, but doctrine procedeth of understandynge.[a] But, if doctrine be alwaye attendynge upon understandynge, as the daughter upon the mother, undoughtedly than understandynge must be the more perfecte and of a more efficacie, beinge increased by the inuentions and experiences of many other declared by doctrine, no one manne without inspiration hauynge knowlege of all thynge.[b] I calle doctrine, discipline intellectife, or lerning,[c] whiche is either in writing or by reporte of thynges before knowen, whiche procedeth from one man to an other. *Arist. Et. li. v. posteriorum i. poetice li. i.*

That whiche I haue sayde is in this wyse confirmed by Salomon, sayenge, A manne that is wise *Prouer. i.*

follows: 'Hæc humanas omnes actiones regit, de rebus magnis ac dubiis altâ ratiocinatione consultat ac deliberat, præterita præsentibus componit, et sic de futuris judicat, adeo ut eventus rerum quasi præsagire ac prædicere videatur. Hæc una fortunæ aditus occupat, quâ ratione à priscis poetis fortunæ domina dicebatur.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. vi. tit. 8.

[a] 'We are born,' says Locke, 'with faculties and powers capable almost of anything; such, at least, as would carry us further than can easily be imagined. But it is only the exercise of those powers which gives us ability and skill in anything, and leads us towards perfection.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 34, ed. 1854. And Bacon says, 'Natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study.'—*Essays*, p. 444, ed. 1857.

[b] 'For a man to understand fully the business of his particular calling in the commonwealth, and of religion which is his calling as he is a man in the world, is usually enough to take up his whole time; and there are few that inform themselves in these, which is every man's proper and peculiar business, so to the bottom as they should do. But though this be so, and there are very few men that extend their thoughts towards universal knowledge, yet I do not doubt but, if the right way were taken, and the methods of inquiry were ordered as they should be, men of little business and great leisure might go a great deal further in it than is usually done.'—Locke's *Works*, vol. i. p. 60.

[c] Πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μάθησις διανοητικὴ ἐκ προϋπαρχούσης γίνεται γνώσεως.—*Anal. Post.* lib. i. cap. 1. Διάνοια δ' αὐτὴ οὐθὲν κινεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἕνεκά του καὶ πρακτικὴ· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἄρχει.—*Eth. Nicom.* lib. vi. cap. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πράξεώς ἐστι μίμησις, πράττεται δὲ ὑπὸ τίνων πραττόντων, οὓς ἀνάγκη ποιούς τινας εἶναι κατά τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν (διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις εἶναί φαμεν ποιάς τινας), πέφυκεν αἴτια δύο τῶν πράξεων εἶναι, διάνοια καὶ ἦθος, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας καὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσι πάντες . . . . διάνοιαν δὲ, ἐν ὅσοις λέγοντες ἀποδεικνύασί τι ἢ καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην.—*Poetic.* cap. 6.

by heryng shall become wiser, and he that hath understandynge shall be a gouernoure.[a]

Seneca sayeth we instructe our children in liberall sciences, nat bycause those sciences may gyue any vertue, but bicause they prepare the mynde and make it apte to receive vertue.[b] Which beinge considered, no man will denye but that they be necessary to euery man that coueteth very nobilite; whiche as I haue often tymes said is in the hauynge and use of vertue.[c] And verely in whome doctrine hath ben so founden ioyned with vertue, there vertue hath semed excellent and as I mought saye triumphant.

Scipio,[d] commen of the moost noble house of the Romanes, in hygh lernynge and knowlege of the nature of thynges wonderfull studious,[e] hauynge alwaye with hym the mooste excellent philosophers and poetes that were in his tyme,[f] was an example and mirrour of martiall prowesse, continence, deuotion, liberalitie, and of all other vertues.

Cato, called uticensis, named the chiefe pilar of the pub-

[a] 'A wise man will hear and will increase learning, and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels.'—*Prov.* i. 5.

[b] 'Quare ergo liberalibus studiis filios erudimus? Non quia virtutem dare possunt, sed quia animum ad accipiendam virtutem præparant.'—*Epistol.* lxxxviii. § 17.

[c] See Book II. chap. iv. *passim.*

[d] Scipio Africanus Minor.

[e] 'With respect to the literary attainments of Scipio, there was but one opinion in antiquity. He was better acquainted with Greek literature and philosophy than any of his contemporaries, unless it were his friend Lælius. He spoke his own language with purity and elegance, of which we have a striking confirmation in the report, whether true or false, of his having assisted Terence in the composition of his comedies. He was one of the most distinguished orators of his day.'—Smith, *Dict. Biog.*

[f] 'Scipio appears from his earliest years to have devoted himself with ardour to the study of literature; and he eagerly availed himself of the superior knowledge of Polybius to direct him in his literary pursuits. He was accompanied by the Greek historian in almost all his campaigns, and in the midst of his most active military duties, lost no opportunity of enlarging his knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy, by constant intercourse with his friend. At a later period he also cultivated the acquaintance of the philosopher Panætius; nor did he neglect the literature of his own country, for the poets Lucilius and Terence were, as is

like weale of the Romanes,[a] was so moche inflamed in the desire of lernynge that, (as *Suetonius* writeth), he coulde nat tempre[b] him selfe in redyng greke bokes whyles the Senate was sittynge.

well known, admitted to his intimacy. His friendship with Lælius, whose tastes and pursuits were so congenial to his own, was as remarkable as that of the elder Africanus with the elder Lælius, and has been immortalised by Cicero's celebrated treatise entitled 'Lælius, sive de Amicitiâ.'"—*Ubi supra.*

[a] There is some confusion in the whole of this passage, for obviously the description is not applicable to Cato of Utica, but to his great-grandfather Cato the Censor. It was to the latter that a statue was erected as 'the restorer of the State,' the inscription according to Plutarch being, "Οτι *τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω τιμητὴς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ δίδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὖθις ἀποκατέστησε.*—*Cato Major*, 19. But then Plutarch expressly says that the elder Cato showed great contempt for Greek literature: "Ολως *φιλοσοφίᾳ προσκεκρουκὼς καὶ πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν μοῦσαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας προπηλακίζων.*—*Ubi supra*, 23. And he tells a story of the arrival of Carneades and Diogenes at Rome as ambassadors from Athens and of the sensation which their eloquence created, and says that Cato hearing of this, went down to the senate and begged that the ambassadors might be dismissed as speedily as possible, in order that the attention of the Roman youth might not be distracted from their proper studies. The mention of Suetonius, however, gives some clue to the source of the error into which Sir Thomas Elyot has fallen; and on referring to the life of the Emperor Claudius we find not only that he attempted to write *history* ('Historiam in adolescentiâ scribere aggressus est;') but that he was very fond of studying *Greek*, ('nec minore curâ Græca studia secutus est.') And in the same chapter occurs the phrase, 'Ne sedato quidem tumultu *temperare potuit quin*' &c. (cap. 41), a collocation which makes it extremely probable that Sir T. Elyot intended to have cited Claudius and not Cato as an example.

[b] *I.e.* forbear, abstain from. This is the strict classical sense of the Latin verb *temperare*, from which the French verb *temperer* is derived. Cotgrave translates the latter 'to *temper*, moderate, qualifie; governe, order; allay, assuage; forbeare, spare, abstaine, refraine from; to mingle discreetly, measure equally, keepe a mean.' Palsgrave has, 'I *temper* my selfe, I avoyde to be angrye or be in any other passion whan I am provoked, *Je me temperise*, verb. med. prim. conj. and *je me amesure*, verb. med. prim. conj. He can *temper* hym selfe as well as any man that ever you sawe—*il se scait aussi bien temperiser*, or *amesurer*, *que homme que vous vistez jamays.*'—*L'Esclairciss.*, p. 754. The sense in which the parent word was used by classical writers will be best illustrated by the following examples, in addition to that from Suetonius quoted in the last note. Thus Pliny in his Dedication to Vespasian says: 'Non queo mihi temperare, quominus ad hoc pertinentia ipsa censorii Catonis verba ponam.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. i. Again: 'Nequeo mihi temperare, quominus unum exemplum antiquitatis afferam.'—*Ibid.* lib. xviii. cap. 8. And 'Mire gratum Tiberio principi, qui non quivit temperare

Howe moche it profited to the noble Augustus that untill the dethe of his uncle Julius Cesar, he diligently applyed his study in Athenes, it well appered after that the Ciuile warres were all finisshed, whan he, refourmynge the hole astate of the publike weale, stablisshed the Senate, and takynge unto hym ten[a] honorable personages, dayly in his owne persone consulted with them of maters to be reported twyse in a monethe to the Senate; in suche wyse aydynge and helpynge forthe that mooste noble courte with his incomparable study and diligence.[b]

The emperour Titus, sonne of Vespasian, for his lernynge and vertue was named the delicate of the worlde.[c]

Marcus Antoninus the emperour, was in euery kynde of lernynge so excellent, that he was therfore openly named the philosopher, nat in reproche, (as men do nowe a dayes in despyte[d] call them philosophers and poetes whom they per-

sibi in eo.'—*Ibid.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 19. Cicero says: 'Usque mihi temperavi, dum perducerem eo rem, ut dignum aliquid et consulatu meo, et vestrâ expectatione efficerem.'—*Epis. ad Div.* x. 7. In Sherwood's *Eng.-French Dict.* we find the phrase 'to *temper* himselfe' translated 's'abstenir, se refreindre, se moderer.'

[a] The author has misapprehended the original passage ('Decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus,' Suet. *Oct.* 35), in which Suetonius alludes to one particular occasion when Octavius in company with Agrippa was present at a scrutiny of the Senate.

[b] '(Sanxit) et ne plus quàm bis in mense legitimus Senatus ageretur, Kalendis et Idibus . . . sibique instituit consilia sortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem Senatum referendis ante tractaret.'—*Ibid.* 35.

[c] 'Huic Titus filius successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus, vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis, adeo ut "amor et deliciæ humani generis" diceretur'—*Eutrop.* lib. vii. cap. 21. The same epithet is applied to him by Suetonius and Victor.

[d] This is the French *despit*, which Cotgrave translates, 'Despight, spight, anger, spleene, stomacke, vexation.' Palsgrave has 'Despyte—*Despit* z. m. *contumelie* s. f.' In a letter from Henry IV. to the Duke of Orleans in 1402 we find the word used, 'Si vous semble par vostre present escrit qu'iceluy vostredit desir, auez tourné grandement en friuolles et en parolles de tenson et *despit*, en diffamant nostre personne.'—Monstrelet, *Chron.* tom. i. p. 12, ed. 1572. The phrase occurs constantly in Froissart; thus the Duke of Anjou, in 1388, is made to say in answer to the question whether certain hostages should be put to death, 'Par ma foi, si feront, *en dépit de* Messire Robert Canolle et de Messire Hue

ceyue studious in sondry good disciplines[a]), but to the augmentation of his honour. For beyng of his owne nature aptly inclined to embrace vertue, he, addyng to abundaunce of lernyng, became therby a wonderfull and perfecte prince, beynge neyther by study withdrawen from affaires of the publike weale, nor by any busynes utterly pluckyd frome Philosophy and other noble doctrynes.[b] By the whiche mutuall

Broec, qui ont menti leur foi.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 384, which is rendered by Lord Berners, 'By my faythe they shall, *in the dispyte of* Sir Robert Canoll and Sir Byre, who hath falsed their faithe.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 57. Again, referring to the same circumstance, he says, 'Et tantôt Messire Robert Canolle fit ouvrir une poterne hors du chastel, et sur les fossés il fit décoler, *au dépit de* François, tous les prisonniers que il tenoit' (*ubi supra*), which appears thus in Lord Berners' version: 'And incontynent Sir Robert Canoll opyned a posterne gate, and on the brimme of the dykes, *in dispyte of* the frenchemen, he caused to stryke of the heedes of all the prisoners that he had.'—*Ubi supra.* Again Earl Douglas is reported to have said, '*Au dépit de* Messire Henry de Percy, qui dit devant hier que il me challengeroit son pennon que je conquis, et par beau fait d'armes, à la porte du chastel, nous ne nous partirons point de cy dedans deux ou trois jours, et ferons assailir le chastel d'Octebourch' (*Ibid.* p. 725), which is thus translated by Lord Berners: '*In dispyte of* Sir Henry Percy (who sayd he wolde come and wynne agayn his penon) let us nat departe hence for two or thre dayes; lette us assayle this castell. —*Ibid.* p. 394. So Montaigne says, 'Alexandre assiegeoit une ville aux Indes; ceulx de dedans, se trouvants pressez, se resolurent vigoreusement à le priver du plaisir de cette victoire, et s'embraiserent universellement touts quand et leur ville, *en despit de* son humanité.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 130, ed. 1854; and Chaucer in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

> 'For certeyn, Phebus and Neptunus bothe,
> That makeden the walles of the town,
> Ben with the folk of Troie alwey so wrothe,
> That they wol brynge it to confusioun;
> Right *in despit of* King Lameadon.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 305.

The word is no doubt derived from the Latin despectus, despicere; and in Cooper's edition of the author's *Dictionary* the words despicatus, despicatio, are translated, 'despite, contempt.' We may trace the origin of the phrase used in the text by comparing it with the following passage in Cicero: 'Filii parvi, privati patris auxilio, ludibrio et *despectui* paternis inimicis erunt oppositi.'—*Ad Herenn.* lib. iv. cap. 39.

[a] See Vol. I. p. 120.

[b] See Vol. I. p. 104, note.

coniunction and iust temperaunce[a] of those two studyes he attayned to suche a fourme in all his gouernaunce, that he was named and taken for father of the Senate, of the people, and uniuersally of all the hole empyre.[b] Moreouer his dedes

[a] *I.e.* Mingling, composition, admixture = attemperance. Palsgrave has 'Temperaunce—*atrempance* s. f. *attemperance* s. f.'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 279. And 'I *temper* any metalles togyther.—*Je attrempe*, prim. conj. and *je trempe*, prim. conj. When metalles be well *tempered* togyther they wyll be all as one. *Quant plusieurs metaulx sont bien attrempez ensemble ilz seront comme silz fussent tous que ung seul metal.*'—*Ibid.* p. 754. In Baret's *Alvearie* we find, 'A moderation' a tempering; a mixing; temperatio, Cic. κρᾶσις. *Attrempement*, *temperature*. This sense is, of course, derived from that of the Latin words temperare, temperantia. Thus Cicero says, 'Ut enim corporis temperatio, quum ea congruunt inter se, è quibus constamus, sanitas sic animi dicitur, quum ejus judicia opinionesque concordant, eaque animi est virtus; quam alii ipsam *temperantiam* dicunt esse, alii obtemperantem temperantiæ præceptis, et eam subsequentem, nec habentem ullam speciem suam.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. cap. 13. Elsewhere he says, 'In variâ et perpetuâ oratione hi sunt inter se miscendi et *temperandi*.'—*Orator*, cap. 58. Pliny, speaking of Corinthian bronze, says, 'Ejus tria genera: candidum, argento nitore quàm proximè accedens, in quo illa mixtura prævaluit: alterum, in quo auri fulva natura: tertium, in quo æqualis omnium *temperies* fuit. Præter hæc est, cujus ratio non potest reddi, quanquam hominis manu facta dederit Fortuna temperamentum simulacro signisque.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 3. Tibullus employs it in reference to liquids: '*Temperet* annosum Marcia lympha merum' (lib. iii. el. 6); and thus it passed into French, for Froissart, describing the sufferings of the English in Portugal in 1387, says, 'Ils trouvoient peu de bonnes eaux et de fresches, pour *temprer* leur vin ni eux rafreschir,' (*Chron.* tom ii. p. 628, Pan. Lit. edit.), which Lord Berners translates: 'They coude fynde but lytell good waters to *temper* their wynes nor to refresshe them.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 296, ed. 1812. Udall, in his translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus*, says, 'There hadde beene manye soondrye drenches *tempered* by the Philosophers; as, for example, by the secte of Pithagoras, by the Academikes, by the Stoikes, by the Epicureans, and by the Peripatetikes, promisyng perfecte healthe of the mindes, yea, and heauens blisse too. Moyses *tempered* many pocions, prescribing and appoyntyng soondrye ceremonyes of religion and of seruyng God; the prophetes also made muche and manye *temperynges* to the same ende and purpose.'—Vol. i. fo. ccix. ed. 1551. And on referring to the original we find that Erasmus wrote, '*Miscuerant* varia pharmaca philosophi Pythagorici, &c. Multa *miscuit* Moses,' &c.—*Paraphr. in N. Test.* p. 275, ed. 1541. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Temperyn, or menge to-gedur (myngyn togedyr) commisceo, misceo' (p. 488). And in the author's own *Dictionary* Temperatura is translated 'A temperance or moderation in the *mynglynge* of thynges togyther.' And we have already seen the verb 'to temper' used in the sense of 'to mix' in the present volume. See *ante* p. 318.

[b] At first he declined the title of Pater Patriæ conferred on him by the Senate

and wordes were of all men had in so hyghe estimation and reuerence, that bothe the Senate and people toke of him lawes and rules of their lyuynge. And in his gouernaunce and propre lyuing, as well at home in his house as in his ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the onely lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in autoritie, so by the uniuersall oppinion of all men he was iuged to be of all other men than lyuinge, the best and also the wysist.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of Experience whiche haue preceded our tyme, with a defence of Histories.[a]

EXPERIENCE whereof commeth wysedome is in two maner of wise. The one is actes committed or done by other men, wherof profite or damage succedynge, we may, (in knowynge or beholdinge it), be therby instructed to apprehende the thing which to thepublike weale, *Titus Liuius in prœmiolii.*

in the absence of his younger colleague Verus, but the general esteem in which he was held appears in the account given by Capitolinus of his death : 'Quum igitur in amore omnium imperasset, atque ab aliis modò frater, modò pater, modò filius, ut cujusque ætas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur, diem ultimum clausit.'—*Hist. Aug.* tom. i. p. 358, ed. 1671. Merivale's description of the elder Antonine is equally applicable to his successor : 'It had been said in praise of Augustus, that he was the *Paterfamilias* of the whole empire: but the head of a Roman family was at best a beneficent despot, standing aloof, in haughty dignity, from the caresses of wife and children, and exacting obedience from their fear rather than their affection ; while among his slaves he was a tyrant, self-willed alike in kindness and in cruelty. Antoninus was the father of his subjects in a different sense.'—*Hist. of Rome*, vol. vii. p. 505.

[a] Hume has some remarks on the study of History which might almost have been suggested by a perusal of this chapter. 'If we consider the shortness of human life, and our limited knowledge, even of what passes in our own time, we must be sensible that we should be for ever children in understanding, were it not for this invention, which extends our *experience* to all past ages, and to the most distant nations; making them contribute as much to our improvement in wisdom,

or to our owne persones, may be commodious; and to exchue that thing, which either in the begynnyng or in the conclusion, appereth noisome and vicious.[a]

The knowlege of this Experience is called Example, and is expressed by historie,[b] whiche of Tulli is called the life of memorie.[c] And so it agreeth well with the versis of Affranius by me late declared.[d] And therfore to suche persones as do contemne auncient histories, reputing them amonge leasinges and fantises[e] (these be their wordes of reproche), it may be

as if they had actually lain under our observation. A man acquainted with history may, in some respect, be said to have lived from the beginning of the world, and to have been making continual additions to his stock of knowledge in every century. There is also an advantage in that *experience*, which is acquired by history, above what is learned by the *practice* of the world, that it brings us acquainted with human affairs, without diminishing in the least from the most delicate sentiments of virtue. And to tell the truth, I know not any study or occupation so unexceptionable as history in this particular.'—*Philosoph. Works*, vol. iv. p. 531, ed. 1826. And Lord Bolingbroke, in the same strain, says, 'The school of example is the world; and the masters of this school are history and *experience*.'—*Letters on History*, vol. i. p. 20, ed. 1752.

[a] 'Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri. Inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias; inde, fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.'—Liv. *Proem.* lib. i.

[b] 'History,' says Lord Bolingbroke, 'is philosophy teaching by examples.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 15.

[c] 'Historia vero . . . vita memoriæ.'—*De Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 9. See also Vol. I. p. 82.

[d] See *ante*, p. 367.

[e] This word, which is often used by the author, is simply the French *fantaisie*, which Cotgrave spells *fantasie*, and translates, 'The fancie or *fantasie*, opinion, humor, imagination, conceit, &c.' On the other hand Palsgrave has 'Fantasy—*phantasie*,' which brings it still nearer to the Greek original φαντασία. The author in his own *Dictionary* gives 'Phantasia, fantasy,' which in the later edition by Cooper is explained to be 'the image of things conceyued in the mynde, or the power animall keeping the formes first conceyued in the common sense: phantasie: imagination.' Cicero attributes it to the nomenclature of Zeno: 'Primum de sensibus ipsis quædam dixit nova; quos junctos esse censuit à quâdam quasi impulsione oblatâ extrinsecus, quam ille φαντασίαν, nos "visum" appellemus licet.'—*Acad. Quæst.* lib. i. cap. 11. The word is constantly used by Montaigne. Thus he says: 'Comme ez choses qui consistent en *fantasie*, elle le reiecta à la devotion.' Again: 'Tant y a que nous veoyons par experience les femmes envoyer, aux corps des enfants qu'elles portent au ventre, des marques de

sayd, that in contemnynge histories they frustrate Experience; whiche (as the sayd Tulli sayeth) is the light of vertue,[a] whiche they wolde be sene so moche to fauour all thoughe they do seldome embrace it. And that shall they perceyue manifestly if they will a litle while laye a parte their accustomed obstinacie, and suffre to be distilled in to their eares two or thre dropes of the sweete oyle of remembraunce. Lete them reuolue in their myndes generally that there is no doctrine, be it eyther diuine or humaine, that is nat eyther all expressed in historie or at the leste mixte with historie.[b] But to thentent that there shall be left none ignoraunce wherby they mought be detayned in their errour, I will declare unto theim what is that that is called an historie, and what it comprehendeth.

Firste it is to be noted that it is a greke name,[c] and commeth of a worde or verbe in greke *Historeo*,[d] whiche dothe signifie to knowe, to se, to enserche, to enquire, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde unto other. And than muste historie whiche commeth therof be wonderfull profitable, whiche

leurs *fantasies*.'—*Essais*, tom. i. pp. 120, 127. And also by Chaucer, as *ex. gr.*:

> 'We wymmen han, if that I schal nought lye,
> In this matier a queynte *fantasie*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 221.

[a] Rather of *verity*, for Cicero's expression is 'Historia . . . lux veritatis' (*De Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 9); but it is quite possible some copies may have substituted virtutis for veritatis; see, however, Vol. I. p. 82, where the author has translated the passage quite correctly.

[b] 'Doubtless,' says Schlegel, 'the philosophy of history forms an essential part of the science of divine and human things—things which in the mode of conceiving or treating them, should be rarely and even never entirely separated.'—*Philosophy of Hist.* p. 275, ed. 1846.

[c] 'Historia Græcè significat rerum cognitionem præsentium.'—Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* lib. v. cap. 18.

[d] *I.e.* ἱστορέω, which Stephanus renders by the Latin equivalents, Noscito, cognosco, viso, lustro, memoriæ prodo, scisitor, percontor, quæro, sciscitando seu percontando audio, ob oculos pono, spectandum propono. 'The word "History,"' says Professor Rawlinson, 'etymologically means "inquiry" or "research."'—*Manual of Ancient Hist.* p. 1, ed. 1869.

leaueth nothinge hydde from mannes knowlege, that unto hym may be eyther pleasaunt or necessarie.[a] For it nat onely reporteth the gestes[b] or actes of princes or capitaynes, their counsayles and attemptates,[c] entreprises, affaires, maners in

[a] 'To the philosopher,' says a modern writer, 'history is a faithful mirror which reflects to him the human character under every possible variety of situation and colour, and thus furnishes him with the means of amplifying and confirming the knowledge of our common nature.'—Smyth, *Lectures on Mod. Hist.* vol. i. p. 20, ed. 1854. And it was the opinion of Locke that 'As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than History.'—*On Education*, p. 328, ed. 1699.

[b] This word, which has been used already, see Vol. I. pp. 40, 252, is simply the French word meaning exploits, memorable actions, &c., and is derived from the Latin *gesta*, which the Author in his *Dictionary* translates 'Actes, thynges practised or doone.' Henri de Valenciennes, the continuator of Villehardouin, in his *Conquest of Constantinople*, written in the fourteenth century, uses the word in this sense: 'Qui vous raconteroit ses *gestes* jusques à Salenyque, che seroit uns grans anuis.'—P. 191, ed. 1838. It also occurs in the poems of Clement Marot, the French poet, who died in 1544:

> 'Les vitres sont de clair et fin cristal:
> Où peintes sont les *gestes* autentiques
> De ceux qui ont jadis de cœur loyal
> Bien observé d'amour les loix antiques.'
>
> *Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 141, ed. 1731.

And in the following passages of Montaigne: 'Si les *gestes* de Xenophon et de Cæsar n'eussent de bien loing surpassé leur eloquence, ie ne crois pas qu'ils les eussent iamais escripts.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 372, ed. 1854. 'Les Lacedemoniens sacrifioient aux Muses, entrants en battaille, à fin que leurs *gestes* feussent bien et dignement escripts.'—*Ibid.* tom iii. p. 38. Lord Berners, in the Preface to his translation of Froissart's Chronicle, says: 'Whan we (beynge unexpert of chaunces) se, beholde, and rede the auncyent actes, *gestes*, and dedes, howe and with what labours, daungers, and paryls they were *gested* and done, they right greatly admonest, ensigne, and teche us howe we maye lede forthe our lyues . . . but onelye hystorie, truely with wordes representyng the actes, *gestes*, and dedes done, complecteth all profyte.'—Ed. 1812. Shakspeare, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, makes Antony say:

> 'We've beat him to his camp: run one before,
> And let the queen know of our *gests*.'
>
> Vol. vii. p. 571, ed. Dyce.

[c] This word, of which we have already seen instances (*ante*, pp. 324, 335), is no doubt only the English form of the French *attentat*, which was originally spelt *attemptat*, for Palsgrave gives, 'I attempt, I enterprise, I take in hande. *Je attempte*, prim. conj. This is nowe the thirde mater that you have attempted

lyuinge good and bad, descriptions of regions and cities, with their inhabitauntes, but also it bringeth to our knowlege the fourmes of sondry publike weales with their augmentations and decayes and occasion therof; more ouer preceptes, exhortations, counsayles, and good persuasions, comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquent orations. Finally so large is the compase of that whiche is named historie, that it comprehendeth all thynge that is necessary to be put in memorie. In so moche as Aristotell, where he declareth the partes of mannes body with their description and offices, and also

agaynst me. *Voycy mayntenant la tierce matiere que vous auez attemptée contre moy.*'—*L'Esclairciss.* p. 439. Cotgrave translates *attentat*, 'A proceeding in suit, notwithstanding an appeale; also a taking (by the plaintife or defendant) to his own use part of a thing which the Court hath wholly sequestred; any attempt made, or course held on, contrary to a public Order.' The word therefore no doubt is of forensic origin. In a letter from Pace to Wolsey, dated August 7, 1521, he says: 'As herunto the Kynge marvaylith gretly off thys presumptuose *attemptate* usydde by the Frenchemen in hys streme.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 36. It occurs also in the Statutes of the Realm at this period; thus 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 6, recites that divers merchants of the city of London have not only sold wines at excessive prices, 'but also havyng in their handes and possessions greate haboundance of wynes by theym acquired and bought to be solde, obstinatly and maliciously syth their seid *attemptates* and defaultes proved, have refused to sell any of their said wynes,' &c. And in Udall's translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus on Luke v.: 'Heritiques dooe attempte and laboure to cutte in soondre the doctrine of the ghospel, but Christe on euerye syde fensing those that are his, turneth the deuilishe *attemptates* of the others to the profiting and betteryng of the porcion that is uncorrupted.'—Tom. i. fo. cclxiii. ed. 1551, where the original has *conantur*, *conatus*. No such words as attemptatio, attemptare, were known to classical writers, but the latter is used by Matthew Paris in his history of the reign of Henry III., for speaking of an insurrection in the north of Ireland, occasioned by an attempt to deprive the daughters of Alan of Galloway of their inheritance in 1236, he says 'Et ut id *attemptantes* suum certius consummarent desiderium, fœdus inauditum inierunt.'—*Chron. Maj.* vol. iii. p. 365. The Rolls ed. In Rymer, under the date A.D. 1236, we find two letters of Henry III. to the Emperor Otho, the subject of which is 'De attemptatione Lumbardorum.'—Vol. i. p. 364, ed. 1704. Cressy a celebrated Popish writer of the seventeenth century, uses a form of the word which brings it still nearer to the French original. Referring to the charge made against the Papists that they were the cause of the Fire of London, he says: 'Complaints of this most execrable *attentat* were made, and severall oathes to confirm this were offred, but in vain.'—*Church Hist. of Britain*, p. 321, ed. 1668.

the sondry fourmes and dispositions of all bestes, foules, and fisshes, with their generation he nameth his boke an historie.[a]

Semblably Theophrast, his scholer, a noble philosopher, descriuynge all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the true knowlege, intitleth his boke the historie of plantes.[b]

[a] The Greek titles of these works are Περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορίαι and Περὶ ζῴων μορίων, which, when translated into Latin, became respectively *De Animalibus Historiæ* and *De Partibus Animalium*. The writer of the article on 'Aristotle,' in the last (the ninth) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says, ''Ιστορία means "a record of investigations." Aristotle sometimes uses the word simply in the sense of "history," but it was a mistranslation to call his work on animals *Historia Animalium*. Out of this the term "Natural History" has grown into modern usage.' K. O. Müller says, 'The books which we have contain a methodical description of the different varieties of the animal kingdom; and the various animals are exhibited according to their characteristic features, with especial reference to their mode of life, instinctive habits, and the reproduction of the species.'—*Hist. Gr. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 306, ed. 1858. The 'History of Animals' was highly extolled by Cuvier and other writers, who regarded it as 'one of the greatest monuments which the genius of man has raised to Natural Science;' by modern critics, however, this estimate is now considered to be unduly exaggerated. Thus Mr. G. H. Lewes says, 'There is, strictly speaking, no *science* in it at all. There is not even a system which might look like science. There is not one good description. It is not an anatomical treatise; it is not a descriptive zoology; it is not a philosophy of zoology; it is a collection of remarks about animals, their structure, resemblances, differences, and habits. As a collection it is immense. But it is at the best only a collection of details, without a trace of organization; and the details themselves are rarely valuable, often inaccurate.'—Aristotle, p. 271, ed. 1864.

[b] Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορία. Theophrastus was the pupil and successor of Aristotle, 'but in many departments, especially in some branches of natural history, he extended and improved what had been done by his master. His treatise "on stones," published B.C. 315; that "on the causes of plants," which appeared a year or two afterwards, and the great work on botany, which was put forth after the year 307 B.C., have superseded Aristotle's works on similar subjects, and his collection of laws would have been a valuable appendage to Aristotle's great work on the polities, had the two books been preserved to our time. With the exception of the botanical treatises and a little book on 'characteristics,' the numerous writings of Theophrastus are either lost altogether or have come down to us in mere fragments.'—Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* vol. iii. p. 10, ed. 1858. According to Professor Brandis, an edition of the works of Theophrastus was published by Aldus at Venice in 1498. Probably this author was more read in the 16th century than he has been since. Montaigne for instance, who was evidently well acquainted with his writings, makes frequent allusion to him, and calls him 'philosophe si delicat, si modeste, si sage.'—*Essais*, tom. iv. p. 116, ed. 1854.

And finally Plini the elder calleth his mooste excellent and wonderfull warke, the historie of nature ;[a] in the whiche boke he nothing ommitteth that in the bosome of Nature is contayned, and may be by mannes witte comprehended, and is worthy to be had in remembraunce.[b] Whiche autorities of these thre noble and excellent lerned men approueth the signification of Historie to agree well with the exposition of the verbe *historeo*, wherof it cometh.

Nowe let us se what booke of holy scripture, I meane the olde testament and the newe, may be saide to haue no parte of historie. The fiue bokes of Moises, the boke of Juges, the foure bokes of kynges, Job, Hester, Judith, Ruth, Thobias, and also the historie of Machabees (whiche from the other is seperate), I suppose no man wil denie but that they be all historicall,[c] or (as I mought say) intier histories. Also

[a] 'The only work of Pliny which has been preserved to us is his *Historia Naturalis*. By Natural History the ancients understood more than modern writers would usually include in the subject. It embraced astronomy, meteorology, geography, mineralogy, zoology, botany ; in short, everything that does not relate to the results of human skill or the products of human faculties. Pliny, however, has not kept within even these extensive limits. He has broken in upon the plan implied by the title of the work, by considerable digressions on human inventions and institutions, and on the history of the fine arts. Minor digressions on similar topics are also interspersed in various parts of the work, the arrangement of which in other respects exhibits but little scientific discrimination. It comprises, as Pliny says in the preface, within the compass of thirty-six books, 20,000 matters of importance, drawn from about 2,000 volumes.'—Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* Professor Browne styles it 'an unequalled monument of studious diligence and persevering industry.'—*Hist. Rom. Class. Lit.* p. 524. The first edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* was published at Venice in 1469, and was rapidly followed by many others.

[b] The next paragraph is omitted in Mr. Eliot's edition.

[c] Inasmuch as the Pentateuch is not now generally considered to form part of the Historical Books, which, as is well known, are twelve in number, and comprise those from Joshua to Esther inclusive, it is probable that Sir T. Elyot had adopted the division ordered by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who mentions together the five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the two latter being included under the title of 'the Histories of the return from Babylon,' *τὰ τῆς Ἐπανόδου*, (see Bingham, *Antiq. of Christ. Church*, vol. v. p. 78, ed. 1855) ; but if we regard the intrinsic claims of these books to the title assigned to them by Sir T. Elyot we shall find that he

Esdras,[a] Nemias, Ezechiel, and Daniel, all though they were prophetes, yet be their warkes compacte in fourme of narrations, whiche by oratours be called enunciatiue[b] and only pertaineth

was fully justified in calling them historical. For beginning with the book of Genesis, 'its scope may be considered as twofold: 1. to record the history of the world from the commencement of time; and 2. to relate the origin of the church, and the events which befell it during many ages.'—Horne, *Int. Old Test.* p. 512, ed. 1860. The book of Exodus 'is a history of matters of fact' (*Ibid.* p. 519), that of Leviticus 'presents the historical progress of the legislation which began at Sinai' (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 582, ed. 1856); 'the book of Numbers contains a history of the Israelites, from the beginning of the 2nd month of the 2nd year after their departure from Egypt, to the beginning of the 11th month of the 40th year of their journeyings—that is a period of 38 years and 9 or 10 months' (*Ibid.* p 526); and lastly, the book of Deuteronomy contains 'a repetition of the history related in the preceding books, and the personal history of Moses until his death.'—*Ibid.* p. 536. With regard to Job, Sir T. Elyot might allege the authority of Josephus, 'because he includes the work among the historical or prophetic parts of the Old Testament;' and in fact, 'the basis of the poem is historic truth.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 707, 709. The books of Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees are now included in the Apocrypha, but at the time when *The Governour* was published they were still reckoned as canonical. For although the example of collecting the doubtful books in a separate group (as implied by the passage in the text) had been set in the Strasburg edition of the Septuagint of 1526, yet the Confession of Augsburg, dated in 1531, contains no article whatever on the Canon of Scripture, nor do the Lutherans appear to have had any other canon than Luther's Bible. Wicliff, indeed, as early as 1380, had applied the term Apocrypha to all but the twenty-five Canonical Books of the Old Testament. The disputed books were collected and described in the same way in the printed English Bible of 1539 (Crammer's), and since then there has been no fluctuation as to the application of the word.

[a] 'The first in order of the Apocryphal books in the English Bible. But in the Vulgate, the first book of Esdras means the canonical book of Ezra, and the second book of Esdras means Nehemiah, according to the primitive Hebrew arrangement mentioned by Jerome (Apud Hebræos, Ezræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur.—Migne ed. tom. ix. col. 1403), in which Ezra and Nehemiah made up two parts of the one book of Ezra; and third and fourth Esdr. are what we now call 1 and 2 Esdras.'—Smith's *Dict. Bible.* 'The book gives us a consecutive history *de templi restitutione*, as the old Latin tersely expresses it.'—Kitto, *Cyclop. Bib. Lit.* p. 820.

[b] The Latin word from which this is derived appears, so far as classical authors are concerned, to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and is only used by Seneca in the following passage: 'Sunt, inquit, naturæ corporum; tanquam, hic homo est, hic equus: has deinde sequuntur motus animorum *enuntiativi* corporum . . . Corpus est, quod video, cui et oculos et animum intendi. Dico deinde "Cato ambulat." Non corpus, inquit, est, quod nunc loquor; sed *enuntiativum* quiddam de corpore,

to histories, wherin is expressed a thyng done, and persones named. All the other prophetes, thoughe they speake of the tyme future or to come, whiche is out of the description of an historie, yet either in rebukinge the sinnes and enormities passed, or bewayling the destruction of their countray, or captiuitie of the people, and suche like calamitie or miserable astate, also in meuing or persuading the people, they do recite some circumstaunce of a narration.[a] But nowe be we commen to the newe testament, and principally the bokes of the Euangelistes, vulgarely called the gospelles,[b] which be one

quod alii effatum vocant, alii enuntiatum, alii dictum.'—*Epist.* cxvii. §§ 12, 13. Jeremy Taylor uses the same form in his *Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial*: 'I understand, though not the degree and excellency, yet the truth of this manner of operation in the instance of Isaac blessing Jacob, which in the several parts was expressed in all forms, indicative, optative, *enunciative*.'—P. 39, ed. 1672. And so does Ayliffe, in his great work on the Laws of the Church: 'A Publick instrument is so far presum'd to be true, that it contains Probationem probatam, as the lawyers call it. . . . But this Presumption, according to some, only proceeds and obtains in respect of the dispositive words of an Instrument, and not in regard of the *enunciative* Terms thereof: as Titius the son of Sempronius: for such *enunciative* words do not induce a Presumption, that he was the son of Sempronius.'—*Parergon Juris Canon. Angl.* p. 306, ed. 1726. The Latin word was indeed constantly employed by commentators on the Roman law. And such perhaps the author may have intended to indicate by the term 'orators.'

[a] A modern writer is of the same opinion. 'The writings of the twelve minor prophets,' says Dr. Horne, 'are particularly valuable, not only because they have preserved a great number of predictions relating to the advent, life, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, the calling of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews, the ruin of Jerusalem, and the abrogation of the ceremonies of the Mosaic law; but especially they have recorded numerous events, concerning the *history* of the kingdoms of Judah, Israel, Babylon, Idumæa, Egypt, Moab, and Ammon. These memorials of events are the more valuable, as very few of them are noticed in the sacred history; and profane history is almost totally wanting for the periods which they comprise. The writings of the minor prophets, therefore, may be regarded as a kind of *supplement for the history* of their own times and the age immediately following.'—*Introd. to Old Test.* p. 775, ed. 1860.

[b] The word Gospel is a purely Saxon word, compounded, according to Spelman, of the radicals 'God,' and 'spel.' 'God enim non solum *Deum*, sed etiam *bonum* significat. Spel, *historiam, narrationem, nuntium.* Sic ut *Gospel* sit *Dei historia*; vel (quòd Græcam dictionem εὐαγγέλιον expressiùs reddit) *bonum nuntium.* Spel vero historiam, narrationem, sermonem, aliquando librum significare prope notum est linguæ Saxonicæ mystagogis. Inde bigspel *proverbium*,

contexte[a] of an historie, do nat they contayne the temporall lyfe of our sauyour Christ, kinge of kinges and lorde of the

anspel *conjectura*, Idlespellunge *aniles fabulæ*, spelbodan *oratores*, à spellian (apud Ælfridum) *narrare*,' &c. Becon, who was a contemporary of Elyot, says: 'The Greek word *euangelion*, which we call *gospel* in English, soundeth in our common tongue, a good, joyful, and merry message.'—*Works*, p. 113, ed. Par. Soc. And Tyndale explains it in the same way: 'Evangelion (that we call the *gospel*) is a Greek word; and signifieth good, merry, glad, and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy; as when David had killed Goliah the giant, came glad tidings unto the Jews, that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain, and they delivered out of all danger: for gladness whereof, they sung, danced, and were joyful. In like manner is the Evangelion of God (which we call *gospel* and the New Testament) joyful tidings; and, as some say, a good hearing published by the apostles throughout all the world, of Christ the right David; which tidings as many as believe, laud, praise, and thank God; are glad, sing and dance for joy.'—*Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 8, 9, ed. Par. Soc.

[a] This is the French word *contexte*, which Cotgrave translates, 'A *context*, a whole web, composition, worke; or an interlacing, joyning, or weaving together; also the forme or stile of a Proces, Booke, or Discourse.' And this in its turn was derived from the Latin contextus, which is constantly used by Quintilian. Thus he speaks of 'Litterarum nomina et contextus.'—*Inst. Orat.* lib. i. 1, § 24. And 'Contextus et continuatio sermonis.'—*Ibid.* viii. 2, § 14. Again he says, 'Sed sermonis alicujus habiti verborum contextus eâdem arte quomodo comprehendetur?' (*Ibid.* xi. 2, § 24), where it signifies 'the order, or connection of the words;' and finally he uses it absolutely in the following passage: 'Non interrumpendus est contextus.'—*Ibid.* lib. xi. 3, § 39. We may observe that the author does not notice the substantive in his *Dictionary*, though he gives the verb from which it is formed, *contexo*, *ere*, 'to ioyne together.' M. Littré does not give any examples of the use of the word by early French writers. Montaigne has the form *contexture*, which is uncommon, in the same sense. "Je trouvay belles les imaginations de cet aucteur, la *contexture* de son ouvrage bien suyvie, et son desseing plein de pieté."—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 257, ed. 1854. Bacon uses the word *contexted* in the primitive sense of 'united, joined together,' in the following passage: 'He saith farther, that those papers, as well loose as *contexted*, which he had formerly confessed to be of his own hand, might be of the writing of the said Peacham.'—*Works*, vol. xii. p. 127, ed. 1869. Owen Feltham, who wrote in the succeeding century, speaks of 'Historie or *contexted* fable.'—*Resolves*, p. 217, ed. 1631. And this last phrase seems very analogous to that used by Sir Thomas Elyot. Hobbes, in the preface to his translation of Thucydides, published in 1634, has a very similar expression to that in the text: 'The principall and proper worke of History being to instruct and enable men by the knowledge of actions past, to beare themselues prudently in the present, and prouidently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meerely humane) that doth more fully and naturally performe it hen this of my Author. It is true that there be many excellent and profitable

worlde, untill his glorious assention? And what thinge lacketh therin that doth pertayne to a perfecte historie? There lacketh nat in thinges ordre and disposition, in the context or narration veritie, in the sentences grauitie, utilitie in the counsailes, in the persuasions doctrine, in expositions or declarations facilitie.

The bokes of actes of apostels, what thinge is it els but a playne historie? The epistles of saint Paule, saint Peter, saynt John, saynt James, and Judas the apostles do contayne counsailes and aduertisementes in the fourme of orations, resiting diuers places as well out of the olde testament as out of the gospelles, as it were an abbreuiate,[a] called of the grekes and latines, *Epitoma*.[b]

Histories written since; and in some of them there be inserted very wise discourses, both of Manners and Policie. But being discourses inserted, and not of the *contexture* of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History itselfe, the nature whereof is meerely narratiue.'

[a] This form, which = abridgment, is uncommon. The history of this word belongs entirely to the Middle Ages, for the Latin verb abbreviare was used only by Vegetius. Matthew of Westminster, who wrote in the fourteenth century, employs it in its technical sense of 'to register, or give in an account.' Thus in his account of the year A.D. 1297 he says: 'In crastino translationis beati Thomæ martyris, citatis comitibus et Baronibus regni Londini, mandante Rege suo Constabulario et suo Marescallo, Comitibus Northfolciæ et Herefordiæ, adunati populi coram ipsis apud S. Paulum, *adbreviare* quot equitaturas quisque posset invenire ipsi regi processuro ad bellum.'—*Flores Histor.* lib. ii. p. 409, ed. 1570. In the *Promptorium*, compiled in 1440, we find 'abreggyn *abbrevio*.' And in Palsgrave's *L'Esclaircissement*, 'I abrevyate, I make a thynge shorte. *Je abrege*.' The word originally seems to have been equivalent to breviare, which = in *breves* redigere; and another form, inbreviare, was used indifferently. Thus in the Capitularies of Charlemagne we find: 'Exempla *inbreviandorum* episcopatuum, monasteriorum, fiscorumque regalium. . . . Et sic cetera de talibus rebus *breviare* debes. Item *adbreviandum* de peculiis.'—Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Legum*, tom. i. pp. 175, 178, ed. 1835. In a charter of King John, relating to the Stannaries of Devon and Cornwall about A.D. 1200, which is printed in the Black Book of the Exchequer, but is not to be found in Mr. Pearce's *Laws of the Stannaries*, we find one of the forms last mentioned used in this technical sense: 'Item Custodes secundæ funturæ et Clericus diligenter et memoriter, sicut propria corpora sua, *inbreviare* faciant omnia miliaria et centurias et libras, quæ per pondus et cuneum custodiæ suæ

For Note [b], see page 394.

This is well knowen to be true of them that haue hadde any leasure to rede holy scripture, who, remembringe them selfes by this my little induction, wyll leaue to neglecte historie, or contemne it with so generall a disprayse as they haue bene accustomed. But yet some will impugne them with a more particuler obiection, sayenge that the histories of the Grekes and Romanes be nothyng but lyes and faynynge of poetes (some suche persones there be betwene whome and good autours haue euer ben perpetuell hostilitie). Firste, howe do they knowe that al the histories of grekes and Romanes be leasyngs, sens they finde nat that any scripture autentike[c] made about that tyme that those histories were

ponderentur et signentur in toto anno.'—*Lib. Nig. Scacc.* vol. i. p. 366, ed. 1771. There appears to have been an officer of the Papal chancellery who bore the title of Abbreviator, for according to Domenico Macri, an Italian writer of the seventeenth century, 'Primarius in brevium officio Protonotarius *Abbreviator* dicebatur.'—*Hiero Lexicon*, p. 85, ed. 1735. The substantive 'abbreviate,' and the more usual form 'abbreviation,' are no doubt derived from this clerical function. Dr. Richard Whitlock, in his *Zootomia*, published in 1653, has a chapter entitled 'The *Abbreviates* of Life;' and another writer of the same century says: 'It is enough, which they will tell you and insist upon twenty times, that this Virgin was the chief allurement, which in the beginning moved God Almighty . . . to pick and chuse out of every creature, as it came out, the very best of it for this true Pandora and true *Abbreviate* of all his works.'—Brevint, *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, p. 104, ed. 1674. The word 'Breviate' also occurs; thus there is in the British Museum a 'Copy of an original MS. entitled *A Breviate touching the Order and Governmente of a Nobleman's House*,' *circa*, A.D. 1605; communicated by Sir Jos. Banks, Bart., and printed in 1800.

[b] Cicero uses both forms. Thus: 'Quæ cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ.'—*Epist. ad Att.* v. 20. And again: 'Conturbat enim me epitome Bruti Fanniana, an Bruti epitome Fannianorum?'—*Ibid.* xii. 5. The author in his own *Dictionary* translates this word 'abrigement, or breuiate.' In the *Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius*, which is said to be a translation from the French, Lord Berners, the translator, says in the Prologue, 'The writynges of theym (*i.e.* of Eutropius, Lampridius, Capitolinus, &c.) and of other, semeth rather *epitomes* than histories.'—Signat. A. iii. b. ed. 1539. Prynne, in the Preface to Cotton's *Abridgement of the Records*, reminds his readers that he had 'already published to the world a Chronological *Epitome*, or summary collection of all the extant parliamentary Councils, Synods, and publike State-Assemblies held within the realm of Great Britain.'

[c] This is the French form. Palsgrave gives, 'Awtentyque—*autentique.*' And Cotgrave, '*Authentique*—authenticke, authenticall; of good authority; approved,

writen, do reproue or condemne them? But the most catholike and renoumed doctours of Christes religion in the corrobration of their argumentes and sentences, do alledge the same histories and vouche (as I mought say) to their ayde the autoritie of the writars. And yet some of those Rabines[a] (in

or allowed by authority.' It is, of course, derived from the Greek *αὐθεντικός*, and was applied to the canonical Scriptures, although at a very early period it had a special signification when applied to the Novels of Justinian, which were styled comprehensively Corpus Authenticarum. The word is used by French writers of the thirteenth century. Thus in *Le Roman de la Rose* we read:

> 'Et se tu scés riens de logique,
> Qui bien rest science *autentique*.'
>
> Tom. ii. p. 118, ed. 1814.

And again:

> 'Ses letres sunt à ce tornées,
> Qu'eles valent miex qu'*autentiques*
> Communes, qui sunt si escliques
> Que ne valent qu'à huit personnes.'—*Ibid.* p. 339.

By Froissart it is applied to persons; thus, speaking of the death of Jean Desmarets in A.D. 1382, he says: 'On l'avoit toujours vu homme de grand' prudence et de bon conseil, et avoit toujours été l'un des greigneurs et *authentiques*, qui fut en parlement sur tous les autres.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 264, ed. Pan. Lit. Which Lord Berners translates, 'One of the moost *autentyke* men of the court of parlyment.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 749. The former also speaks of Paris as, 'Cité si *authentique* et le chef du royaume de France.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 699. The very phrase in the text is used also by Tyndall: 'In like maner do ye first geue us *autenticke scripture* for your doctrine. And then if we bring not *autenticke scripture* agaynst you, or confounde your myracle wyth a greater, as Moses dyd the sorcerers of Egipt, we wyll beleue you.'—*Works*, p. 300, ed. 1573. And also by Chaucer, in *The Prologue to the Remedie of Loue*:

> 'Graunt mercie, lord, sith it thee doeth like
> To license me, now I woll and dare boldly
> Assaill my purpose, with *scriptures autentike*,
> My werke woll I ground, underset, and fortefie.'
>
> Fo. 306, b. ed. 1602.

Compare *The Boke of the Duchesse*:

> 'She was as good, and nothynge lyke,
> Thogh hir stories be *autentyke*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 188, ed. 1866.

[a] The word Rabbi was originally a title of respect given by the Jews to their doctors and teachers, and often applied to Christ, but it was afterwards employed

goddes name) whiche in comparison of the sayde noble doctours be as who sayeth petites[a] and unethe lettered, wyll presume with their owne selye wittes to disproue that whiche both by auncientie[b] of tyme and consent of blessed and noble

as a general term for the learned men among them; and as a host of commentators arose who frittered away the Scriptures and put false interpretations upon them, these 'later Rabbins' brought the name into contempt. It is used by our author in an ironical sense. Selden, in his *Illustration to Drayton's Polyolbion*, speaks of 'the *Rabbinique* conceit upon the creation,' p. 263, ed. 1748; and Lord Bolingbroke, in his *Fragments of Essays*, speaks of St. Paul reasoning 'very *rabinically* when he quoted the preference given to Jacob over a much better man—over Esau—and the deliverance of the Israelites, and the destruction of the Egyptians by God for the glory of his name, in order to conclude *à fortiori* that the same God might, by virtue of the same power, reject the Jews, who were literally the seed of Abraham, for refusing to acknowledge the Messiah, and call the Gentiles, who were figuratively this seed, for consenting to acknowledge him.' —*Works*, vol. v. p. 456, ed. 1754. Milton, in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants' Defence*, says: 'Wee will not buy your *Rabbinical* fumes; wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tri'd in the fire.'— *Works*, vol. iii. p. 204, ed. 1851.

[a] The author has here as elsewhere simply adopted a French word instead of using an English one. We may compare the use of the original by Froissart in the following passage: 'Madame, dit le comte (d'Ermignac), je suis un *petit* homme et un povre bachelier.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 376, ed. Pan. Litt. Which Lord Berners translates: 'Madame, quod therle, I am but a meane man.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 49, ed. 1812. Thomas Drant, who published an English version of Horace in the reign of Elizabeth, uses the word in the following passage, in translating the lines 'Ut pueros elementa docentem occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.'

> 'And stamering age to *petyte* laddes
> In corners al wil reede the.'
>
> *Horace to his Boke*, ed. 1567.

And so does William Warner, another sixteenth century poet, in his rhyming history, entitled *Albion's England*:—

> 'Upbrayd me not with banishment, nor Belyns quarrell touch,
> Nor yeat my *petite* Signorie, nor more than troth by much.'
>
> Lib. iii. cap. 16, ed. 1592.

And in the following century Dr. South uses it pleonastically in his *Sermons*: 'By what small, *petit* hints, does the mind catch hold of, and recover a vanishing notion.' —Vol. i. p. 220, ed. 1823. The word, in the sense in which it is employed in the text, is now represented by the more modern form 'petty' or 'paltry.'

[b] This, like the word referred to in the last note, is simply a French word, *ancienneté*, Anglicised. Froissart, in his account of the capture of Calais in 1347,

doctours is allowed and by theyr warkes honoured. If they will coniecte histories to be lyes bicause they somtyme make reporte of thynges sene and actes done whiche do seme to the reders incredible, by that same raison may they nat only condemne all holy scripture, whiche contayneth thynges more wonderfull than any historien writeth, but also exclude credulitie utterly from the company of man. For howe many thinges be daily sene, whiche beinge reported unto him that neuer sawe them, shulde seeme impossible? And if they wyll allege that all thynge contayned in hóly scripture is approbate[a] by the hole consent of all the clergie of Christen-

says: 'Ces six bourgeois se mirent tantôt a genoux pardevant le roi, et dirent ainsi en joignant leurs mains: Gentil sire et gentil roi, véez-nous cy six, qui avons été *d'ancienneté* bourgeois de Calais et grands marchands.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 271, ed. Pan. Litt. And Commines says: 'Ceux qu'on appelle en ce quartier là les nouvelles alliances, ce sont les villes de Basle et de Strasbourg, et autres villes impériales qui sont au long de cette riviere du Rhin, les quelles *d'ancienneté* avoient esté ennemies desdits Suisses.'—*Mémoires*, p. 116, ed. Pan. Litt. Cooper, in his revised edition of the author's *Dictionary*, under the word 'Britannia,' says: 'Also Julius Cæsar wryteth that the places of thys Ile were unknowne to French men sauing to a fewe marchauntes. This well considered, with the authoritie of the wryter, both an excellent Prince and also a great learned man, and was himselfe in thys Ile, it is not to be doubted, but that he most diligently searched for the true knowledge of the *auncientie* therof.' This form occurs also in *A Traictise on the Marriage of Priestes*, by Thomas Martin, D.C.L., published in 1554: 'Furthermore about the yere of our Lord 460, in a counsel holden in the prouince of Narbon within the realme of Fraunce (whiche thei called Concilium Vasense) I find mention of these epistles. . . . Is not the forenamed counseil of *auncientie* aboue a M yeres ago?'—Signat. J. ii. b.

[a] This word, which is now obsolete and is represented by the modern 'approved' is derived from the Latin *approbare, approbatus*. Thus Cicero has the phrase, 'omnium assensu approbatum.'—*De Fin.* lib. iii. cap. 8. Grafton in his continuation of the Chronicle begun by Hardyng, reporting a speech of the Duke of Buckingham in 1483, makes him say, 'Now yf she (*i.e.* the widow of Ed. IV.) refuse in the deliueraunce of hym to folowe the wisdome of theim whose wisdome she knoweth, whose *approbate* fidelitee she trusteth, it is easye to perceaue that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare.'—*Chron.* p. 484, ed 1812. And the word occurs in the speech made by Ed. IV. to his nobles on his deathbed, 'Hauyng perfect confidence, and sure hope in the *approbate* fidelitie and constaunt integritie whiche I haue euer experimented, and knowen to bee radicate and planted in the partes of your louyng bodies toward me and myne.'—Hall, *Chron.* vol. i. fo. ccxlix. ed. 1548. Again: 'There is another prayse of this

dome at diuers generall counsailes assembled, certes the same counsailes neuer disproued or reiected the histories of grekes or Romanes ; but the moste catholike and excellent lerned men of those congregations[a] embraced theyr examples, and sowyng them in their warkes made of them to the churche of Christe a necessarie ornament.

Admytte that some histories be interlaced[b] with leasynges;

Adrian. The manne was of profounde lerninge and knowlege, and in especial he was a manne of a ripe iudgement in electinge and chosynge concinnate termes, whiche firste of our tyme, after that golden worlde of Tully, moued men with hys writynge to imitate and foloe the moost *approbate* and allowed authours that were of eloquencie.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. fo. xx. b.

[a] The Latin word *congregatio* is strictly classical, although this is sometimes forgotten ; *ex. gr.*, the author does not give it in his *Dictionary* ; and Baret gives as the Latin equivalents of the Eng. word, 'Synodus, concio, multitudo, conventus,' and as the French, '*une congregation ou assemblee de gents pour traicter de quelques affaires publiques.*' But Cicero says 'Facile intelligitur, nos ad conjunctionem *congregationemque* hominum, et ad naturalem communitatem esse natos.'—*De Fin.* lib. iii. cap. 20. The word is used in this last sense by Monstrelet : 'Qu'on enuoyroit certains mandements contenans, comment à l'occasion des *congregations*, et assemblées de gens d'armes que auoient fait le Duc d'Orleans.'—*Chron.* tom. i. fo. 122 b. ed. 1572. In the 16th century a great controversy arose with regard to the use of this word in the translation of the New Testament. Erasmus rendered ἐκκλησία 'congregation,' in his version of Acts ii. 47, v. 11, xi. 26, &c., and Tyndale explains why he preferred this rendering to that of *Church* as follows : 'Inasmuch as the clergy had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole *congregation* of them that believe in Christ ; and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them into the ignorance of the word ; making them understand by this word 'church' nothing but the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world ; therefore in the translation of the New Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it by this word *congregation.*'—*Answer to Sir T. More*, p. 13, ed. 1850.

[b] This word, which in another place, (see Vol. I. p. 38) the author spells 'entrelased' is derived from the French word *entrelasser*, (mod. *entrelacer*,) which Cotgrave translates 'to *interlace*, intermingle, interlard, fould, plait, twine or intangle one within another, to set, put, or thrust in between or among.' And in Baret's *Alvearie* we find 'to *enterlace*, to weaue in or with, to intermingle. Intexo, ἐμπλέκω, *Tistre dedens ou auec ; entrelasser, entremesler, brocher.*' How the French word became incorporated in our language, may be seen by a comparison of the following passage, in which Froissart relates the speech of Philip van Artevelde to his men before going into battle at Roosbecke in 1382 ; with the translation of Lord Berners. 'Seigneurs, quand ce venra à l'assembler, souvienne-vous de nos ennemis, comment ils furent tous déconfits et ouverts à la bataille de

why shulde we therfore neglecte them? sens the affaires there reported no thynge concerneth us, we beynge therof no parteners, ne therby onely may receyue any damage. But if by redynge the sage counsayle of Nestor, the subtile persuasions of Ulisses, the compendious[a] grauitie of Menelaus, the imperiall maiestye of Agamemnon, the prowesse of Achilles, and valiaunt courage of Hector, we may apprehende any thinge wherby our wittes may be amended and our personages[b] be more apte to serue our publike weale and our

Bruges, par nous tenir drus et forts ensemble, que on ne nous puist ouvrir. Si faites ainsi, et chacun porte son bâton tout droit devant lui, et vous *entrelacez* de vos bras, parquoi on ne puist entrer dedans vous ; . . . ainsi s'ébahiront nos ennemis.' —*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 249, ed. Pan. Lit. This is rendered by Lord Berners as follows: 'Sirs, whan we come to the batayle, lette us thynke on oure enemyes, howe they were disconfyted at the batayle of Bruges, by reason that we helde oureselfe close toguyder; let us beware that we opyn nat: euery man beare his weapen ryght before hym, and *enterlase* your staues ouer your armes, one within another, wherby they shall nat entre upon us . . . . . and thus we shall abasshe our enemyes.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 736, ed. 1812.

[a] For other instances of the use of this word see *antè*, pp. 16, 212. None of the Dictionaries notice the fact that it is derived immediately from the French. Yet Palsgrave has 'Compendyouse, shorte as man is in his speakyng or writyng. m. *compendieux*, f. *compendieuse.*' M. Littré indeed cites an example of this last form from Christine de Pisan, a writer of the 14th century, but a reference to the original shows that the quotation is scarcely accurate, and that *comprendieuse* and not *compendieuse* was written by the accomplished biographer of Charles the Fifth.

[b] *I.e.* bodies; a sense in which the author has previously employed it, in Vol. I. pp. 172, 195. This of course is simply the French word Anglicised. Cotgrave translates *personnage*, 'A *personage*, body, person.' And Baret, in his *Alvearie*, has, 'Of goodly *personage*, Heros spectabilis, Ovid. Speciosa persona, Ulp. Fœmina spectatissima, Cic.' Monstrelet in his account of the year 1411, says 'Le Duc de Bourgongne estant à Ponthoise, un certain iour vint deuers ledit Duc un homme assez puissant de *personnage*, lequel entra dedans sa chambre sur intention de meurdrir ledit Duc.'—*Chron.* tom. i. fo. 123 b. ed. 1572. And so Commines says, 'Des deux princes, il advient souvent que l'un a le *personnage* plus honneste et plus agréable aux gens que l'autre.'—*Mem.* p. 49, ed. Pan. Lit. Hall in his report of the message sent by Louis XI. to Ed. IV., in 1475, puts into the mouth of the herald the following speech: 'The kyng, my master, hath alwaies had feruent desire to haue a perfecte peace, a sure unitie, and a fraternall concord, betwene your noble persone and your Realme, and his honourable *personage* and his dominions.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxxix. ed. 1548.

prince; what forceth[a] it us though Homere write leasinges? I suppose no man thinketh that Esope wrate gospelles, yet who doughteth but that in his fables the foxe, the hare, and the wolfe, though they neuer spake, do teache many good wysedomes? whiche beinge well consydered, men, (if they haue nat auowed to repugne[b] agayne reason), shall confesse

[a] This peculiar phrase, already used by the author (see pp. 143, 252 *antè*), will be best explained by the following passages from Palsgrave's work so often referred to. 'I *force*, I care for a thyng, or take thought for it. *Jay cure, jay en cure, auoyr cure*, and *jay soing*. I *force* nat for the, for thou lovest me nat: *je nay cure de toy* or *je nay soyng de toy, car tu ne maymes poynt*. I *force*, I regarde or estyme a thynge, *Je tiens compte*. I *force* nat for hym a halpenny, *je ne tiens compte de luy pas une maille*. I *force* nat, I care nat for a thing. *Il ne men chault*, conjugate in "I care not." And *je ne tiens compte de* and *je ne donne riens de*. I *force* nat for the, *il ne men chault de toy, je ne tiens compte de toy, je ne donne riens de toy*.' *L'Esclaircissement*, p. 555. Cotgrave translates the phrase *Je ne fais point force de cela*, 'I care not for, *I force not of*, I am not moved by, that thing.' The expression, 'it forceth not,' is evidently derived from the French phrase: non force = cela n'importe. Thus in the *Mémoires du Maréchal de Vieilleville* by M. Carloix we read '"*Non force*," dist Monsieur de Vielleville, "nous avons du temps assez."'—Tom. ii. p. 400, ed. 1757. Neither Latham nor Todd in their editions of Johnson's Dictionary attempt to explain the idiom or refer to the passage in the text. It may, however, be well illustrated by the following examples. Erasmus in his *Paraphrases* had said, 'Non enim refert quàm diu vixeris, sed quàm bene.' Tom. i. p. 198, ed. 1541. And this is translated by Nicholas Udall, 'For it little *forceth* how long a man liue, but how wel and vertuously.'—Tom. i. fo. cxlv. b. ed. 1551. Camden, in his *Wise Speeches*, makes William the Conqueror say, '*I force not* of such fooleries.'—*Remains*, p. 317, ed. 1674. Shakespeare uses the phrase in *Love's Labour's Lost*, 'Peace, peace, forbear; Your oath once broke, you *force not* to forswear.'—Reed's ed. vol. vii. p. 174. And again in the *Rape of Lucrece*, 'For me, I *force not* argument a straw, Since that my case is past the help of law.'—Camb. ed. vol. ix. p. 520. The expressions 'No fors' 'what force' are frequently employed by Chaucer; thus in *Troylus and Cryseyde* we read 'What *fors* were it though al the town bihelde?'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 168.

[b] This word of which we have already had examples (see Vol. I. pp. 7, 138) is derived from the Latin word through the French, and is now obsolete except in the participial form. The author in his Dict. translates the verb Repugno to '*repugne* or say contrary, to resyste.' Cotgrave translates the French *Repugner* 'To *repugne*, crosse, thwart, impugne, resist, withstand, contradict, gainsay, disagree from, be opposite unto.' So the French writer Le Noue, in his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, published in 1587, says of the clergy, 'Quand donques ils tienent quelcun qui *repugne* à leurs opinions, et les pique des aiguillons de l'Escriture, ils vous lui baillent incontinent un syllogisme à soudre.'—P. 121. Palsgrave

with Quintilian that fewe and unethe one may be founde of auncient writars whiche shall nat bringe to the redars some thinge commodious ;[a] and specially they that do write maters historicall, the lesson wherof is as it were the mirrour of mannes life,[b] expressinge actually, and (as it were at the eye) the beaultie of vertue, and the deformitie and lothelynes[c] of vice. Wherfore Lactantius sayeth, Thou muste nedes perysshe if thou knowe nat what is to thy life profitable, that thou maiste seke for it, and what is daungerous, that thou mayste flee and exchue it.[d] Whiche I dare affirme may come soonest to passe by redynge of histories, and retayninge them in continuell remembraunce[e]

Lactantius li. iii.

has 'I *repugne*, I gayne say a thing, *Je repugne*, prim. conj. I wyll never *repugne* agaynst hym whyle I lyve. *Jamays ne repugneray contre lui tant que je viue.*'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 687. Again, Calvin in his *Institutes* uses the word in the same sense, 'Mais touchant ce qu'ils semblent aduis contrepoiser en une mesme balance les bonnes oeuures et mauuaises, pour estimer la justice ou l'iniustice de l'homme, en cela ie suis contreint de leur *repugner*.'—P. 366, ed. 1560.

[a] See Vol. I. p. 131.

[b] 'Man is the subject of every history; and to know him well, we must see him and consider, as history alone can present him to us, in every age, in every country, in every state, in life, and in death. History therefore of all kinds, of civilized and uncivilized, of ancient and modern nations, in short, all history that descends to a sufficient detail of human actions and characters, is useful to bring us acquainted with our species, nay with ourselves.'—Ld. Bolingbroke, *Letters on Hist.*, vol. i. p. 170, ed. 1752.

[c] The author has already used the adjective, see *ante*, p. 185. Sherwood in his *Eng.-French Dict.*, has '*Loathly*, à regret,' but not this form of the substantive. Chaucer also uses the adjective in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale*, 'Thou art so *lothly*, and so old also.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 239, ed. 1866. And so does Shakespeare, who also has the substantive 'lothness.' Bishop Hall, who lived in the last quarter of the 16th century, in one of his sermons, says, 'Surely, the more ill savour and *loathliness* we can find in our bosom sins, the nearer we come to the purity of that Holy One of Israel, our Blessed Redeemer.'—*Works*, vol. v. p. 540, ed. 1808. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Lothly, *abhominabilis*.'

[d] 'Itaque pereundum est, nisi scias, quæ ad vitam sunt utilia, ut appetas, quæ periculosa, ut fugias et vites.'—Lib. iii. cap. 5.

[e] 'We are not only passengers or sojourners in this world, but we are absolute strangers at the first steps we make in it. Our guides are often ignorant, often unfaithful. By this map of the country which history spreads before us, we may learn, if we please, to guide ourselves. In our journey through it, we are

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Experience or practise necessary in the persone of a gouernour of a publike weale.

THE other experience whiche is in our propre persones and is of some men called practise,[a] is of no small moment or

beset on every side. We are besieged sometimes, even in our strongest holds. Terrors and temptations, conducted by the passions of other men, assault us; and our own passions, that correspond with these, betray us. History is a collection of the journals of those who have travelled through the same country, and been exposed to the same accidents; and their good and their ill success are equally instructive.'—Ld. Bolingbroke, *Letters on Hist.*, vol. i. p. 171.

[a] Palsgrave translates the English word 'Experyence, *experience*, s.f. *practique*, s.f. *experiment*, s.m.' It is not improbable that Sir Thomas Elyot may have had in his mind the following definition given by Gower in the *Confessio Amantis*, which was published for the first time in 1493:

'*Practike* stont upon thre thynges,
Towarde the gouernance of kynges;
Wherof the fyrste Etike is named,
The whose science stant proclamed
To teche of vertue thilke rule,
Howe that a kynge hymselfe shall rule,
Of his morall condicion
With worthie disposicion;
Of good liuyng in his persone,
Whiche is the chiefe of his corone.
It maketh a kynge also to lerne
Howe he his bodie shall gouerne,
Howe he shall wake, how he shall slepe,
How that he shall his hele kepe
In meate, in drynke, in clothyng eke.
There is no wysedome for to seke,
As for the reule of his persone,
The whiche that this science all one
Ne techeth, as by weie of kynde,
That there is nothyng lefte behynde.
That other thynge, whiche to *Practike*
Belongeth, is Economike;
Whiche techeth thilke honestee,
Through whiche a kynge, in his degree,
His wife and childe shall reule and gie;

efficacie in the acquiringe of sapience, in so moche that it semeth that no operation or affaire may be perfecte, nor no science or arte may be complete, except experience be there unto added, whereby knowlege is ratified, and (as I mought saye) consolidate.

It is written that the great kynge Alexander on a tyme beinge (as it hapned) unoccupyed, came to the shoppe of Apelles, the excellent paynter, and standyng by hym whyles he paynted, the kynge raisoned with hym of lines, adumbrations,[a] proportions, or other like thinges pertainyng to imagery, whiche the paynter a litle whyles sufferynge, at the last said to the kynge with the countenance all smylyng, Seest thou, noble prince, howe the boye that gryndeth my colours dothe

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So forth with all the companie
Whiche in his housholde shall abide,
And his estate on euery side
In suche manere for to lede,
That he his housholde ne mislede.
Practike hath yet the thirde apprise,
Whiche techeth howe and in what wise
Through his purueid ordinance
A kynge shall set in gouernance
His realme, and that is Policie,
Whiche longeth unto regalie,
In tyme of werre, in time of pees;
To worship and to good encrees
Of clerke, of knight, and of marchant,
And so forth all the remenant
Of all the common people aboute.'

Fo. cl. b. ed. 1554.

[a] In the author's *Dictionary* he gives the Latin word *adumbratio*; and translates it 'portrayture.' And also the verb *adumbro* 'to make or giue shadow, to represente or expresse as peynters doo, that do shadowe ymages in playne tables, to make them shewe imboced or rounde.' Cotgrave has another form, *obombration*, which he translates 'An obumbration, obscurement, shadow or shadowing.' Bacon in his *Natural History*, in a passage characteristically full of words derived from the Latin, says 'To make some *adumbration* of what we mean, the interior is rather an impulsion or contusion of the air, than an elision or section of the same.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 104, ed. 1826.

laughe the to scorne?[a] whiche wordes the kynge toke in good parte and helde hym therwith iustly corrected, considering by his owne office in martial affaires that he than had in hande, how great a portion of knowlege faileth, where lacketh experience. And therin gouernours shall nat disdayne to be resembled unto phisitions, considerynge their offices in curynge and preseruynge be moste lyke of any other. That parte of phisike called rationall,[b] wherby is declared the faculties or powers of the body, the causis, accidentes, and tokens of sikenessis, can nat alwayes be sure without some experience

[a] The author has evidently taken his account of this incident from Pliny, who says 'Fuit enim et comitas illi, propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno erat, frequenter in officinam ventitanti: nam, ut diximus, ab alio pingi se vetuerat edicto. Sed et in officinâ imperitè multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens à pueris qui colores tererent.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxv. cap. 36. But Plutarch and Ælian assert that the reproof was administered to Megabyzus, and the last-named writer makes Zeuxis instead of Apelles the hero of the story. *Ἀπελλῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ζωγράφος, Μεγαβύζου παρακαθίσαντος αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ γραμμῆς τι καὶ σκιᾶς βουλομένου λαλεῖν, Ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, τὰ παιδάρια ταυτὶ τὰ τὴν μηλίδα τρίβοντα; πάνυ σοι προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν σιωπῶντι, καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τὰ χρυσία· νῦν δέ σου καταγελᾷ περὶ ὧν οὐ μεμάθηκας ἀρξαμένου λαλεῖν.*—Plut. *De Adulatore et Amico*, 15. Cf. *Ibid. De Tranquill. Animi*, 12. Ælian's account is still more detailed. *Μεγαβύζου ποτὲ ἐπαινοῦντος γραφὰς εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἀτέχνους, ἑτέρας δὲ σπουδαίως ἐκπεπονημένας διαψέγοντος, τὰ παιδαρία τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος τὴν μηλιάδα τρίβοντα καταγέλα. Ὁ τοίνυν Ζεῦξις ἔφατο, Ὅταν μὲν σιωπᾷς, ὦ Μεγάβυζε, θαυμάζει σε τὰ παιδάρια ταῦτα. Ὁρᾷ γάρ σου τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν περί σε· ὅταν γε μὴν τεχνικόν τι θέλῃς εἰπεῖν, καταφρονεῖ σου. Φύλαττε τοίνυν σεαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους, κρατῶν τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς τῶν μηδέν σοι προσηκόντων φιλοτεχνῶν.*—*Var. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

[b] The early Greek professors of medicine were divided into three sects or parties, distinguished by the names of the empirical, the methodical, and the rational, according to their various views with regard to its practice. This is well explained by Galen as follows: 'Tres vero in medicinâ sectæ celebres sunt, rationalis, empirica, et methodica, ut Græcis utar nominibus. Quæ nutriunt enim et quæ non nutriunt, purgantia et mortifera, experientiâ omnia comperta sunt. Sub hoc communi empirici subsistunt, non solum facultates, sed etiam conferentia observatione fuisse inventa testantes. At vocati methodici ultra id commune dictum quiddam ab empiricis diversum adjiciunt . . . Rationales vero medici inter hos medii ingrediuntur. Sic enim omnia utilia ex observatione aiunt deprehendi, quemadmodum declarant empirici: neque tamen ob id etiam ex indicatione inveniri negant, ut volebant methodici: sed nonnulla ex observatione deprehendi, ut mortifera et venenum morsu fundentia, nonnulla ex indicatione, ea videlicet quorum causæ reperiuntur.'—*Opera*, tom. i. col. 67, ed. 1550.

in the temperature or distemperature[a] of the regions, in the disposition of the patient in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and slepe.

And Galene, prince of phisitions, exhorteth them to knowe exactly the accustomed diete of their patientes, whiche can nat happen without moche resorte in to their companies, seriousely notyng their usage in diete.[b] Semblably, the uni-

[a] This word, still preserved in the reduced form of 'distemper,' is no doubt derived from a Latin word which was employed in the middle-ages by the translators of the works of Greek physicians of a still earlier date. Thus in a work of Alexander of Tralles, who lived in the sixth century, entitled *De singularum corporis partium ab hominis coronide ad imum usque calcaneum vitiis, &c.*, this word occurs constantly in a sense of which the following passages may be taken as examples: 'Pastillus ejusmodi commodissime diuturnis et inveteratis capitis doloribus, quæ calidam *distemperaturam* excipiunt, subvenit.'—P. 14. 'Ubi id genus notæ comparuerint, frigidæ *distemperaturæ* capitis dolores ascribendos putato.' —P. 15. 'Calidiori hepatis *dystemperaturæ* frigorificis medicaminum præsidiis subveniendum est.'—P. 173, ed. 1533. Sir Thos. Elyot himself in his medical work the *Castel of Healthe*, uses yet another form of the word. In a chapter headed 'Of the temperature of meates to be receyued,' he says: 'Where the meates do much excede in degree the temperature of the bodye, they anoy the body in causyng *dystemperaunce*.'—Fo. 18, ed. 1561. Burton, who makes frequent allusions to the early writers on medicine, has used the word several times. Thus he says, 'Hercules de Saxonia differs heere from the common current of writers, putting peculiar signes of head melancholy, from the sole *distemperature* of spirits and braine, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist.'—*Anat. of Mel.* p. 174, ed. 1624. It also occurs constantly in Shakspeare, e.g., in the following passages: 'Through this *distemperature* we see the seasons alter.'—*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii. Sc. 1. And 'a huge, infectious troop of pale *distemperatures* and foes to life.'—*Com. of Er.*, Act v. Sc. 1. Hakluyt says that 'the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and natural infection of blood, and not the *distemperature* of the climate.'—*Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 52, ed. 1600.

[b] Perhaps the author may allude to such passages as the following in Linacre's translation of the *De Sanitate tuendâ*: 'Si enim quid inter initia suffugit, id experientiâ ipsâ edoctum ad exactam notitiam perveniet. Non aliter et cibi modus ad certam conjecturam perducitur, qui tamen ab initio definiri nullo pacto potest. Verum quotidiana experientia, cum recordatione quantitatis tum cibi, tum exercitationum eo etiam, qui huic præficitur, nihil non solicitè observante, sed semper ut tantum ciborum post tantam exercitationem concoxit recordante, propemodum ad exactam scientiam intellectum tempore perducit.'—Fo. 28, b. 'Siquidem nec omnis cibus in cujusvis animantis ventre concoquitur, sed cognatio quædam ei quod concoquit, cum eo quod concoquitur, esse debet . . . Primum æstimabimus quonam qui affligitur usus sit victu . . . Atque in victu quidem videndum an cruditas

uersall state of a contray or citie may be well lykened to the body of man. Wherfore the gouernours, in the stede of phisitions attending on their cure, ought to knowe the causes of the decaye of their publike weale, whiche is the helthe of their countraye or cytie, and thanne with expedition to procede to the mooste spedy and sure remedy. But certes the very cause of decay, ne the true meane to cure it, may neuer be sufficiently knowen of goueruours, except they them selfes wyll personally resorte and peruse[a] all partes of the coun-

et crebrior et major quàm ex consuetudine præcesserit, an mali succi cibis copiose se impleverint, an vinum pro antiquo mustum, pro tenui crassum, an aquâ marinâ mistum biberint, an etiam prorsus à vino se ad aquæ potionem transtulerint, nec semel bisve in quolibet horum peccaverint sed assiduè bonoque tempore.'—*Ibid.* fo. 51 b. 52, ed. 1538.

[a] The derivation of this word has long been a puzzle to etymologists. Richardson suggests that it is compounded of the Latin *per* and *uti*; but this seems quite untenable. He suggests also, as an alternative, the French *pourvoir*. It seems most probable that the derivation is French, and it is here used in conjunction with a word (*resortir*) which is clearly French; yet there is no word in that language so distinctly analogous that one can say unhesitatingly that 'peruse' is formed from it. Sherwood translates it into the French equivalent *revoir*, *revisiter*, which makes it evident, apart from the passage in the text, that its primary sense has become quite obsolete. In the sense in which it is used by Sir T. Elyot, it may be considered to resemble the French phrase *prendre visée*, or *pour viser*, of which it might almost be a contraction. And this is rendered still more obvious on comparing the following passages in Shakespeare:

'I'll view the manners of the town,
Peruse the traders, gaze upon the buildings.'
Com. of Errors, Act i. Sc. 2.

'I hear the enemy:—
Out, some light horsemen, and *peruse* their wings.'
Hen. VI. Pt. I. Act iv. Sc. 2.

'Good my lord, so please you, let our trains
March by us, that we may *peruse* the men
We should have cop'd withal.'
Hen. IV. Pt. II. Act iv. Sc. 2.

Stow, in his account of the banquet given by Wolsey, says, 'Then went the maskers and first saluted all the dames, and returned to the most woorthiest . . . . . Thus *perusing* all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost, and of some they woon: and *perusing* after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the Cardinall with great reuerence.'—*Annales*, p.

trayes under their gouernaunce, and inserche diligently as well what be the customes and maners of people good and badde, as also the commodities and discommodities, howe the one may be preserued, the other suppressed, or at the leste wayes amended. Also amonge them that haue ministration or execution of iustice, (whiche I may liken unto the membres), to taste and fele howe euery of them do practise their offices, that is to say, whether they do it febly or unprofitably, and whether it happen by negligence, discourage,[a] corruption, or affection.

But nowe may the reder with good reason demaunde of me by what maner experience the gouernours may come to the true knowlege herof. That shall I nowe declare. Fyrst the gouernours them selfes adourned with vertue, being in suche wise an example of liuing to their inferiors, and making the people iudges of them and their domesticall seruauntes and adherentes,[b] shulde sondry tymes duringe their gouer-

504, ed. 1615. In a letter from the King to the Duke of Norfolk, indorsed 12th June, 1537, he says, 'Neither shuld our people of those North parties have any fruicion of our presence, ne We shuld have any tyme to *peruse* our frontieres, or to see our townes joynyng upon the same.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 553, ed. 1830. It very soon, however, came to be applied only to the reading of documents as indeed by the author himself, *ante* p. 195; and Bacon says 'All ancient records in your Tower or elsewhere, containing acts of parliament, letters, patents, commissions, and judgments, and the like, are to be searched, *perused*, and weighed.'—*Works*, vol. v. p. 347, ed. 1826. It is reserved for future etymologists to assign the true origin of the word.

[a] This substantive, which the author has already employed, see Vol. I. p. 7, is extremely rare, and strange to say neither of the passages is noticed by Richardson. It is obvious however that it is formed from the French verb *descourager*, or rather from the participle *descouragé*, but this form of the substantive is altogether unknown in that language, and is supplied by *découragement*. Nicholas Udall, in his translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus*, makes use of the same expression: 'Many be made vyle, abiect, and humble, and be brought in *discourage* of themselues by the reason of pouertie, of basenes of byrthe, of lowenes of estate, or by aduersitie.'—Tom. i. fo. 17. ed. 1551, where the original phrase is 'sibi displicentes.'

[b] This is the English form of the French *adhérent* which Cotgrave translates, 'An adherent, an accessary, partener or partaker.' The root is of course the Latin adhærere, adhærens. Suetonius says of the Emperor Galba: 'Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos unà et intra Palatium habitantes, nec unquam non *adhæ-*

naunce, either purposely or by way of solace, repaire in tc diuers partes of their iurisdiction or prouince, and making their abode, they shall partly them selfes attentifly here what is commonly or priuatly spoken concerning the astate of the contray or persones, partely they shall cause their seruauntes or frendes, of whose honestie and trouth they haue good assuraunce, to resorte in disporting them selfes in diuers townes and villages;[a] and as they happen to be in company

rentes, pædagogos vulgo vocabant.'—*Galba*, 14. Froissart, speaking of his visit to the Comte de Foix, says, 'Si appris et fus là informé des besognes de Portingal et de Castille, et comment on s'y étoit porté le temps passé, et des guerres, des batailles et des rencontres que ces deux rois et leurs *adhérens* et aidans avoient eu l'un contre l'autre.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 415, ed. Pan. Lit. He has also another form of the same word, for speaking of the treaty of peace between France and England in 1388, he says, 'Or furent-elles prises entre les deux royaumes de France et d'Angleterre et tous leurs *ahers*, conjoints et alliés par mer et par terre à durer fermement . . . trois ans entre toutes les parties.'—*Ibid.* p. 761, which is thus translated by Lord Berners: 'A treuce was taken, gyuen, and accorded, bytwene Englande and Fraunce and all their *adherentes* and alyes, by see and by lande, to endure fermely . . . the space of thre yeres.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 428. Monstrelet in recording the events of 1411, says, 'En oultre en poursuiuant de mal en pis, par un autre iour, ledit Duc de Berry, ledit Duc d'Orleans, et ses freres, etc. tous nommez, par leurs propres noms, et autres leurs *adherans*, alliez, et complices . . . furent par les quarrefourgs de Paris à son de trompettes de par le Roy bannis de son royaume à tousiours.'—*Chron.* tom. i. fo. 124, b. ed. 1572. Sir Thomas More, speaking of Luther, says, 'Nowe, as touching the cause why he chaunged the name of priest into seniour, ye must understand that Luther an his *adherentes* holde this heresy, that all holy order is nothing.'—*Works*, vol. i. p 222, ed. 1557.

[a] These injunctions seem to anticipate the course which in modern times, according to an eminent authority, has been pursued by the fourth estate of the realm. The reader will doubtless recall the now famous passage in which the historian of the Crimean War professes to show how public opinion at that period was ascertained and declared. 'It seemed to the managers of the company (*i.e.* the Times newspaper) that at some pains and at a moderate cost it would be possible to ascertain the opinions which were coming into vogue, and see the direction in which the current would flow. It is said that with this intent, they many years ago employed a shrewd, idle clergyman, who made it his duty to loiter about in places of common resort, and find out what people thought upon the principal subjects of the time. He was not to listen very much to extreme foolishness, and still less was he to hearken to clever people. His duty was to wait and wait, until he observed that some common and obvious thought was repeated in many places,

with the inhabitauntes priuyly and with some maner of circumstaunce,[a] enquire what men of hauour[b] dwell nighe unto

and by numbers of men who had probably never seen one another. That one common thought was the prize he sought for, and he carried it home to his employers. He became so skilled in his peculiar calling that, as long as he served them, the company was rarely misled; and although in later times they were frequently baffled in their pursuit of this kind of knowledge, they never neglected to do what they could to search the heart of the nation.'—Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. ii. p. 81, ed. 1863.

[a] The sense in which this word is here used is almost that of 'circumlocution.' This is rendered still clearer by the following passages in Cooper's edition of the author's *Dictionary*, where 'Vix pueris dignæ ambages' (Liv. lib. ix. cap. 11,) is translated 'Foolish toyes and *circumstances* in talke.' 'Longâ ambage morari' (Ov. *Met.* vii. 520,) 'Wyth a long *circumstance* of wordes.' And 'falsi positis ambagibus oris vera loqui' (*ibid.* x. 19.) 'Leauing all *circumstances* to speake the playne truth.' So Baret in his *Alvearie*, translates 'circuitione uti' (Ter. *And.* 1, 2, 31,) 'To use great *circumstance* of woordes, to goe about the bushe.' In this sense it is frequently used by Shakspere, thus in *King John*, 'The interruption of their churlish drums cuts off more *circumstance*.'—Vol. iv. p. 14, Dyce's ed. Again in *Hamlet*, 'And so, without more *circumstance* at all.'—Vol. vii. p. 125. Knolles in his account of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks, in 1522, makes Villerius, the Great Master, address the Rhodians as follows: 'I will not use many words to persuade you to continue in your fidelitie and loyaltie, neither long *circumstance* to encourage you to play the men.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 576, ed. 1603. And Massinger in his tragi-comedy called *The Picture*, has, 'And therefore, without *circumstance*, to the point.'—Sig. B. 3. ed. 1630.

[b] This is not, as the reader might naturally suppose, a contracted form of 'behaviour,' but represents the French substantive *avoir*, meaning 'wealth, substance, property.' In *La Chanson de Roland*, one of the earliest French poems, we find this word spelt *aveir*, in the following passages:

'Jo ne lerreie por tut l'or que Deus fist
Ne por tut l'*aveir* ki seit en cest païs.'

Again—

'Les xii pers ad traït por *aveir*.'—Pp. 15, 114, ed. 1869.

Froissart, in his account of the capture of Brest, in 1341, by John de Montfort, says, 'Au dernier, quand ils se furent longuement conseillés, ils se rendirent de plein accord au dit comte, sauf leurs corps, leurs membres, et leur *avoir*.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 130, ed. Pan. Lit. Again relating the capture of Antwerp, in 1384, he says, 'Et y fut trouvé grand *avoir* qui étoit à François Acreman; et me fut dit que il y avoit bien quinze mille francs.'—*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 302, which Lord Berners translates, 'There was founde great *richesse* parteyning to Fraunces Atreman.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 790, ed. 1812. Chaucer uses the aspirated form in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, 'Witte withoute discrecioun, *Havoire* withoute possessioun.'—

them, what is the forme of their liuing, of what estimation they be in iustice, liberalitie, diligence in executing the lawes, and other semblable vertues; contrary wise whether they be oppressours, couetous men, maintenours[a] of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers; and what the examiners[b] do here the gretter nombre of people reporte that they interly and truely denounce it to the sayde gouernour. By the whiche intimation[c] and their owne prudent endeuour, they shall

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 144. In the edition of *Albions England*, published in 1597, we find the word used in this sense :

> 'One Stafford of a noble house
> A Courtiour of good *hauor*,
> A friend and fast to Mandeuil,
> And in the Prince his fauor.'—P. 276.

In the first edition of Fabyan's Chronicle, which was published in 1516, we find this form of the word, 'Then the legat laboured unto the kynge, that . . . . . some other persones whiche were of small *hauoure* shuld be fyned by discrecion of the kynges counsayll.'—P. 362, ed. 1811. But in the edition of 1559 this is changed into 'behauour' evidently through a misapprehension. Sir Thos. North in his translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, says, 'The men of *hauiour* and honest cittizens walked in the market-place in their long gownes, and the officers and gouernours of the cittie went up and downe to euery house.'—P. 163, ed. 1579. And Sir Thomas Elyot himself has used this last form of the word at p. 51, *antè*.

[a] Cotgrave has the form *manutenteur* (Lat. manutentor), and translates it, 'A maintainer, upholder, protector, countenancer.' At a very early period of our history, the offence of 'maintenance,' as it was then called, or as it might now more properly be styled, conspiracy, became the subject of legislation. Many statutes were passed, *ex. gr.* 20 Ed. III. cap. 5, directed against 'mesnours et *meintenours* des quereles et parties.' And by a statute passed in 1503 (19 Hen. VII. cap. 13), every person duly proved to be 'a *mayntenour* or embraceor' was to forfeit 20*l.* to the king, and be committed to prison. The word is evidently used in the text with reference to this legal meaning.

[b] The contracted word *examineur* for *examinateur* was used in early French ; but none of the English Dictionaries give examples of the use of this word prior to the 16th century, The verb 'to examine,' and substantive 'examination,' are however constantly met with in the statutes of this period. In Baret's *Alvearie* we find 'a weigher or *examiner*, Pensator.'

[c] This word, already used by the author (see Vol. I. p. 233), of forensic origin, is explained by Du Cange to signify Denunciatio judiciaria, in which sense it is apparently used in the text. Cotgrave translates the French word *Intimation*, 'An *intimation*, signification, denuntiation, shewing, letting to wit, or giving to

haue infallible knowlege who among the inhabitauntes be men towarde the publike weale best disposed. Them shall they calle for and mooste courtaisely[a] entretaine,[b] and (as it

know.' In the 15th century we meet with the phrase '*intimationibus* et protestationibus publicis factis.'—See Ludewig, *Reliq. MSS.* tom. vi. p. 127, ed. 1724. And Du Cange cites a still earlier example in an extract from the Registers of the Parliament of Paris in 1322, in which the word is used in a legal sense.—'Ipsi tamen lapsum 10 dierum expectaverunt ad videndum, si dictus procurator appellationem prædictam applicaret secundum patriæ consuetudinem; quod cum non fecisset, mandaverunt Vicecomitem et Petrum de Constantiani prædictos citari coram se ad certam diem secundum processum et erramenta prædicta processuros, cum *intimatione* quòd sive venirent, sive non ulterius procederent, et jus esset, quâ die cum aliquis prædicto Vicecomite non compareret, positus fuit in defectu.'—La Roque, *Hist. gen. de la maison de Harcourt*, tom. iii. p. 240, ed. 1662. But perhaps the primary signification of the term will be rendered more intelligible by the following explanation given by M. Ragueau, in his Glossary of French law: 'Autrefois en France quand quelqu'un interjettoit appel d'une Sentence rendue en païs de Droit Coutumier, il devoit faire ajourner le Juge, et *intimer*, c'est à dire, denoncer l'ajournement à la partie, qui avoit obtenu gain de cause, et qui étoit appellée par cette raison *intimée*.'—*Glossaire*, tom. i. p. 381, ed. 1704. Ragueau quotes in support of this statement a work doubtless of authority in France, but probably little known in England, entitled, *Stilus Parlamenti Parisiensis*, in which it is laid down, 'Ubi appellatur ab aliquo judice patriæ consuetudinariæ, adjornari debet judex qui tulit sententiam principaliter, et fit *intimatio* illi pro quo lata est sententia, ut ad diem, ad quem citatus est, judex intersit, si sua crediderit interesse.'—Fo. viii. ed. 1530. From the law courts the word no doubt quickly passed into ordinary usage.

[a] This adverb, already used by the author (see *ante* p. 40) is simply the English form of the French *courtoisement*, the first *o* being often omitted and *e* substituted for the second in early writers. Thus in *La Chanson de Roland* we find, 'Si lur ad dit un mot *curteisement*.'—P. 36, ed. 1869. And in a letter dated 17 March, 1300 from Ed. I. to his daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, respecting her dower, we find again a different mode of spelling the word. 'Pur quoi chere fille quant il serront a vous venus *corteisement* come a vous apeut les receves ensi q'il s'en puissent loer.'—Rymer, tom. ii. p. 861. So Chaucer in *Troylus and Cryseyde*,

> Devyne nat in reson ay so depe,
> Ne *curtaisly*, but helpe thi-self anon.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 324.

And again in *The Reeves Tale*,

> 'For ther biforn he stal but *curteysly*.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 124.

[b] The orthography of this word betrays at once its origin from the French *entretenir*. So Chaucer has 'entremedled' from *entremêler*, and 'entremete' from

were) louingly embrace, with thankes for their good will and endeuour towarde the publike weale; commending them openly for their vertue and diligence, offring to them their assistence in their semblable doinges, and also their furtheraunce[a] towarde the due recompence[b] of their trauailes.[c] On

entremettre and 'entrechangeden' from *entrechanger*, and our author himself 'entrelace' from *entrelacer*.

[a] This is a genuine Anglo-Saxon word. In the *Promptorium* we find 'fortherynge, or promocyon, *Promocio*.' And Palsgrave translates 'fortheryng—*auancement*,' whilst Chaucer has forthre = to further. Tyndall, in his *Prologue to the Epist. to Romans*, says, 'For though that mans law and ordinaunce make not a man good before God, neither iustifie him in the hart, yet are they ordeined for the *furtheraunce* of the common wealth, to mainteine peace, to punish the euill, and to defend the good.'—*Works*, p. 49, ed. 1573. Ascham has another form: 'Surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, Dies Natalis to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the *furderance*, that hetherto else where I haue obteyned.'—*Scholemaster*, p. 134, ed. 1870. So Spenser the poet in his *View of the State of Ireland*, written in 1596, 'Of which Marsilians, it is said that the Gaules learned them (*i.e.* letters) first, and used them only for the *furtherance* of their trades and privat busines.'—Vol. i. p. 66, ed. 1809.

[b] We have here simply the French substantive *récompense*, which is spelt *recompence* in Palsgraves *L'Esclaircissement*. It occurs frequently in the Statutes of the Realm at this period. Thus, in the preamble to 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 18, it is recited that the king's 'lovyng and obedyent subjects, sithen his last most gracyous and liberall pardons to them graunted, haue incurred into innumerable penalties, losses, forfeytures, and damages, wherof few or none of them are able to make full *recompence* or condign satisfaction to his Highnes.'

[c] This is simply the English form of the French *travail*, which Cotgrave translates '*Travell*, toyle, teene, labour, business, paines-taking, trouble, molestation, care.' In the Promptorium we find 'Travayle (or labour or robour) *Labor*.' In Peter of Langtoft's Chron. it is used pretty often in this sense. Thus:

'In the passion tyme was the first bataile,
Nine was that ilke yere grete was ther *trauaile*.'
Hearne, vol. i. p. 21. ed. 1725.

And again:

'Two yere thei werred with many *trauailes*,
In those two yeres were sex grete batales.'
Ibid. p. 48.

And so Chaucer in *The Frankeleynes Tale*:

'For, Sire, I wil not take a peny of the,
For all my craft, ne nought for my *travayle;*
Thou hast y-payed wel for my vitayle.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 28, ed. 1866.

the contrary parte, whan they see any of them who amonge their inferiors obserue nat iustice, and likewise officers whiche be remisse or fauourable to commune offendours and brekers of lawes, and negligent in the execution of their auctorities, to them shall they gyue condigne[a] reprehentions,[b] manifestyng their defautes[c] in omitting their dueties, and in giuing euil example to their companions, also boldnes to transgresse, to contemne the lawes, declaringe also that the ministring such occasion deserue nat onely a sharpe rebuke but also

Shakspeare, in the *First Part of King Hen. VI.*, makes the Duke of York say, 'Is all our *travail* turned to this effect?'—Vol. v. p. 77, Dyce's ed. The author has already used the word in the same sense on several previous occasions.

[a] The Latin word *condignus* is translated by the author in his *Dictionary*, 'worthy, and according as it is esteemed,' but it appears to be used only by Plautus and Aulus Gellius. The form in the text, however, is derived from the French *condigne*, which Palsgrave gives as the equivalent of 'suffycient worthye.' And Cotgrave, 'condigne, well-worthy.' Du Cange in his Glossary quotes the following passage from a charter *circa* A.D. 1360: 'Ils seront prest et appareilliés et offéront à faire amende *condigne*.' Sir T. Elyot has already used this adjective in another place. (See Vol. I. pp. 194, 261.)

[b] The Latin word *reprehensio* is quite classical, and was also naturalized in France, but does not appear to have been in common use there any more than in England, before the beginning of the 16th century. It is used, however, by Chaucer in *Troylus and Cryseyde*,

> 'For, douteth nothinge, myn intencion
> Nys nat to yow of *reprehencion*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 136, ed. 1866.

[c] This is, of course, the French word *défault* or *défaut*, which Cotgrave translates 'A default, fault, offence, defect, any want, lack, penurie, scantnesse or scarceness, a defection.' This form is frequently used by Chaucer. Thus in *The Persones Tale*, he says, 'Another *defaute* is this, that men doon deedly synne after that they have receyved baptisme. The thridde *defaute* is, that men fallen into venial synne after here baptisme fro day to day.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 265. Again, in his *Dream*,

> 'For-why the queen forthwith her leve
> Toke at hem all that were present,
> Of her *defauts* fully repent.'—*Ibid.* vol. v. p. 137.

In Fabyan's *Chronicle* we read that 'the poore people eate horse fleshe and doggues fleshe, and many other vile beastes, whiche wonder is to belieue; and yet for *defaute* died greate multitude of people in sundry places of the land.'—Vol. ii. p. 171, ed. 1559.

right greuous punisshement. And if he that thus admonesteth[a] be a soueraigne gouernour or prince, if, I saye, he shortely here upon doth ratifie his wordes by expellyng some of them whiche I nowe rehersed from their offices, or otherwyse sharpely correctynge them, and contrarye wise aduaunce higher some good man and whom he hath proued to be diligent in the execution of iustice, undoubtedly he shall inflame the appetite and zele of good ministers, and also suscitate[b] or

[a] This is simply the French word *admonester*, from whence is derived our 'admonish.' Thus, Palsgrave says, 'I admonysshe, I warne of a thyng, *J'admoneste*, prim. conj. He that is admonisshed is halfe armed: *qui est admoneste est a demy armé.*'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 417, ed. 1852. The same form is used by Chaucer in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'And herto accordith seint Paul the apostil in many places; he saith, Ne yeldith nought harm for harm, ne wikked speche for wikked speche; but do wel to him that doth the harm, and blesse him that seith the harm. And in many other places he *amonesteth* pees and accord.' Again, in *The Persones Tale*, 'And moreover thou schalt love him in word, and in benigne *amonestyng* and chastising, and conforte him in his annoyes, and praye for him with al thin herte.' *Poetical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 164, 307, ed. 1866. Froissart, in his account of the capture of Cadsand, A.D. 1337, says: 'Et là étoit messire Guy de Flandre, frère au comte Louis de Flandre, un bon et sûr chevalier, mais bâtard étoit, qui *admonestoit* et prioit tous les compagnons de bien faire.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 63, ed. Pan. Litt. And Commines, describing the reception of the herald sent by Ed. IV. to Louis XI., in 1475, says that the latter 'dit audit héraut plusieurs autres belles raisons, pour *admonester* ledit roy d'Angleterre de prendre appointement avec luy.'—*Memoires*, p. 97, Pan. Litt. It is worthy of note that the author, in his *Dictionary*, translates the Latin verb *admoneo* 'to warne, to exhort.' And so far as the Editor has been able to ascertain, the form in the text is used only by Chaucer and Elyot.

[b] This word which is spelt 'sussitate' in another place (see *ante*, p. 26), is now obsolete, and is, of course, an adaptation of the Latin *suscitare*, which is quite classical; but in his *Dictionary* the author translates the latter 'to awake one out of his slepe, to call one to his warke.' Cotgrave translates the French word *susciter*, 'To *suscitate*, awake, raise, quicken, kindle, incite, stir up;' and it is constantly used by French writers in the sense of 'to raise.' Thus La Noue says, 'En attendant qu'il plaise à Dieu de *susciter* des moyens legitimes d'y remedier.'—*Discours Pol. et Mil.* p. 77, ed. 1587. Richardson, in his *Dictionary*, gives no other instances of the use of the form in the text by English writers, but we meet with it in the curious work of that most pedantic writer of the seventeenth century, Sir Thomas Browne: 'Thus the Sunne, which with us is fruitfull in the generation of frogs, toads, and serpents, to this effect proves impotent in our neighbour Island, wherein as in all other carrying a common aspect, it concurreth but unto predisposed effects, and onely *suscitates* those formes, whose determinations

raise the courage of all men inclined to vertue, so that there shal neuer lacke men apte and propise[a] to be set in auc-

are seminall, and proceed from the Idea of themselves.'—*Vulg. Err.* p. 308, ed. 1646.

[a] This word, in the sense of 'suitable,' is constantly used by our author (see *ex. gr.* Vol. I. pp. 61, 116, and *ante*, p. 88); it is simply the French *propice*, which Cotgrave translates 'Propitious, gracious, favorable, gentle, tractable, well inclined unto; also apt, meet, fit, proper, convenient for.' Thus Commines, speaking of the preparations of Edward IV. for the invasion of France in 1475, says, 'Le roy Edouard estant à Douvres, pour son passage, luy envoya ledit duc de Bourgongne bien cinq cens basteaux de Hollande et Zélande, qui sont plats, et bas de bord, et bien *propices* à porter chevaux, et s'appellent Sertes, et vindrent de Hollande.'—*Mém.* p. 96, ed. Pan. Lit. In the *Hist. de Charles VI.*, written in the fifteenth century, we read, 'Fut ordonné une feste au soir en l'hostel de la reyne Blanche, à Sainct-Marcel près Paris, d'hommes sauvages enchaisnés, tous velus. Et estoient leurs habillemens *propices* au corps, velus, faits de lin, ou d'estoupes attachées à poix-raisine, et engraissés aucunement pour mieux reluire.'—P. 378, ed. Pan. Lit. Froissart, speaking of the deputation sent from Flanders in 1345, to excuse the death of James von Artaveld, says, 'ils reconnoissoient bien qu'il leur avoit été moult *propice* et nécessaire à tous leurs besoins, et avoit régné et gouverné le pays de Flandre bellement et sagement.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 206, ed. Pan. Lit. And the same writer in his account of the nomination of Philip von Artaveld by the lord de Harzelle in 1381, makes the latter say, 'Je en sais un qui point n'y vise, ni n'y pense, que si il s'en vouloit ensoigner, il n'y auroit pas de plus *propice* ni de meilleur nom' (*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 145), which Lord Berners translates, 'I knowe one, that if he wyll medle therwith, I thynke ther shulde nat be a *meter* man therfore, nor of a better name.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 635, ed. 1812. And again, in recording a conversation between Peter du Bois and Francis Acreman, referring to the same events, Froissart makes the former say, 'N'avez-vous pas ouï dire comment ceux de Gand occirent et murdrirent jadis ce vaillant et sage homme Jacques d'Artevelle, qui leur avoit fait tant de bien et donné de bon conseils et été en toutes leurs nécessités si *propice*?'—*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 499. In a letter to the King, written about Aug. 7, 1521, Wolsey says, 'And like as Your Grace thinketh the Erle of Essex to be covenable and *propice* for that rome, so am I of semblable opinion.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 32. And in another letter dated August 11, 1522, the cardinal writes, 'In case the Frenche shippes shalbe passed northewardes, bifore their commyng thider, then the wynde being covenable and *propice*, if they poursued and folowed them into the North Sees, leving 3 or 4 shippes to kepe your passage betwene Dovour and Calais, it is not to be doubted (God willing) but some goodly rencounter shulde be bitwene them.'—*Ibid.* p. 100. And in another long letter from Amiens in 1527, informing the King of what passed in France, he expresses a hope that 'suche diligence shalbe used, that the perpetuall peax, keping secrete the determinacion of the said alternatyve, shalbe on Our Ladies day, the Assumpcion, published, confermed, sworne, and ratifyed here in Our Ladyes Churche

toritie. Where the merites of men beinge hidde and unknowen to the soueraigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers or inferior gouernours hauing nat only equal thanke or rewarde but perchaunce moche more than they which be diligent, or wolde be if they moughte haue assistence, there undoubtedly is grieuouse discourage and perill of conscience; for as moche as they omitte often tymes their dueties and offices, reputyng it great foly and madnes to acquire by the executyng of iustice nat only an opinion[a] of

of Amyas, which is a convenient, *propice*, and mete place for so excellent and high an acte.'—*Ibid.* p. 250. So Hall, in his account of the Earl of Shrewsbury's expedition in 1452, says, 'The inhabitauntes of Burdeaux, hearing of the erles arriual, sent to him messengers in the darke night, thanking and congratulating him for his thither comming, and also requiryng him to accelerate and spede his iorney towarde their citie, enformyng him that now the time was *propice* for his purpose.'—*Chron.* fo. clxiv. b. ed. 1548. And, speaking of Edward IV., he says, 'He edified bulwarkes and buylded fortresses on euery side and parte of his realme, where might be any place *propice* and mete for an armie to arriue or take lande.'—*Ibid.* fo. cxci. b.

[a] *I.e.* a character, reputation for; a phrase which has been already used, see *ante*, pp. 163, 284. It answers really in this sense to the French *opination*, which Cotgrave translates, 'An opination, opining, opinion-delivering; also *opinion*, judgement, fancy, imagination, fame, reputation.' It is remarkable that Richardson takes no notice whatever of this use of the word, which, however, is clearly derived from classical usage. Thus Cicero uses the parent word in the following passages: 'Ergo etiam solitario homini, atque in agro vitam agenti, *opinio justitiæ* necessaria est; eoque etiam magis, quòd, si eam non habebunt, injusti habebuntur.'—*De Off.* lib. ii. cap. 11. Again, 'P. Rutilii adolescentiam, *ad opinionem et innocentiæ et juris scientiæ*, P. Mucii commendavit domus.'—*Ibid.* cap. 13. And Cæsar uses the expression in the following passage: 'Equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos *virtutis opinio* est singularis . . . domum contenderunt.'—*De Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. cap. 24. This last passage is thus rendered in the French translation of 'Estienne Delaigue dict Beauuoys,' published in 1531, 'Les hommes darmes de Treues desquelz *lopinion et renommee touchant leur force* est singuliere entre les Gauloys.'—*Des Batailles de Gaule*, fo. xxi. The word is often used by Shakspeare. Thus, in the *First Part of King Henry IV.*:

'Stay, and breathe awhile:—
Thou hast redeem'd thy lost *opinion*.'

Again in *Julius Cæsar*, Metellus says—

'O, let us have him; for his silver hairs
Will purchase us a good *opinion*,
And buy men's voices to commend our deeds.'

tyrannye amonge the people, and consequently haterede, but also malignitie amonge his equalles and superiours, with a note of ambition.

This reuolued and considered by a circumspecte gouernour, lorde god, howe shortly and with litle difficultie shall he dispose the publike weale that is greued to receyue medicine, wherby it shulde be soone healed and reduced to his perfection.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of Detraction and the ymage therof made by the paynter Apelles.

THERE is moche conuersant[a] amonge men in authoritie a vice very ugly and monstruouse, who under the pleasaunt

And in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia says—

'How their lives
Might breed the ruin of my name's *opinion*!'

Bacon used the word in the same way as our author when he wrote, 'The *opinion* of plenty is amongst the causes of want.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 98, ed. 1825.

[a] *I.e.* associated with. Cotgrave translates the French *converser avec*, 'To converse, or be *much conversant*, associate or keep much company with; to haunt, frequent, resort often unto.' So in the A. V., 'There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were *conversant among* them.'—Joshua viii. 35; a phrase which represents the Latin 'qui inter eos morabantur' of the Vulgate. Again in the Latin Version: 'Nec quicquam periit omni tempore quo fuimus cum eis in agris,' (1 Sam. xxv. 15), is rendered 'Neither missed we anything as long as we were *conversant with them* when we were in the fields.' In the French Bible of 1530, however, we find the exact parallel: 'iamais riens ne fut perdu tout le temps que nous *auons conuerse* auec eulx au desert.' Bacon says, 'It hath been observed, that old men who have loved young company, and been *conversant* continually with them, have been of long life.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 505, ed. 1826. And again, 'But for the wisdom of business, wherein man's life is most *conversant*, there be no books of it, except some few scattered advertisements.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 259. Pliny uses the Latin word, 'conversari,' in the same way for 'to haunt;' thus he says of the eagle: 'Conversatur autem in montibus.'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. x. cap. 3.

habite[a] of frendshippe and good counsaile with a breeth pestilenciall infecteth the wittes of them that nothinge mistrusteth; this monstre is called in englysshe Detraction,[b] in latine *Calumnia*, whose propertie I will nowe declare. If a man, beinge determined to equitie, hauynge the eyen and eares of his mynde set onely on the trouthe and the publike

[a] *I.e.* guise, dress. From the French *habit*, which is, itself, derived from the Lat. 'habitus.' Thus Cicero, in the *Verrine Orations*, says, 'Erant ænea præterea duo signa . . . virginali *habitu* atque vestitu . . . Canephoræ ipsæ vocabantur.'—Lib. iv. cap. 3. Froissart in his account of the coronation of Chas. VI. of France in 1380, says, 'Et là séoit le jeune roi, en *habit* royal, en une chaire élevée moult haut' (*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 117), which Lord Berners translates, 'And there the yonge kynge was in *habyte* ryall, in a chayre lypt up on high.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 606. The word is constantly used by Chaucer; thus, in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: 'But natheles, I wole not blame Religious folk, ne hem diffame, in what *habit* that ever they go.' Again, '*Abit* ne makith neithir monk ne frere.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. vi. pp. 187, 189. It occurs also in the Statutes of the Realm at this period; thus, by 24 Henry VIII. cap. 13, it is 'Provyded alwais that this Acte nor any thing therin conteyned be hurtfull or prejudiciall to any spirituall or temporall personne in and for the wearing any ornamentes of the Churche used for executyng dyvyne service or for wearing their Amicis, Mantels, *Habittes*, or Garmentes of Religion, or other thinges which they be used or bounde unto by their romes or promocions or Religions.' The Promptorium has 'Abyte i clothynge—*Habitus*.'

[b] Which itself is derived from the French *detraction*, which Cotgrave translates, '*Detraction*, slander, backbiting, depravation, discrediting, mis-report of, private disgracing or disparaging, slanderous speeches, reproachfull tearmes given of one behind his back.' The *Promptorium* has 'Detraccyon or bagbytynge (bakbytynge), *Detraccio, obloquium*.' In the work called *Le Ménagier de Paris*, which was written at the end of the fourteenth century, we find the following definition of this vice: 'La quarte branche d'envie si est *détraction*: c'est à dire, quant une personne dit mal et parle en derrière et dit ce qu'il scet de lui et ce qu'il ne scet pas, et qu'il contreuve et pense comment il pourra dire chose par quoy il pourra nuire et grever celluy de qui il parle, et quant il oit mal dire de cellui, il aide à son povoir de le accroistre et exaulcer, et de ce parle moult griefment quant il voit son point, pour ce qu'il scet qu'il ne le peut en nulle manière plus dommagier, et scet qu'il ne lui peut restituer sa bonne renommée qu'il luy oste, et ainsi lui mesmes se met à mort.'—Tom. i. p. 37, ed. 1846. The word is used by Chaucer in *The Persones Tale*: 'Salamon saith, that flaterie is worse than *detraccioun*; for som tyme *detraccioun* makith an hawteyn man be the more humble, for he dredith *detraccioun*, but certes flaterie makith a man to enhaunsen his hert and his countenaunce.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 316. And again in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: 'With tonge woundyng, as feloun, thurgh venemous *detraccioun*.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 168, ed. 1866.

weale of his contray, will haue no regarde to any requeste or desire, but procedeth directely in the adminystration of iustyce, than either he whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fautours,[a] abettours,[b] or adherentes, if he him selfe or any of

[a] This word, which is frequently found in legal documents, is the French *fauteur*, which Cotgrave translates, 'A *fautor*, favourer; furtherer, helper; supporter, protector; a partaker, a companion.' It is used by Juvénal (Jean II.) des Ursins in his *Chronique de Charles VI.*, composed about 1430, who, in recording the events of the year 1418, says, 'Le dimanche vingt-huictiesme jour dudit mois, les Bourguignons entrerent à Paris: et pour sçavoir la maniere, il est vray, comme a esté touché, que le duc de Bourgongne avoit de grands *fauteurs* à Paris.'—P. 541, ed. Pan. Lit. An order of M. Luillier, the Civil Governor of Paris, dated August 11, 1562, enjoins 'Aux Commissaires, de faire diligence de s'enquérir en son quartier où sont les maisons, héritages, rentes, &c., appartenans aux rebelles, factieux, séditieux, et qui ont porté les armes contre le Roy, et leur *fauteurs*, adhérans, et complices.'—*Mémoires de Condé*, tom. iii. p. 579, ed. 1743. The word occurs also in the English statutes of this reign; thus, 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12, which was passed to prevent the removal of appeals to Rome, enacts that if any person thereafter attempt to procure from the See of Rome any inhibition, &c., in derogation of the process of the courts of this realm, 'every suche personne or personnes so doyng, and their *fautours*, comfortours, abbettours, procurers, executers, and counsaillours, &c.,' shall incur the penalties provided by the statutes of præmunire. Again, in the Act for the establishment of the succession to the Crown, 28 Henry VIII. cap. 7, it is provided that if any of the King's heirs, &c., interrupt the order of succession limited by the Act, 'then all and singular the offendours in any of the premisses contrary to this acte, and all their arbettours, mayntenours, *fautours*, counsaillours, and aidours therin shalbe demed and adjudged high traitours to the Realme.' It had been used in formal documents, however, at a much earlier period, for in 1296 John the Stewart, brother of James the Stewart of Scotland, in making his submission to Edward I., promises to aid and assist the King, 'contre Johan de Baillol, qui feut Roi d'Escoce, et contre touz ses aydeurs et ses *fauteurs* en Roiaume d'Escoce et ailleurs, totes les foiz que nous serrom requis ou garniz de par nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre avantdit, ou par ses heirs.'—Rymer, vol. ii. p. 714. The Latin form occurs in the commission to extend the duration of the truce between England and France in 1297, wherein the King delegates to the Commissioners 'Prorogandi sufferentiam, seu abstinentiam, inter nos ex parte unâ, et Regem Franciæ ex alterâ, ac nostros et ipsius *fautores*, confœderatos, valitores, initas super guerrâ motâ hinc et inde, usque ad quod tempus voluerint.'—*Ibid.* p. 800.

[b] It is worthy of note that Kelham, in his *Norman Dict.* and Sherwood in his *Eng.-French Dict.* render 'an abettor, *fauteur*, *favoriseur*,' showing that they considered these words to be synonymous. Spelman says that abbettator is 'vox forensis,' and defines it as 'Incitator, instigator; qui alium ad facinus aliquod perpetrandum exacuit tutaturve facturum,' and derives it from the Saxon particle

them be in seruice or familiaritie with hym that is in auctoritie, as soone as by any occasion mention hapneth to be made of hym who hathe executed Justyce exactely, furthe with they imagine some vice or defaute, be it neuer so litle, wherby they may minysshe his credence, and craftly omittyng to speke any thyng of his rygour in Justyce, they wyll note and touche some thynge of his maners, wherein shall eyther seme to be lyghtnes or lacke of grauitie, or to moche sowernes,[a] or lake of ciuilitie, or that he is nat bene-

a = *ad* vel *usque* and *betan* sive *gebetan*, 'hoc est, emendare, excitare, restaurare, remedium præstare.' Other authorities, however, consider it of continental origin; thus Skinner, in his *Etymol. Anglic.* suggests the Belgic word *Baeten* = prodesse, as the root, 'qui enim alteri favet, ipsi, quantum potest, prodest.' Whilst Cowel, in his *Interpreter*, and Minshew, think that 'it may be said to proceed from the French *bouter*, impellere, or excitare.' And Du Cange, on the other hand, is inclined to favour the conjecture that deduces it from the word *abbeter* found in the old French Romances, with the meaning 'ad bestiam incitare.' It seems most probable, indeed, that it was of continental origin, for we find it in the early law books. Thus in the *Natura Brevium* it is laid down: 'Si ascun soit troue *abbettour* il auera un brē judicial deuers les *abbettours*, le quel est done en lieu de Conspiracie.'—Fo. xxiii. b. ed. Pynson, 1516. We have already seen in the last note how the word was used with other, *ejusdem generis*, in the Statutes of the Realm in the author's time, and we may cite, in addition, 3 Henry VII. cap. 2, passed in 1487, which enacts that 'si ascun home soit tue, ou occiz, ou murdrez, et de ceo tuorz, murderours, *abettorz*, maintenorz, et comfortorz dicell soient enditez, que m̄z lez tuorz et murderours, et toutz auterz accessoriez dicell soient arrettez et determinez de m̄ le felonie et murdre, &c.' One of the earliest enactments in which the word occurs is 13 Edward I. cap. 12, commonly called Stat. West. sec., which provides in the case of false appeals that 'si forte hujusmodi appellatores non habeant unde prædicta dampna restituere possint, inquiratur per quorum *abettum* formatum fuerit, hujusmodi appellum per maliciam, si appellatus hoc petat, et si inveniatur per illam inquisicionem quod aliquis sit *abettator* per maliciam, per breve de judicio ad sectam appellati distringatur ad veniendum coram Justiciariis, &c.'

[a] The author, in his *Dictionary*, translates Austerus '*sowre*, or sharpe. Also *soore*, or without pitie.' And Cotgrave renders *austerité* '*sourenesse*, roughnesse, rudenesse, &c.' The word *sour* is no doubt derived from the French *sur*, *sure*, which the writer last mentioned translates, '*sowre*, sharpe, eagar, tart.' Olivier de Serres, a French writer on agriculture in the sixteenth century, says, 'Ainsi les pommes douces donneront du sidre pour la première table; et les aigres, qu'en Normandie on appelle, *sures*, pour la seconde, dont toute la famille sera accommodée,' *Théâtre d'Agriculture*, tom. i. par. 2, p. 307, ed. 1804; which points to the probable source of the word, for Chaucer in *The Complaynte of Cryseide*, says,

uolent to hym in auctoritie, or that he is nat sufficient to receyue any dignitie, or to despeche[a] matters of weyghtye importaunce, or that he is superfluous in wordes or elles to scarse. Also if he lyue temperately and deliteth moche in studye, they embrayde hym with nygardeshyp,[b] or in

'Take mouled bread, pirate, and sider *soure*.'—*Works*, fo. 184, ed. 1602. Tyndall says, 'For as leuen altereth the nature of dowe and maketh it through *sowre*, euen so the Gospell turneth a man into a new life. . . . And as thou couldest not see Leauen, though thou brakest up a loafe, except thou smelledst or tastedst the *sourenes*, euen so couldest thou neuer see true faith or loue, except thou sawest workes.'—*Works*, p. 225, ed. 1573.

[a] This word, which has been already used (*ante*, pp. 14, 273), is simply the French word *despescher*, which Cotgrave translates, 'to hasten, dispatch, rid, send away quickly.' Palsgrave has the more modern English form 'I dispatche, I rydde maters or any busynesse quyckly, *Je despeche* prim. conj. I have dispatched these four felowes quyckly,' '*Jay despeché ces quatre galans vistement*.'—*L'Esclarciss.* p. 520. How the French word was naturalised in English by the simple process of adoption we see from the following illustration. Claude de Seissel, the French historian, who was born about the middle of the fifteenth century, in his translation of Thucydides, viii. 106, says, 'Si recueillirent apres la bataille les naufrages et les charongnes (*sc.* cadavera) dont ilz rendirent par appoinctement aux ennemys les leurs, et apres ayant dresse leur trophee sur lescueil du sepulchre du chien, *despescherent* ung brigantin par lequel aduertirent les Atheniens de celle victoire.'—Fo. cxc. b. ed. 1527. This is rendered by Thomas Nicolls, 'Citezeine and goldesmyth of London,' in his version, published in 1550, as follows: 'So they receyued after the battaille the shipwrackes and the cariongns. Whereof they dyd by appoynctement render to the ennemyes theirs, and afterwardes hauynge addressed and reysed their Trophee upon the rocky place of the sepulchre of the dogge, they *dyspesched* a brygantyne, by the whyche they aduertysed the Athenyans of that same vyctorie.'—Fo. ccxxiii. So far as the Editor has been able to discover, the word *despescher* is never used by Froissart, but it occurs frequently in the *Mémoires* of P. de Commines. Thus speaking of the siege of Liége in 1467, he says, 'Il (*i.e.* le seigneur d'Hymbercourt) *despescha* deux de ses bourgeois qu'il avoit retenus,' p. 40, and 'Tost fut *despesché* ledit Cardinal (Balue).'—*Ibid.* p. 43. Again, 'Jà estoit assez près de la nuict, quand ledit duc eut cette nouvelle; et après avoir *despesché* les choses dessusdites, il alla là où estoit son enseigne conter le tout au roy.'—*Ibid.* p. 53.

[b] *I.e.* thrift, parsimony. This word, now quite obsolete, has been already used, see pp. 344, 345 *ante*. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Nyggardshepe, *Tenacitas*,' p. 356. And the author, in his *Dictionary*, translates *Tenacia* and *Tenacitas*, 'Hardenes in sparynge of expenses, *nygardshyp*, perseueraunce, retaynynge, or kepynge.' Baret, in his *Alvearie*, gives 'Hardnesse in sparing of expenses, *niggardship*, perseuering, stedfast abiding, retaining, keeping. Tenacitas. σμικρολογία. *Une sorte de retenir quelque chose. C'est aussi chicheté*.' Palsgrave has 'Nigardshyppe

derison[a] do calle him a clerke or a poete, unmete for any other purpose. And this do they couertely and with a more grauitie than any other thyng that they enterprise. This euyl reporte is called detraction, who was wonderfully well expressed in fygures by the moost noble peynter *Apelles*, after that he was discharged of the cryme whereof he was falsly accused to Ptholomee kyng of Egipt, hauyng for his amendes of the said kynge xii M poundes sterlynge and his accuser to his bondman perpetuelly. The table wherin detraction was expressed was paynted in this fourme.[b] At the ryghte hande

The ymage of detraction.

—*parcité* z. f.'—*L'Esclair.*, p. 248. Hall, speaking of Edward IV., says, 'And when he had sufficiently stored hys cheste with treasure, remembryng hys honor, lest he peraduenture should be noted with the spot of *nygardshyp*, he shewed hym selfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and a profitable kynge to the common wealth and the poore people of hys Realme and dominion.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxxxviii. ed. 1548.

[a] This is a French word derived from the Latin form 'derisio,' which was not used by any writer of the Augustan age. We find it, however, in the Patristic writings; thus, Lactantius, in quoting from the Apocrypha, says, 'Apud Esdram ita scriptum est; Si non credideritis ei, neque exaudieritis annuntiationem ejus, eritis *derisio* in gentibus.'—Lib. iv. cap. 18. And Arnobius says, 'Mimis nimirum dii gaudent, et illa vis præstans, neque ullis hominum comprehensa naturis, libentissimè commodat audiendis his aures, quorum symplegmatibus plurimis intermixtos se esse, *derisionis* in materiam norunt.'—*Adv. Gentes*, lib. vii. cap. 33. Palsgrave has 'Scorne, a mocke—*mocquerie*, s. f. *dérision*, s. f.' Cotgrave translates *Dérision*, '*Derision*, mockerie, flouting, scoffing.' Froissart, in his account of the arrest of Hugh Spencer in 1326, says, 'Le dit messire Thomas fit bien et fort lier le messire Hue le Despensier sur le plus petit maigre et chétif cheval qu'il put trouver. . . . le faisoit ainsi mener par *dérision* après la route et le convoi de la roine.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 17. Lord Berners, however, translates this, 'Thus he was led in scorne,' &c. Commines, narrating the futile result of Louis XI.'s embassy to Ghent in 1477, says, 'Aucuns de ce conseil le prindrent *à dérision*, tant à cause de son petit estat' (the ambassador was the King's barber) 'que des termes qu'il tenoit.'—*Mem.* p. 139, ed. Pan. Lit.

[b] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος οὕτω λέγεται αἰσχυνθήναι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἀπελλῆν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις ἐδωρήσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίφιλον δουλεύειν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὢν παρεκινδύνευσε μεμνημένος τοιᾷδέ τινι εἰκόνι ἠμύνατο τὴν διαβολήν. Ἔν δεξιᾷ τις ἀνὴρ κάθηται τὰ ὦτα παμμεγέθη ἔχων, μικροῦ δεῖν τοῖς τοῦ Μίδου προσεοικότα, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιούσῃ τῇ Διαβολῇ. Περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἑστᾶσι δύο γυναῖκες, Ἄγνοιά μοι δοκεῖν καὶ Ὑπόληψις. Ἑτέρωθεν δὲ προσέρχεται ἡ Διαβολή, γύναιον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν πάγκαλον, ὑπόθερμον δὲ καὶ

was made sittynge a man hauyng longe eares, puttynge fourthe his hande to detraction, who ferre of came towardes him; aboute this man stode two wemen, that is to say, Ignorance and Suspicion. On the other side came Detraction, a woman aboue measure wel trimmed, all chaufed and angry, hauynge her aspecte or loke like to the fire, in shewing a maner of rage or furye. In her lefte hande she helde a brenninge torche or bronde, and with her other hande she drewe by the heare of his hedde a yonge man who helde up his handes towarde heuen, callinge god and the sayntes for witnesse. With her came a man pale and euill fauoured, beholdinge the yonge man intentifly, like unto one that had ben with longe sicknes consumed, whom ye mought lightly coniecte to be Enuie. Also there folowed two other women, that trymmed and apparailed Detraction; the one was Treason, the other Fraude. After folowed a woman in a mourninge weede,[a] blacke and ragged,

παρακεκινημένον, οἷον δὴ τὴν λύτταν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δεικνύουσα, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ δᾷδα καομένην ἔχουσα, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ δὲ νεανίαν τινὰ τῶν τριχῶν σύρουσα τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ μαρτυρόμενον τοὺς θεούς. Ἡγεῖται δὲ ἀνὴρ ὠχρὸς καὶ ἄμορφος ὀξὺ δεδορκὼς καὶ ἐοικὼς τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρᾶς κατεσκληκόσι. Τοῦτον οὖν εἶναι τὸν Φθόνον ἄν τις εἰκάσειε. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς δύο παρομαρτοῦσι προτρέπουσαι καὶ περιστέλλουσαι καὶ κατακοσμοῦσαι τὴν Διαβολήν. Ὡς δέ μοι καὶ ταύτας ἐμήνυσεν ὁ περιηγητὴς τῆς εἰκόνος, ἡ μὲν Ἐπιβουλή τις ἦν, ἡ δὲ Ἀπάτη. Κατόπιν δὲ ἠκολούθει πάνυ πενθικῶς τις ἐσκευασμένη, μελανείμων καὶ κατεσπαραγμένη. Μετάνοια, οἶμαι, αὕτη ἐλέγετο· ἐπεστρέφετο γοῦν εἰς τοὐπίσω δακρύουσα καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς πάνυ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν προσιοῦσαν ὑπέβλεπεν. Οὕτω μὲν Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐμιμήσατο.—Lucian, *De Calumniâ*, § 4, 5.

[a] The sense in which this Anglo-Saxon word is here used is still preserved in the phrase 'a widow's weeds.' In the *Promptorium* we find '*Wede*, clothynge. *Indumentum, vestimentum*,' p. 519. Cotgrave translates *vestement* 'a vestment, vesture, *weed*, garment, &c.;' and *manteline*, 'a mantle, sleight robe, or cloke, worne loose about the sholders; also a Frier's *weed*, or habit.' It is often used by Chaucer in this sense; thus in *The Clerkes Tale*:

> 'My lord, ye wot that in my fadres place
> Ye dede me strippe out of my pore *wede*,
> And richely me cladden of your grace.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 305.

And in *The Romaunt of the Rose*:

> 'As soone as Poverte gynneth take,
> With mantel and with *wedis* blake

and she was called Repentaunce, who turninge her backe wepynge and sore ashamed behelde Veritie, who than approched. In this wise Apelles described detraction, by whome he him selfe was in peryll. Whiche in myn oppinion is a right necessary mater to be in tables or hangynges set in euery mans house that is in auctoritie,[a] consideringe what

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Hidith of Love the light away,
That into nyght it turneth day.'

Again—

'What wole ye more? In every wise
Right as me lyst I me disgise.
Wel can I were me undir *wede*;
Unlyk is my word to my dede.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. pp. 163, 194.

Again in *A Ballade in commendacion of Our Ladie*:

'Thy mantell of mercy on our misery sprede,
And er wo away wrap us under thy *wede*.'
Works, fo. 313, ed. 1602.

dall, in his translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus*, says, 'An other poincteth some one of the Pharisaicall sort, clad in a blacke frocke or cope, and saith, 'Loke this waie, here is Christ;" an other againe sheweth towardes another of the Pharisaicall sorte goyng in a *white wede*, and saieth, "Beholde, here is Christ." An other felowe shewyng many sondrie coulours and shapes of vestures, crieth, "Here is Christ, here, here, here."'—Tom. i. fo. cccxlvi. b. ed. 1551. Where the original has 'Alius ostendit aliquem è pharisaico genere nigro pallio, et dicit, "Aspice, hic est Christus." Alius rursus indicat alium *candido pallio*, et dicit, "Ecce hic est Christus," etc.'—*Paraphr. in Nov. Test.* p. 428, ed. 1541. So Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*:

'At length they chaunst to meet upon the way
An aged Sire, in long *blacke weedes* yclad,
His feete all bare, his beard all hoarie gray,
And by his belt his booke he hanging had.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 120, ed. 1866.

Stephen Hawes, 'almost the only poet of the reign of Henry VII.,' according to Mr. Payne Collier, uses the word in his poem *The Pastime of Pleasure*—

'Councell and I than rose ful quickely,
And made us redy on her way to walke,
In our clenly *wede* apparayled properly.'—P. 77.

And again—

'To a chambre I went, replete with rychesse,
Where sat Arysmatryke in a golden *wede*,
Lyke a lady pure and of great worthynes.'—P. 56, ed. 1846.

[a] See a similar recommendation *ante*, p. 238.

damage and losse hath ensued and may hereafter ensue by this horrible pestilence, false detraction. To the auoydinge wherof, Luciane, who writeth of this picture, gyueth a notable counsayle, sayenge, that a wise man, whan he douteth of the honestie and vertue of the persone accused, he shulde kepe close his eares and nat open them hastely to them whiche be with this sycknes infected, and put reason for a diligent porter and watche, whiche ought to examine and lette in the reportes that be good, and exclude and prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thinge to laughe at and very unfittinge to ordeyne for thy house a keper or porter, and thine eares and mynde to leaue to all men wyde open. Wherfore whan any persone commeth to us to tell us any report or complaint, first, it shall behoue us throughly and euenly to considre the thyng, nat hauyng respecte to the eares of him that reporteth, or to his fourme of lyuing or wisedome in speaking. For the more vehement the reporter is in persuading, so moche more diligent and exacte triall and examination aught to be used. Therefore truste is nat to be gyuen to an other mannes iudgement, moche lasse to the malice of an accuser. But euery man shall retayne to hym selfe the power to enserche out the trouthe, and leauynge the enuye or displeasure to the detractour, he shall ponder or way the mater indifferently, that euery thynge in suche wise beinge curiously inserched and proued, he maye at his pleasure either loue or hate him whom he hath so substancially tried. For in good fayth to gyue place to detraction at the begynnynge, it is a thinge childisshe and base, and to be estemed amonge the moost great inconueniences and mischiefes.[a] These be well nyghe the wordes of Luciane; whether the counsayle be good I re-

[a] Τί οὖν χρὴ καὶ ποιεῖν τόν γε νοῦν ἔχοντα ἢ ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀληθείας ἀμφισβητοῦντα; . . . ἀποφράττειν τὰ ὦτα καὶ μὴ ἀνέδην αὐτὰ ἀναπεταννύειν τοῖς πάθει προειλημμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν ἅπασι τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ μὲν ἄξια προσίεσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, τὰ φαῦλα δὲ ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη γελοῖον τῆς μὲν οἰκίας θυρωροὺς καθιστάναι, τὰ ὦτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεφγμένα ἐᾶν. Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν τοιαῦτα προσίῃ τις λέγων, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξε-

mitte it to the wise redars.[a] Of one thing am I sure, that by detraction as well many good wittes haue bene drowned, as also vertue, and paynfull study haue [bene] unrewarded, and many zelatours[b] or fauourers of the publyke weale haue benne discouraged.

τάζειν, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὁρῶντα μήτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον μήτε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγχίνοιαν· ὅσῳ γάρ τις πιθανώτερος, τοσούτῳ ἐπιμελεστέρας δεῖται τῆς ἐξετάσεως. Οὐ δεῖ τοίνυν πιστεύειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ κρίσει, μᾶλλον δὲ μίσει τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν φυλακτέον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀποδόντα καὶ τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὸν φθόνον καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ποιησάμενον τον ἔλεγχον τῆς ἑκατέρου διανοίας, καὶ μισεῖν οὕτω καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν δεδοκιμασμένον. Πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρώτης διαβολῆς κεκινημένον, Ἡράκλεις, ὡς μειρακιῶδες καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάντων οὐχ ἥκιστα ἄδικον.—Lucian, *De Calumniâ*, §§ 30, 31.

[a] Patrizi, who also notices this story, has the following comment upon it: 'Argumentum hujus pictæ tabellæ et Apellis ingenium ostendit non modo picturæ fuisse idoneum, verùm etiam maximis meditationibus, et calumniæ naturam planè exprimit, quæ livore ducta innocentem criminatur, ac deinde pœnitentiâ sceleris sui mœret, et ab luce veritatis abhorret. Erit igitur optimi Principis munus veritatem omnibus in rebus diligenter indagare, et eam inventam defendere.'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.*, lib. iv. tit. 5.

[b] This word, the French *zelateur*, is not noticed by Richardson. The low Latin *zelator* was in use in the Middle Ages, and Du Cange considers it synonymous with fautor, which confirms its usage by our author. In the truce with France granted by Edward I. in 1296, the parent word occurs in the following passage: 'Ex parte ipsius summi Præsulis, et suâ apud nos, tanquam pacis et concordiæ *zelator* fervidus et fidelis, instanter et sollicitè institit, ut reformationi pacis nostrum vellemus animum inclinare.'—Rymer, vol. ii. p. 709, ed. 1705. And the very same expression occurs in the instructions to the Earl of Lancaster (*Ibid.* p. 712). We find it also used in a letter from the Synod of Constance to certain noblemen of Hainburg in Bohemia in 1416: 'Sicque universalis ecclesiæ confortati præsidio in his et eorum executione vestræ nobilitates se velint et dignentur habere, quod vos reddatis inter optimos ejusdem fidei *zelatores* in Christi militiâ magis et magis gloriosos.'—Ludewig, *Reliq. MSS.* tom. vi. p. 74, ed. 1724. The French form is employed by Etienne de la Boëtie, the friend of Montaigne, in his treatise *De la Servitude Volontaire*, written in 1546: 'Lon a voulu dire que Brute et Casse, lors qu'ils feirent l'entreprinse de la delivrance de Rome, ou plus tost de tout le monde, ne voulurent point que Ciceron, ce grand *zelateur* du bien public, s'il en fut jamais, fust de la partie.'—*Œuvres*, p. 45, ed. 1846. And also by La Noue, in his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, towards the end of the century: 'Aucuns de ces *zelateurs* inconsiderez ont encor une opinion tres mauuaise.'—P. 87, ed. 1587. In the English translation, which was published in the same year, this passage is rendered thus: 'Other some of these inconsiderate *zelators* are of a verie bad opinion.'—*Pol. and Mil. Discourses*, p. 48, ed. 1587.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of Consultation and counsayle, and in what fourme they aught to be used in a publike weale.

THE griefes or diseases whiche of Aristotell be called the decayes of the publike weale[a] beinge inuestigate, examined, and tried by the experience before expressed, than commethe the tyme and oportunitie of consultacion, wherby, as I sayd, is prouided the remedies moste necessary for the healinge of the sayd grefes[b] or reparation of decayes. This thinge that is called Consultation is the generall denomination of the acte wherin men do deuise together and reason what is to be done. Counsayle is the sentence or aduise particulerly gyuen by euery man for that purpose assembled. Consultation hath respecte to the tyme future or to come, that is to saye, the ende or purpose thereof is adressed to some acte or affaire to be practised after the Consultation. And yet be nat all other tymes excluded, but fyrste the state of thinges present aught to be examined, the powar, assistence, and substaunce to be estemed; semblably thinges passed with moche and longe deliberation to be reuolued and tossed in the minde, and to be conferred with them that be present; and beinge exactly wayed the one agayne the other, than to inuestigate or enquire exquisitely[c] the fourme and reason of

[a] This probably refers to the following passage in the *Ethics*: Πολιτείας δ'ἐστὶν εἴδη τρία, ἴσαι δὲ καὶ παρεκβάσεις, οἷον φθοραὶ τούτων.—*Eth. Nicom.* lib. viii. cap. 10 (12).

[b] Bacon uses precisely the same expression in the following passage: 'As for discontentments, they are, in the politic body, like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the *griefs*, whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small.'—*Essays*, p. 126, ed. 1857.

[c] In the 'Additions' to the author's own *Dictionary* we find the Latin adverb Exquisitè, exquisitim, translated '*Exquisitely*, with moche study and diligence;' and the participle Exquisitus, '*Exquysyte*, moche serched for.' The latter

the affaire, and in that studye to be holly resolued so effectually, that they whiche be counsailours may beare with them out of the counsayle house, as it were on their sholders, nat onely what is to be folowed and exployted,[a] but also by what

is frequently used by Cicero, and the following is an instance of his use of the adverb in the sense in which it used by Sir T. Elyot: 'Quinetiam memini, cum in accusatione suâ Q. Gallio crimini dedisset, sibi eum venenum paravisse . . . deque eo crimine accuratè et exquisitè disputavisset.'—*De Claris Orat.* cap. 80. We have already seen an instance of this word (see Vol. I. p. 108), and the adjective has been used in the same sense as the adverb is here at Vol. I. pp. 48 and 55. Bacon says, 'We see more *exquisitely* with one eye shut, than with both open.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 470, ed. 1826. Montaigne speaks of 'gents *d'exquise* et exacte conscience et prudence.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 129. Whilst Palsgrave has '*Exquisyte*, curyous in doyng a thyng, m. *exquis*, f. *exquise*, s.; m. *curieux*, f. *curieuse*, s.'—*L'Esclaircis.* p. 311.

[a] This word, which has been constantly employed by our author, is the French *exploiter*, which Cotgrave spells *exploicter*, and translates, 'To *exploict*, performe, dispatch, act, execute, atchieve; *exploicter chemin*, to make haste, go fast, ride away apace.' Palsgrave has, 'I *exployt*, I applye or avaunce myselfe to forther a busynesse. *Je mexploicte, je me suis exploicte, exploicter*, verb. med. prim. conj. They *exploited* them so faste that within shorte space they came to their journayes ende; *ilz se exploicterent tant que en briefue espace ilz vindrent au bout de leur journée.*'—*L'Esclaircis.* p. 542. In his own *Dictionary* the author translates the Latin administro, 'to do seruyce, *to exployte*, to fournyshe;' and administratio, '*exploytynge*, or doynge of a thinge, seruice.' While in Baret's *Alvearie* we find '*Exploiting* or doing. Administratio, διοικήσις, *administration, maniement et conduicte de quelque affaire.* To *exploit*, or doe a businesse. Negotium aliquod gerere, Cic. An *exploiting* or doing of a thing, gestio, Cic. ὑπόκρισις, παράστασις. To *exploit*, Consilio et ratione rem administrare.' M. Littré gives the Latin *explicare* as the root. The word is a very favourite one with Froissart, but so far as the Editor has been able to discover, it is never represented by the same word in English in the translation of Lord Berners. The following may be cited as instances of the use of the French verb: 'Ils *exploitèrent* tant par leurs journées qu'ils revinrent en France et droitement à Paris, où ils trouvèrent le roi Philippe, à qui ils contèrent toutes les nouvelles et comment ils avoient *exploité*.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 43. 'Et fut le roi Philippe informé et avisé de ses plus espéciaux amis que, s'il alloit au voyage d'outre mer qu'il avoit empris, il mettroit son royaume en très grand aventure, et qu'il ne pouvoit faire ni *exploiter* meilleur point que de garder ses gens et ce qui sien étoit.'—*Ibid.* p. 57. 'Si lui fut rendu le dit messire Waflart, qui eut moult mal *exploité* et mal finé.'—*Ibid.* p. 117. So Montaigne, no doubt with studied allusion to the frequency with which the word is employed by the Chronicler, says, 'Lisant chez Froissard le vœu d'une troupe de ieunes gentilshommes anglois, de porter l'œil gauche bandé, iusques à ce qu'ils eussent

meanes or wayes hit shall be pursued, and howe the affaire may be honourable ; also what is expedient and of necessitie, and howe moche is nedeful, and what space and length of time, and finally howe the enterprise being achieued and brought to effect may be kept and retained. For often times after exploitures [a] hapneth occasions, either by assaultes or other encombrances [b] of ennemies, or of to moche trust in fortunes

passé en France et *exploicté* quelque faict d'armes sur nous ; ie me suis souvent chatouillé de ce pensement.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 138. Chaucer has another form of this word in *The Romaunt of the Rose*—

'I dwelle with hem that proude be,
And fulle of wiles and subtilité ;
That worship of this world coveiten,
And grete nede kunnen *espleiten*.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 188.

[a] This word, already used by the author (see Vol. I. p. 87), seems to be formed from the French *exploit*, as portraiture is from portrait. It is used by Udall, in his translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus* upon Mark ix.: 'Admytte it bee thy ryghte hande, that is to saye, thy father, or verye nere frende whome thou canste not spare ; putte case it bee thy ryghte eye, that is to wete, thy welbeloued wyfe and swete children. Admytte it bee thy foote, that is to saye, thy seruaunte or factour, whose seruyce thou canste not lacke for the *exploiture* of suche affayres as thou haste to dooe in thys worlde. Cutte of thy hande, plucke out thyne eye, choppe of thy foote that hyndreth thee to dooe the busynesse of the Ghospell.' —Tom. i. fo. clxx. b. ed. 1551. Where the original has 'Finge pedem esse, hoc est, famulum aut procuratorem, cujus operâ carere non possis in hujus vitæ *negociis* ; amputa manum, etc.'—Erasm. *Paraph. in Nov. Test.* p. 231, ed. 1541.

[b] This is clearly a French word. M. Littré says *sub voc.* Encombrement, 'On disait beaucoup dans l'ancien francais, *encombrier* et *encombrance*,' but he gives no examples to support this assertion. M. Dochez, on the other hand, says, 'On a dit *encombrance*, encombrier, puis encombre.' And he cites from an anonymous Fabliau of the fourteenth century the expression, 'Gardez moi d'encombrance.' Cotgrave does not give the first of these, but translates *encombrier* 'A cumber, *incumbrance*, pesterment, hinderance, trouble, &c.' The word is used by Chaucer in *The Assemblie of Ladies* :

'Much more there was, wherof she shuld complain,
But she thoght it too great *encombraunce*
So much to write, and therfore in certain,
In God and her she put all her affiaunce.
Works, fo. 248, b. ed. 1602.

And also by Lord Berners in *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* : Therin is conteyned certayne right hygh and profounde sentences, and holsom counselles, and meruaylous deuyses ageynst *thencumbraunce* of fortune, and ryght swete consola-

assuraunce, or by dissobedience or presumption of some persones whome the thinge toucheth, that this last parte of Consultation is omitted, or more rather neglected ; wher moche studie, trauaile, and cost haue utterly perisshed, nat onely to the no litle detriment of infinite persones, but also to the subuertion of most noble publike weales. More ouer it is to be diligently noted that euery counsayle is to be approued by thre thinges principally,[a] that it be ryghtwyse,[b] that it be

tions for them that are ouerthrowen by fortune.'—Fo. 167, ed. 1538. The substantive *encombre* is also given by Cotgrave, and appears sometimes to have been adopted by English writers. Thus Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, in a letter to the Privy Council, dated Sept. 7, 1546, says, 'Wee noted unto him (*i.e.* the ambassador) what temptacions the Kinges Majeste hath had to provide for himself, uppon certain advertisement of the treatie betwene the Emperour and the Bisshopp of Rome, clerely against the Kinges Majeste and his Realme, if it shuld take place ; and for that also that the Emperour of late useth the Kinges Majeste straungely, without participation of his affaires, wherein if he had followed the Kinges Majestes counsail, he had not entred this *encombre*, wherein he is nowe.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 859.

[a] And on the other hand Bacon speaks of three 'inconveniences of counsel,' viz.: '1st, the revealing affairs, whereby they become less secret ; 2nd, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves ; 3rd, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled.'—*Essays*, p. 190.

[b] This is a genuine old Saxon word, of which its modern representative 'righteous' is a corruption. Wycliffe, in his translation of *Laodicensis*, says, 'Alle ghoure axingis ben open anentis god, and be ghe fastned in the witt of Crist, and whiche been hool and sooth and chast and *rightwys* and lovable do ghe.'—*New Test.* p. 164, ed. Baber, 1810. Chaucer uses the substantive in *The Tale of Melibeus* as follows : 'Natheles, by certeyn presumpciouns and conjectinges I holde and bilieve that God, which that is ful of justice and of *right-wisnesse*, hath suffred this to betyde, by juste cause resonable.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 171. And again in *The Persones Tale* : 'Manslaughter in dede is in foure maneres. That oon is by lawe, right as a justice dampnith him that is coupable to the deth ; but let the justice be war that he do it rightfully, and that he do it nought for delit to spille blood, but for keping of *rightwisnes*.'—*Ibid.* p. 312. Feltham, who wrote in the seventeenth century, thus explains the etymology of the word : 'He that hath wisdom to be truly religious cannot be condemnedly a fool. Every precept of Christianity is a maxim of profoundest prudence. 'Tis the Gospel's work to reduce man to the principles of his first creation ; that is to be both good and wise. Our ancestors, it seems, were clear of this opinion. He that was pious and just was reckoned a righteous man. Godliness and Integrity was call'd and counted

good, and that it be with honestie. That whiche is rightwise is brought in by reason.[a] For nothing is right that is nat ordred by raison. Goodnes cometh of vertue. Of vertue and reason procedeth honestie. Wherfore counsayle being compact of these thre, may be named a perfecte Capitayne, a trusty companyon, a playne and unfayned frende. Therfore in the commendation therof *Titus Liuius* saith, Many thynges be impeched[c] by Nature whiche by *Titus Livius, li. xxv.*[b]

Righteousness. And in their old Saxon English, Righteous was *Rightwise*, and Righteousness was originally *Rightwiseness*.'—*Resolves*, p. 229, ed. 1696. Fabyan, the contemporary of our author, says, 'Of this erle (*i.e.* Simon de Mountford) spekyth Ranulph, Monke of Chester, in his boke of Policronicon, and calleth hym Symon the *ryghtwyse*, sayinge that God wrought for hym miracles after his deth.'—*Chron.* p. 357, ed. 1811.

[a] Patrizi had previously said, 'Si rectè cogitamus, omnis ratiocinatio omnisque diligens consultatio à ratione manat.'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. vi. tit. 9.

[b] The marginal reference has been corrected; in the original it was to the fifteenth book.

[c] This word, which is spelt 'empeched' at Vol. I. p. 248, is the English form of the French *empesché*. Cotgrave translates the verb *empescher*, 'to hinder, let, barre, stop; *impeach*; pester, trouble, disturbe, incumber; busie, toyle, hold occupied, keepe imployed; also to withstande or keepe back; also to shut or damme up.' The King himself, in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, dated June 12, 1537, uses the actual French form: 'Which daunger of inconvenience, though there is no grete likelyhod of the same, specially for that We be in leage and amytie with bothe Princes, wilbe certaynly avoyded by our contynuaunce here in thise parties, being soo nere unto them as they can not almost loke towardes any suche thing, but We be in a perfite a redynes to *empesche* their purpose in the same, to their displeasure that wold attempte any suche matier.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 553. Fabyan in his account of Flanders, in 1380, says, 'Artyuele made prouysyon to stoppe the wayes by brekyng of brydges and other meanes, wherby the Frensh hoost was gretely *empesched* and let, so that with great dyffycultie and daunger they passyd the ryuer of Lyze.'—*Chron.* fo. clxii. ed. 1516. C. de Seissel, in his translation of Thucydides, viii. 108, says, 'En celle mesme saison Alcibiades sen partit de Caune et de Phaselide auec xiiii nauires et sen vint a Samie, et fit entendre aux Atheniens, qui la estoient, comme il auoit *empesche* que les nauires Pheniciens ne viensissent a layde des Peloponesiens' (fo. cxci.); which is rendered by Nicolls: 'In the selfe seasone Alcibiades departed out of Caunus and of Phaselide wyth xiiii shipps to Samie, and did the Athenyans that were there to understande howe he had *empesched* that the Phenycians shippes did not come to the ayde of the Peloponesians.'—Fo. ccxxiii. ed. 1550. In *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius*, published in 1539, we find the word in the following passage: The hygh and supreme wysedome, the whiche all meane thynges gouerneth by

counsayle be shortly achieued.[a] And verily the powar of Counsaile is wonderfull, hauing auctoritie as wel ouer peace as martiall enterprise. And therfore with good reason Tulli affirmeth in his boke of offices, Armes without the doores be of litle importaunce, if counsaile be nat at home.[b] And he sayth sone after: In thinges moste prosperous the counsayle of frendes must be used.[c] Whiche is ratified by the auctour of the noble warke named *Ecclesiasticus*, sayeng: My sone, without counsayle see thou do nothynge, and than after thy dede thou shalte neuer repente the.[d] The same autor giueth thre noble precepts concerning this matter, which of euery wise man aught to be had in continuell memorie. Of fooles take thou no counsaile, for they can loue nothinge but that pleaseth theim selfes. Discouer nat thy counsayle before a straunger, for thou knowest nat what therof may happen. Unto euery man disclose nat thy harte, leest parauenture he wyl gyue to the a fayned thanke, and after reporte rebukefully of the.[e] Fooles

Ecclesiasti. li. xxxii.

Ecclesiasticus. viii.

Justyce, and departeth it accordynge to his bountie, wylle not that at oone tyme the worlde shulde wante or be destitute of sage men, nor at an other tyme want of symple personnes, some desyrynge the fruite, and some the leaues; in suche sort that they shulde haue enuye of that other were *impeched*.'—*The Prologue*, signat A. ii. In an account of the voyage of one James Lancaster to the Brazils in 1594, he says, '(Our admiral) gaue order to the men of these fiue small ships, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, and to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not *impeach* our entrance.'—Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 710, ed. 1600.

[a] 'Multa, quæ impedita naturâ sunt, consilio expediuntur.'—Lib. xxv. cap. 11.

[b] 'Parvi enim sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 22.

[c] 'Atque etiam in secundissimis rebus maximè est utendum consilio amicorum.'—*Ibid.* cap. 26.

[d] 'Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done, repent not.'—*Ecclesiasticus* xxxii. 19.

[e] 'Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel.

'Do no secret thing before a stranger; for thou knowest not what he will bring forth.

'Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.'—*Ecclesiasticus* viii. 17–19.

be, as I suppose, they whiche be more ladde with affection[a] than reason. And whom he calleth straungers be those of whose fidelitie and wisedome he is nat assured; and in the generall name of euery man may be signified the lacke of election of counsailours, whiche wold be with a vigilaunt serche and (as I mought saye) of all other moost scrupulouse.

CHAPTER XXIX.

What in Consultation is to be chiefly considered.

THE ende of all doctrine and studie is good counsayle, wherunto as unto the principall poynt, which Geometricians do call the Centre,[b] all doctrines (whiche by some autours be imagined in the fourme of a cerkle,[c]) do sende their effectes

[a] *I.e.* Inclination, desire. It is used in the same sense by Bacon: 'If *affection* lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If *affection* lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver.'—*Essays*, p. 441. The word has been transplanted from France, as we see in the following instance. Claude de Seissel, in his translation of Thucydides, viii. 53, says, 'A quoy plusieurs du peuple contredirent a grande instance, tant pour *laffection* quils auoient a lestat populaire, comme aussi pour linimytie quils auoient contre Alcibiades' (fo. clxxx.), which Nicolls renders, 'Against the which thinges many of the peple did speake with great instance, as well for the *affeccion* which they had to the comon estate, as also for thenmytye that they had against Alcibiades.'—Fo. ccix. ed. 1550.

[b] The following definition of this point is given by Macrobius: 'In omni orbe vel sphærâ medietas centron vocatur; nihilque aliud est centron nisi punctum quo sphæræ aut orbis medium certissimâ observatione distinguitur.'—*Comm. in Somn. Scip.* lib. i. cap. 20, § 14. Hallam says, 'It may be considered a proof of the attention paid to geometry in England, that two books of Euclid were read at Oxford about the middle of the fifteenth century,' and he tells us that 'the first translation of Euclid from the Greek text was made by Zamberti of Venice, and appeared in 1505.'—*Lit. of Eur.* vol. i. pp. 115 note, 452, ed. 1854.

[c] *I.e.* ἐγκυκλίος παιδεία. In addition to the quotation from Quintilian given in Vol. I. p. 118, the following may be cited: Τὰ φορῶμαί τινα πρὸς ταῦτα καταδρομὴν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀπείρων, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον τῆς ῥητορικῆς μέρος ὁδοῦ τε καὶ τέχνης χωρὶς ἐπιτηδεύοντων.—Dion. Hal. *Opera*, vol. v. p. 206, ed.

like unto equall lignes, as it shall appere to them that will rede the bokes of the noble Plato, where he shall fynde that the wise Socrates, in euery inuestigacion, whiche is in fourme of a consultation, useth his persuasions and demonstrations by the certayne rules and examples of sondry sciences,[a] prouinge therby that the conclusion and (as I mought say) the perfection of them is in good counsaile, wherin vertue may be founden, beynge (as it were) his propre mantion[b] or

1775. Plutarch, in his treatise on music, says, Καὶ παραδῴσω τῷ ἑταίρῳ Σωτηρίχῳ, ἐσπουδακότι οὐ μόνον περὶ μουσικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν.—*De Musicâ*, 13. Zonaras, the Byzantine historian of the twelfth century, enumerates the various subjects included in the term ἐγκύκλιος, and explains why they were so called, as follows : Ἡ γραμματικὴ · ἡ ποιητικὴ · ἡ ῥητορικὴ · ἡ φιλοσοφία · ἡ μαθηματικὴ · καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη, διὰ τὸ περιϊέναι ταῦτα τοὺς σοφοὺς ὡς διά τινος κύκλου.—*Lexicon*, tom. i. col. 600, ed. 1808.

[a] 'To convict men, by cross-examination, of ignorance in respect to those matters which each man believed himself to know well and familiarly—this was the constant employment and mission of Sokrates. . . . What those topics were, in respect to which Socrates found this universal belief of knowledge, without the reality of knowledge—we know, not merely from the dialogues of Plato, but also from the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon. Sokrates did not touch upon recondite matters—upon the Kosmos, astronomy, meteorology. Such studies he discountenanced as useless, and even as irreligious. The subjects on which he interrogated were those of common, familiar, every-day talk ; those which everyone believed himself to know, and on which everyone had a confident opinion to give. . . . Sokrates passed his life in talking, with everyone indiscriminately, and upon each man's particular subject ; often perplexing the artist himself. Xenophon recounts conversations with various professional men—a painter, a sculptor, an armourer—and informs us that it was instructive to all of them, though Sokrates was no practitioner in any craft.'—Grote's *Plato*, vol. i. pp. 245, 248, 449, ed. 1867.

[b] This word, which the author has already used *ante*, p. 316, is derived from the Lat *mansio*, which was the mediæval equivalent of *ædes*, through the French *mansion*. Thus Philippe de Beaumanoir, who collected the customs of Beauvoisis in 1283, says, 'Plusors gens sunt, si comme marceans et gens errans par le païs qui n'ont nules *mansions*, ou il les ont hors du roïame. . . . Car male coze seroit c'on alast pledier à tex gens hors du roiame où lor *mansions* sunt.'—*Les Cout. du Beauvoisis*, tom. ii. p. 468, ed. 1842. And in *La Roman de la Rose*, the earliest specimen of French poetry, the word occurs several times. Thus—

> 'Et se chose qui n'est estable,
> Comme foloiant et muable,
> A certaine habitacion,
> Fortune a la sa *mancion*.'—Tom. ii. p. 96, ed. 1814.

palice, where her powar onely appereth concernynge gouernaunce, either of one persone only, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, which for a diuersitie may be called polityke. Sens counsayle is of suche an efficacie, and in thinges

And again, shortly afterwards in the same poem we have—

'Puet-l'en trover religion
En seculiere *mansion*?'—*Ibid.* p. 330.

In the charter of privileges accorded by Charles V. to the Jews in 1370, occurs the following article: 'Octroyons à yceulx Juys et Juyves demourans et qui demouront en nostredit Royaume, que il puissent acquerir et avoir maisons et habitacions pour leurs *mansions*, et places pour leurs corps enterrer.'—*Ordonnances des Rois de France*, tom. v. p. 492, ed. 1736. And a letter of the same king, dated April 1369, states as follows: 'Aussi s'efforcent de faire contraindre lesdis supplians à faire ladicte contribution desdis Murs, Pont, et fossez de ladicte Ville de Vernon, et de mettre et tenir sur ce en grans et divers procès lesdis supplians, qui moult ont eu à souffrir pour le fait des guerres, et le plat païs où leurs *mansions* sont assises, et qui ont et doivent avoir leur refuge et retrait, en tout cas de necessitaté et peril.'—*Ibid.* p. 169. In Domesday Book the words *Mansio* and *Manerium* seem to be synonymous, though, as Sir Henry Ellis points out, 'in a few entries of the Survey *Mansiones* seem meant for houses simply.'—*Introd. to Dom. Book*, vol. i. p. 244, note. It is clear, however, that this later and popular acceptation of the term was not in strict conformity with the legal definition. According to which, 'mansio esse poterit constructa ex pluribus domibus, vel una quæ erit habitatio una et sola sine vicino.'—Bracton, *De Legg.* lib. v. cap. 28. The word, in the modern sense in which it is used by Sir Thomas Elyot, occurs several times in Chaucer, and also in *The Pastime of Pleasure*, written by Stephen Hawes in the reign of Henry VII., as follows:

'To me she came, with lowely countenaunce,
And bad me welcome unto that *mancion*,
Ledyng me forth wyth joy and pleasaunce
Into an hall of mervaylous facion,
Right strongly fortyfyde of olde foundacion.'

P. 125, ed. 1846. Percy Soc.

It is not unworthy of notice that although in the English version, S. John xiv. 2 was translated, 'In my Father's house are many *mansions*,' the French Bible of 1530 has 'Plusieurs *demeures* sont en la maison de mon pere;' but we may easily trace the source of the English version, because we see that Erasmus uses the Latin equivalent: 'Jam in domo patris mei multæ *mansiones* paratæ sunt victoribus. . . . Nunc quoniam certum scio suam cuique *mansionem* paratam in regno patris,' &c.—*Paraphras. in Nov. Test.*, p. 611, ed. 1541, which points rather to a sense of the word which is explained by Du Cange as 'Stationes, sedes, diversoria *militum* in quæ se recipiunt expeditionis tempore.'

concernynge man hathe suche a preeminence, it is therfore expedient that consultation, (wherin counsaile is expressed) be very seriouse, substanciall, and profitable. Which to bringe to effecte requireth two thyngs principally to be considered. First, that in euery thinge concerning a publike weale no good counsailour be omitted or passed ouer, but that his reason therin be hard to an ende.[a] I call him a good counsailour, whiche, (as Cesar sayth, in the coniuration[b] of Cataline), whiles he consulteth in doubtefull

Sal. bell. Catalin.

[a] Bacon says, 'It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons; neither is it enough to consult concerning persons "secundum genera," as in an idea of mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals.'—*Essays*, p. 192.

[b] This word, which is now quite obsolete in this sense, is simply the French *conjuration*, which Cotgrave translates, 'a conspiracy; complotment, privat confederacy against; also a *conjuration*, or conjuring.' It is of course derived from the Latin *conjuratio*, which is quite classical, and occurs frequently in Cicero, especially in his orations against Catiline, in the sense in which it is here used. On the trial of the Duke of Burgundy, in 1407, for the murder of the Duke of Orleans, he was defended by Dr. Jean Petit, and in the speech of the latter we find the following passage: 'Absalon considerant que son pere estoit vieux homme et qu'il auoit perdu une partie de son sens et force, ce luy sembloit et alla enuiron la vallée ou son pere auoit esté oingt et couronné Roy, et là feit une *coniuration* contre son dit pere et se feit enoindre Roy.'—Monstrelet, *Chron.* vol. i. fo. 37 b. ed. 1572. And again: 'En parlant du tyrant dit ainsi . . . Il est ennemy de la chose publicque. Contre celuy puis faire armes, *coniuration*, mettre espies, employer force, cest fait de courageux.'—*Ibid.* fo. 40 b. Montaigne says, 'L'Empereur Auguste, estant en la Gaule, receut certain advertissement d'une *coniuration* que luy brassoit L. Cinna; il delibera de s'en venger, et manda pour cet effect au lendemain le conseil de ses amis.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 160, ed. 1854. Hall, in his account of the conspiracy of the Nevilles in 1468, says, 'Euen as the Marques (*i.e.* Montague) unwillyngly and in maner coacted gaue his consent to this unhappy *coniuracion*, at the intisement and procurement of therle, so with a fainte harte and lesse courage he alwaies shewed hymself enemie to Kyng Edwarde, excepte in his laste daie.'—*Chron.* fo. cxcix. b. ed. 1548. And again: 'The erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begin and kindle the fire of his ungracious *coniuracion* (whiche so many yeres vexed and unquieted the realme of Englande) before his departure; wherefore he appoynted his brethren, the Archebishop and the Marques, that thei

matters, is voyde of all hate, frendship, displeasure, or pitie.[a] Howe necessarye to a publike weale it shall be to haue in any wise mens oppinions declared, it is manifest to them that do remembre that in many heddes be diuers maners of wittis, some inclined to sharpenes and rigour, many to pitie and compassion, diuers to a temperaunce and meane betwene bothe extremities; some haue respecte to tranquillitie onely, other more to welth and commoditie, diuers to moche renoume and estimation in honour.[b] There be that wyll speke all theyr mynde sodaynly and perchaunce right well; diuers require to haue respect[c] and studie, wherin is moche more

should by some meane, in his absence, stirre up newe commocion or rebellion in the countie of Yorke and other places adiacente.'—*Ibid.* fo. cc. An ordonnance of the Parliament of Paris, 1562, prescribes, 'que à la requeste dudit Procureur Général, &c., seront saisis et mis en la main du Roy, touts et chacuns les biens tant meubles que immeubles . . . apartenants . . . à touts ceux qui . . . seront chargés suffisament desdits crimes de Leze-Majesté, rebellion, félonie, sédition et *conjuration*, &c., &c.'—*Memoires de Condé*, tom. i. p. 120, ed. 1743.

[a] 'Omnes homines, Patres Conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitiâ, irâ atque misericordiâ vacuos esse decet.'—Sallust. *Catilin.* cap. 51.

[b] Bacon, who, like our author, had practical experience of the Council Chamber, says, 'It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both—and of the inferior sort, rather in private to preserve freedom—of the greater, rather in consort to preserve respect.'—*Essays*, p. 191.

[c] *I.e.* time for consideration, delay, postponement, almost the same as respite, which has the same derivation, from the Latin *respectus*, which was used in the Middle Ages as the equivalent of *mora*. Thus Matthew Paris, speaking of the disputes between Henry III. and the King of Scotland in 1236, says, 'Sed dum *respectum* et dilationem, donec id provideretur et omnibus utrobique placeret, negotium caperet, solutum est colloquium, omnibus in pace ad horam quiescentibus.'—*Chron. Maj.* vol. iii. p. 373, Rolls. ed. An agreement between Henry I. and Robert, Count of Flanders, in 1101, contains the following clause: 'Et si comes Robertus in expeditione fuerit, quando hanc summonitionem habere debuerit, post reditum de expeditione habebit *respectum* usque ad finitas tres Ebdomadas, et eundem *respectum* habebit, si summonitus fuerit infra proximos 8 dies post reditum de expeditione. Et si infirmus fuerit, habebit *respectum* mittendi milites, usque ad finitos 15 dies.'—Rymer, tom. i. p. 3. A verb, 'to respect,' is used in a letter addressed to Henry VIII. by Lisle, St. John, and Seymour in 1545: 'And as touching the musters, whiche shuld have ben taken before me, the Lord

suertie, many wyll speake warely for feare of displeasure; some more bolder in vertue wyll nat spare to shewe theyr myndes playnely, diuers will assent to that reasons wherewith they suppose that he whiche is chiefe in authoritie wyll be beste pleased.[a] These undoughtedly be the diuersityes of wittes. And moreouer, where there is a great numbre of counsaylours, they all beinge herde, nedes must the counsaile be the more perfecte.[b] For somtyme perchaunce one of them, whiche in doctrine, witte, or experience is in leste estimation, may happe to expresse some sentence more auailable to the purpose wherin they consult, than any that before came to the others remembraunces; no one man being of suche perfection that he can haue in an instant remembraunce of all thing.[c]

Dionis. Halycarnassens.

Whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus the first king of Romaynes in the firste constitution of their publike weale; for hauinge of his owne people

Chamberlein, and others of the Admiraltie, of all the soldiours upon the shore, we have *respected* the same tyll this tyme, for lacke of money, that now is arryved here.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 832.

[a] Bacon had, no doubt, had practical experience of councillors of this character when he wrote, 'The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.'—*Essays*, p. 191. And in another place he says, 'It is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel.'—*Ibid.* p. 204.

[b] Bacon enables us to catch a glimpse of the manner in which the business of the Privy Council was conducted in the sixteenth century: 'A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls,' he says, 'seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower.'—*Essays*, p. 193.

[c] Patrizi has some remarks very much resembling this: 'Sed Principum intelligentiam plurimum adjuvant amicorum consilia, nec eos pœniteat inferiores etiam consulere, et præcipuè in rebus arduis, quamvis ipsi quoque prudentissimi sint; ex tot enim philosophis, qui per omne ævum extiterunt, nemo unquam inventus est qui se omnia scire profiteretur. Et ille sapientior judicandus est qui pauciora ignorat. Optimi quidem gubernatoris esse duco, in maximis tempestatibus vectores etiam consulere.'—*De Regno et Reg. Ins.* lib. vi. tit. 10.

but three thousande foote men and thre hundrede horsemen, he chase of the eldest and wisest of them all one hundrede counsailours.[a] But to the more assertion of diuers mennes sentences I will declare a notable experience whiche I late hapned to rede.[b]

Belinger Baldasine,[c] a man of greate witte, singuler lernynge, and excellent wisedome (who was one of the counsaylours to Ferdinando, kyng of Arogon), whan any thing doubtfull or weyghtie mater was consulted of, where he was present, afterwarde, whan he had souped at home in his house, he wolde call before hym all his seruauntes, and merily purposing to them some fained question or fable, wherein was craftly hyd the matter whiche remayned doubtefull, wolde

[a] This is in accordance with the statement of Plutarch, who says: Κτισθείσης δὴ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πλῆθος, εἰς συντάγματα στρατιωτικὰ διεῖλεν· ἕκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πεζῶν τρισχιλίων ἦν, καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων . . . . ἑκατὸν δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βουλευτὰς, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σενάτον προσηγόρευσεν.—*Romulus*, 13. Dionysius of Halicarnassus agrees with Plutarch as to the number, although he differs from him as to the mode of election to the Senate. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνοικίσαντες μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἀνδρῶν τρισχιλίων πεζοὶ, καὶ τριακοσίων ἐλάττους ἱππεῖς.—*Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. 16.

[b] The story which follows is narrated by Pontanus in his treatise *De Obedientiâ*. It has already been remarked (see p. 262 *ante*) that Sir Thomas Elyot was acquainted with the writings of this celebrated Italian.

[c] Probably this is the same as the 'Berengarius Bardessinus,' who is mentioned by Laurentius Valla as one of the nine judges, three being chosen from each province of the kingdom, on whom devolved the duty of deciding the disputed claims to the throne of Aragon, vacant by the death of Martin in 1410. According to Valla, the three judges who were selected to represent Aragon were Dominicus Ram, Bishop of Huesca, and afterwards Archbishop of Tarragona; Franciscus Aranda, and Berengarius Bardessinus: 'Quo neminem neque illius neque hujus temporis jurisconsultum in Hispaniâ senes meminerunt majoris autoritatis fuisse, et perinde ad tantas opes pervenisse.'—*Hist. Ferdinandi*, fo. 46, ed. 1521. The Spanish historian Blancas, whose orthography is probably more correct than that of the Italian writers, spells the name 'Bardaxinus,' and says that he was 'Juris et publici et privati valde peritus; qui à veteri et illustri Bardaxinorum familiâ originem ducebat. Illius autem non in sententiis solum, sed etiam in nutu tanta residebat auctoritas, ut ejus domus sine dubio totius Regni esset oraculum, et ad respondendum, et ad agendum, et ad cavendum omnium peritissimus censeretur; tametsi apud nonnullos aliquando singularis cujusdam artificii suspicio imminuebat hanc tantam ipsius auctoritatem et fidem.'—*Aragon. Comment.* p. 223, ed. 1588.

merely demaunde of euery man his particuler oppinion, and gyuing good eare to theyr iudgementes, he wolde conferre together euery mans sentence,[a] and with good deliberation ponderynge their value, he at the last perceyued whiche was the truest and moste apte to his purpose; and beinge in this wyse fournysshed, translatynge iapes[b] and thynges fayned to

[a] 'Ferunt patrum nostrorum memoriâ fuisse è consiliariis Ferdinandi Regis Tarraconensium, avi hujus nostri Ferdinandi, Bellingerium Baltasinum, virum sanè magno ingenio, singulari doctrinâ, summâ prudentiâ. Is quoties de dubiâ re aliquâ, aut maximè gravi negotio consultandum esset, post cœnam jocabundus familiares suos convenire omnes jubebat, propositaque aliqua ficta quæstiuncula, haud tamen ab re, rogatisque singulis sententiam dicere, perscrutabatur cujusque judicium. Quibus posteà sententiis collatis inter se, et diu multumque pensitatis, facilè inspiciebat quænam esset sententia verior, magisque accomodata. Hoc modo instructus, et ficta ludicraque ad vera et seria transferens, primas semper inter cæteros consiliarios et in Regio senatu partes tulit.'—Pontanus, *Opera*, tom. i. fo. 35, ed. 1518.

[b] In the author's *Dictionary* we find the Latin verb *alludere* translated, 'to doo a thynge in *iape*, to speake merily, or consent; somtyme it sygnifieth to speake some thynge which secretely hath some other understandyng.' The *Promptorium* gives '*Iape*, nuga, frivolum, scurrilitas. *Iaper*, nugax, nugaculus. *Iapyn* (or tryflon), trupho, illudo, ludifico, deludo.' While Palsgrave has '*Jape*, a trifyll—*truffe*, s. f.' and '*I jape*, I tryfle, *Je truffe*, or *je truffle*, and *je me bourde*, prim. conj. I did but *jape* with hym, and he toke it in good ernest; *je ne me fys que truffer*, or *je ne me fis que truffler*, or *je ne me fis que bourder à luy, et il le print a bon esciant.*'—*L'Esclaircissement*, pp. 233, 589. It was also used in a coarse sense, which Palsgrave renders into the French equivalents *je fous* and *je bistocque*. We find both verb and substantive constantly in Chaucer. Thus, in *Troylus and Cryseyde*—

> 'For if a peyntour wolde peynte a pike
> With asses feet, and hedde it as an ape,
> It cordeth naught, so nere it but a *jape*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 195.

And in *The Knight's Tale*—

> 'Thus hath he *japed* the many a yer,
> And thou hast maad of him thy cheef squyer.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 54.

So Occleve, in his *De Regimine Principum*, says—

> 'And this that I have of fortune seide,
> Is but a *jape*, as who seithe, or a knak.
> Now I a while bourded have and pleide,
> Resorte I wole to that I first spak.'—P. 51, ed. 1860.

mater serious and true, he amonge the kynges counsailours in gyuynge good and substanciall aduise had alway pre-eminence.

Howe moche commoditie than suppose ye mought be taken of the sentences of many wyse and experte counsaylours? And like as Calchas, as Homere writeth, knewe by diuination thynges present, thinges to come, and them that were passed,[a] so counsailours garnisshed with lernyng and also experience shall thereby considre the places, tymes, and personages, examining the state of the mater than practised, and expending the powar, assistence, and substaunce, also reuoluinge[b] longe and often tymes in *Homerus Iliad. pri.*

Fabyan, speaking of certain prodigies which happened in the twelfth year of William Rufus, and which were supposed to portend his death, says, 'The king was warned of thys, and tolde by hys familiers that god was not contente wyth hys lyuynge. But hee sette all at noughte, and made of it a scoffe or *iape.*'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 316, ed. 1559.

[a] Κάλχας Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
Ὃς ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα.—*Il.* i. 69, 70.

[b] Wilson, who had a wholesome horror of what he calls 'ynke-horne termes,' *i.e.* pedantic expressions or archaisms, was doubtless well acquainted with *The Governour*, and it is not unlikely that a covert allusion to the peculiar phraseology of this work was intended in the following passage of *The Arte of Rhetorique*, where 'the rather to sette out this folie,' he has collected in the shape of a letter from an imaginary 'Lincolnshire man' addressed 'to a gentleman that then waited uppon the Lord Chauncellour for the tyme beyng,' a number of quaint words, some of which, as the reader will observe, might very well have been culled from the vocabulary of *The Governour*. '*Ponderyng*, *expendyng*, and *reuolutyng* with myself, your ingent *affability* and ingenious capacity for mundaine affaires, I cannot but celebrate and extol your magnifical dexteritie aboue all other. For how could you haue adepted such illustrate prorogatiue and *domisticall* superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnant? Now therefore beeyng accersited to suche splendente renoume and dignitie splendidious, I doubte not but you will adiuuate suche poore adnichilate orphanes as whilome ware *condisciples* with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolneshire. Emong whom I, beyng a Scholasticall panion, obtestate your sublimitie to extoll mine infirmitie. There is a sacerdotall dignitie in my natiue countrey contiguate to me, where I now contemplate, whiche your worshipfull benignitie could sone impetrate for me, if it would like you to extende your sedules, and collaude me in them to the right honourable lord Chaunceller, or rather Arch-

their myndes thinges that be passed, and conferringe them to the matters that be than in experience, studiously do seeke out the reason and maner, howe that whiche is by them approued may be brought to effecte. And suche mennes raisons wolde be throughly herde and at length, for the wiser that a man is, in taryeng his wysedome increaseth, his reason is more lyuelye, and quicke sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte of men whan they be chaufed [a] in raisonynge, argumentes, solutions, examples, similitudes, and experimentes do resorte, and (as it were) flowe unto their remembraunces.

grammarian of Englande. You knowe my literature, you knowe the pastorall promotion ; I obtestate your clemencie to inuigilate thus muche for me, accordyng to my confidence, and as you knowe my *condigne* merites for suche a *compendious* liuyng. But now I relinquishe to fatigate your *intelligence* with any more friuolous verbositie, and therfore he that rules the climates be euermore your beautreur, your *fortresse*, and your bulwarke. *Amen.* Dated at my Dome, or rather *Mansion* place in Lincolneshire, the penulte of the monethe Sextile. *Anno millimo, quillimo, trillimo. Per me Johannes Octo.*'—*The Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 165, ed. 1584.

[a] *I.e.* heated, warmed. This, as we have seen, *ante* p. 334, is the French *chauffer* or *eschauffer*. Thus Claude de Seissel, in his translation of Thucydides, viii. 92, has the following expression : 'Dont a loccasion de ceste nouuelle, Theramenes, Aristocrates, et les autres, qui estoient de leur intelligence, tant du nombre des quatre cens, que autres, furent plus *eschauffes* en leur entreprinse' (fo. clxxxiii. b.), which is rendered by Nicolls, 'Whereupon and throughe occasion of that same newes, Theramenes, Aristocrates, and the other, whiche were of their confederatie, as well of the nomber of foore houndredde, as other, were the more *chaffed and heated* in their enterpryse.'—Fo. ccxix. ed. 1550. And Froissart, speaking of the banquet given in honour of Queen Isabel at Paris in 1389, says, 'Et là eut des gens par la chaleur *échauffés*' (*Chron.* tom. iii. p. 7), which Lord Berners translates, 'The people were sore *chafed* with the heate.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 433, ed. 1812. Montaigne, speaking of eloquence, expresses very nearly the same idea as our author : 'Elle veult estre *eschauffee* et resveillee par les occasions estrangeres, presentes, et fortuites ; si elle va toute seule, elle ne faict que traisner et languir ; l'agitation est sa vie et sa grace.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 53.

CHAPTER XXX.

The seconde consideration to be had in Consultation.

THE seconde consideration is, that the generall and uniuersall astate of the publike weale wold be preferred in consultation before any particuler commoditie, and the profite or damage whiche may happen within our owne countrayes wolde be more considered than that whiche may happen from other regions; which to beleue commune raison and experience leadeth us.

For who commendeth those gardiners that wyll put all their diligence in trymmyng or kepynge delicately one knotte[a] or bedde of herbes, suffryng all the remenaunt of

[a] Flower-beds at this time seem to have been laid out in the shape of geometrical figures, or 'knots,' which was the word generally used, probably copied from, or suggested by the architectural ornaments and devices so commonly employed in the decoration of buildings. Thus Stephen Hawes, in his *Pastime of Pleasure*, says—

'She dyd me lede into a ryall hall,
With *knottes* kerved full right craftely.'—P. 197, ed. 1846.

Again—

'The temple of her royall consistory
Was walled all about with yvory,
All of golde, like a place solacious,
The roufe was made of *knottes* curious.'—*Ibid.* p. 143.

It will doubtless occur to the reader that the roof of King's College Chapel at Cambridge may possibly have supplied the poet with this image. Now in describing a garden Hawes says—

'Than in we wente to the garden gloryous,
Lyke to a place of pleasure most solacyous.
With Flora paynted and wrought curyously,
In divers *knottes* of marvaylous gretenes;
Rampande lyons stode up wondersly,
Made all of herbes with dulcet swetenes,
Wyth many dragons of marvaylos likenes,
Of dyvers floures made ful craftely.'—*Ibid.* p. 79.

And in another place he says—

'I came unto a ryall playne,
With Flora paynted in many a sundry vayne.

their gardeyne to be subuerted with a great nombre of molles, and do attende at no tyme for the takynge and destroyinge of them, until the herbis, wherin they haue employed all their labours, be also tourned uppe and perisshed, and the molles increased in so infinite nombres that no industry or labour may suffice to consume them,[a] wherby the labour is frustrate

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Wyth purple colour the floures enhewed,
In dyvers *knottes* wyth many one ful blue,
The gentyll gelofer (gilliflower) his odoure renued,
Wyth sundry herbes replete with vertue.'—*Ibid.* p. 115.

But Bacon, who was a practical gardener, and who has left us an *Essay on Gardens*, says, 'As for the making of *knots*, or figures, with divers-coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side on which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts.' *Essays*, p. 418. In Surflet's translation of *La Maison Rustique* the reader will find engravings of various 'knots,' or flower-beds; and we are told that they were usually 'of the forme and shape of an egge, or of a forme and fashion that is mixt of a round and a square, or of some such other forme, as shall please the gardener: as, for example, the fashion of a flower-deluce, of a true loues knot, of a lion rampant, and other such like portraitures.'—*The Countrie Farm*, p. 324. The Earl of Northumberland, in 1512, seems to have taken great pride in his garden, for we are told that 'a gardynner attendis hourely in the garden for setting of erbis and clipping of *knottis*, and sweping the said garden clean hourely.'—*Household Book*, p. 328. In Palsgrave's *L'Esclaircissement* we find the following phrase: 'I cutte a *knotte* in a gardayne, I make therbes lowe with a payre of sheres to make them growe thicke and even. *Je agence*, prim. conj.'—P. 506.

[a] Moles seem to have been particularly troublesome to gardeners in the sixteenth century, for the French writer mentioned above says, 'Aussi (auec plus de soin et de curiosité, que de peine et labeur) tient-il tous-jours son pré nettement, sans souffrir s'y accroistre aucunes espines, ronces, ne buissons, ni séjourner des pierres, fruicts venans de la paresse. Mesme tasche-il d'en bannir les taupes, pour le grand mal qu'elles y font. A quoi il parviendra par ce moyen. Ce meschant bestail hait l'eau: donques nous nous prendrons garde quand il aura freschement travaillé, et ce par la terre nouvellement remuée; alors faudra promptement donner l'eau au pré, laquelle eau contraindra la taupe, pour s'en garentir, sortir de terre en évidence, où facilement la prendrés toute vive.'—O. de Serres, *Théâtre d'Agricult.* tom. i. par. 2, p. 511. Various other remedies devised to get rid of these 'hurtfull beasts noyous to gardens' are mentioned by Surflet in *The Countrie Farme*, and by one Thomas Hill, who wrote *The Proffitable Arte of Gardening* in 1568, but these 'helpes against their malice,' if they were ever practised, were certainly not invented in the sixteenth century, being merely 'such as eyther the auncient Grekes or the latinestes haue wryten of;' and even in 1577 the author of *The Gardener's Labyrinth* thought that he might 'doe a most gratefull matter to all

and all the gardeine made unprofitable and also unpleasaunt? In this similitude to the gardeyne may be resembled the publike weale, to the gardiners the gouernours and counsailours, to the knottes or beddes sondrye degrees of personages, to the molles vices and sondry enormities. Wherfore the consultation is but of a small effecte wherin the uniuersall astate of the publike weale do nat occupie the more parte of the tyme, and in that generaltie euery particuler astate be nat diligently ordered. For as Tulli sayeth, they that consulte for parte of the people and neglecte the residue, they brynge in to the citie or countraye a thynge mooste perniciouse, that is to say, sedition and discorde, whereof it hapnethe that some wyll seeme to fauoure the multitude, other be inclined to leene to the beste sorte, fewe do studie for all uniuersallye.[a] Whiche hath bene the cause that nat onely Athenes, (whiche Tulli dothe name), but also the citie and empyre of Rome, with diuers other cities and realmes, haue decayed and ben finally brought in extreme desolation. Also Plato, in his booke of fortytude, sayeth in the persone of Socrates, Whan so euer a man seketh a thinge for cause of an other thynge, the consultation aught to be alway of that thyng for whose cause the other thing is sought for, and nat of that which is sought for because of the other thynge.[b] And surely wise men do consider that damage often tymes hapneth by abusinge the due fourme of consultation: men like euyll Phisitions sekynge for medicynes or they perfectly knowe the sicknesses; and as euyll mar-

Ci. Offic. li. i.

Plato in lachete.

gardeners in the same,' by translating for their benefit these ancient receipts, and thus informing them in what manner they 'may surest and best preuayle againste this harmefull blynde beast.'—P. 65.

[a] 'Qui autem parti civium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam; ex quo evenit, ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cujusque videantur, pauci universorum.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 25.

[b] Οὐκοῦν ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ὅταν τίς τι ἕνεκά του σκοπῇ, περὶ ἐκείνου ἡ βουλὴ τυγχάνει οὖσα, οὗ ἕνεκ' ἐσκόπει, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦ ὃ ἕνεκα ἄλλου ἐζήτει.—*Laches.* cap. 10.

chauntes do utter[a] firste the wares and commodities of straungers, whiles straungers be robbynge of their owne cofers.

Therfore these thinges that I haue rehersed concernyng consultation ought to be of all men in authoritie substancially pondered,[b] and moost vigilauntly obserued, if they

[a] This word in the sense of to vend, to sell, constantly occurs in the statutes of the realm at this period. Thus 3 Henry VIII. cap. 15, entitled, 'An Act concerning Hatts and Capps,' recites that 'great haboundaunce of cappes and hattes redy wrought and made have been and daily be brought from the parties of beyond the See into this Realme, and here have been and daylly bee *uttred* and sold.' Again 24 Henry VIII. cap. 3, 'An Acte for Fleshe to be sold by weight,' provides that 'where the carcases of any beoffes, muttons, veale, and porke within any partes or countres of this Realme be *uttered* and solde better chepe or after lasse prices than in this presente Acte is lymyted, then this Acte or anythyng therin conteyned shall not extend to any suche Countie or Place.' Tyrwhitt, in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, reads—

'With danger *uttren* we all our chaffare.'—Vol. i. p. 247.

But the Aldine edition gives—

'With daunger *outen* alle we oure ware.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 222.

Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, says, 'The Deuon and Somersetshire grasiers feede yeerely great droues of cattell in the north quarter of Cornwall, and *utter* them at home.'—Fo. 23 b. ed. 1602. Cotgrave translates the French *debiter*, 'to sell or *utter* by parcels, to passe away by retaile, &c.;' and *debite*, 'sale of anything by parcels, *utterance* of commodities in retaile.'

[b] In the author's *Dictionary* we find the Latin word *pondero* translated 'To waye, to *ponder*, to consyder, to esteme.' Palsgrave has, 'I *pondre*, I way, or caste a thyng in my mynde. *Je pondere*, prim. conj. And if the mater be well *pondred*, it is a great mater. *Mays que ta matiere soyt bien ponderée, elle est de grant importance.*' And again, 'I waye, I value a mater, or consyder howe moche it his worthe. *Je pondere, jay ponderé, ponderer*, prim. conj. Let hym alone, he wyll way the mater well ynoughe, or he gyve judgement. *Laysez le faire, il ponderera la matiere bien assez auant quil donne judgement.*'—*L'Esclaircissement*, pp. 662, 770; which shows that a verb *ponderer* formerly existed in the French language, a fact which the form *pondereux* still retained renders probable; but Cotgrave does not admit any such verb, and M. Littré gives no other examples except one from a MS. The Earl of Surrey uses the word in the literal sense of 'to weigh' in the following passage:

'Hot gleams of burning fire, and easy sparks of flame,
In balance of unequal weight he *pondereth* by aim.'

Poems, p. 25, ed. 1815.

intende to be to their publike weale profitable, for the whiche purpose onely they be called to be gouernours. And this conclude I to write any more of consultation, whiche is the last part of morall Sapience, and the begynnyng of sapience politike.

Nowe all ye reders that desire to haue your children to be gouernours, or in any other authoritie in the publike weale of your countrey, if ye bringe them up and instructe them in suche fourme as in this boke is declared, they shall than seme to all men worthye to be in authoritie, honour, and noblesse, and all that is under their gouernaunce shall prospere and come to perfection. And as a precious stone in a ryche ouche[a] they shall be beholden and

And so does his contemporary Sir Thomas Wyatt in a letter to the King, dated March 9, 1540: 'The preventing of these things, and they be thought apparent, and any thing prejudicial to your Highness, I doubt not but your Highness' wisdom *pondereth* accordingly.'—*Letters*, p. 399, ed. 1816. Luke ii. 19 is translated in the A.V.: 'But Mary kept all these things and *pondered* them in her heart.'

[a] Palsgrave has '*Ouche*, a jewell—*bague*, s. f. *Ouche* for a bonnet—*afficquet*, z. m. *affichet*, z. m.'—*L'Esclaircissement*, p. 250. Cotgrave translates the French word *monilles*, 'Necklaces, Tablets, Brouches, or *Ouches*; any such ornaments for the neck.' In Baret's *Alvearie* we find 'a Brooch or *ouch*, Monile Segmentum, Bulla, Insigne. Plin. ὅρμος ὁρμίσκος, περιάπτον.' And also, 'A collar, or iewell that women used about their neckes; an *ouch*, Monile. Ov. ὅρμος. *Une bague, qu'on pend au col à une personne.*' By 24 Henry VIII. cap. 13, one of the Sumptuary Acts, it is enacted, 'that no man under the degree of a Barons sone or of a Knyght, excepte he may dispende yerely in Landes or Tenementes, Rentes, Fees, or Annuyties to his owne use for terme of his Liffe or for terme of another Manes liffe or in the right of his Wiff two hundredth poundes over all charges, shall, after the said feaste, use or weare any cheyne of Gold, Bracelet, *Ouche*, or other ornament of Golde in any parte of his or their apparell, or the apparell of his or their Hors, Mule, or other Beaste, excepte every such cheyne, jewell, *ouche*, or ornament be in weight one unce of fynne golde or above and excepte Ringes of Golde to be worne on their fingers with stones or without.' In the *Remedy for Sedition*, referred to in the note to p. 40 *ante*, the author says, 'Nowe, were it not by your faythe, a madde herynge, if the fote shuld say, I wyl weare a cappe with an *ouche* as the heade dothe?'—Sig. B. iii. b. Stubbes, criticising the fashion of female dress in the latter part of the century, says, 'And for feare of lacking any thing to set foorth their pride withall, at their haire thus wreathed and crested, are hanged Bugles (I dare not say Bables), *Ouches*,

wondred at, and after the dethe of their body their soules for their endeuour shall be incomprehensibly rewarded of the gyuer of wisedome, to whome onely be gyuen eternall glorie. Amen.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Ringes, Gold, Siluer, glasses, and such other childish gewgawes and foolish trinkets besides, which, for that they be innumerable and I unskilfull in womens tearmes, I cannot easily recompt.'—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 40, ed. 1595. Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, says—

> 'Hee had a faire companion of his way,
> A goodly lady clad in scarlot red,
> Purfled with gold and pearle of rich assay;
> And like a Persian mitre on her hed
> She wore, with crown and *owches* garnished,
> The which her lavish lovers to her gave.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 130, ed. 1866.

And Bacon says, '*Ouches*, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory.'—*Essays*, p. 364.

THOMAS BERTHELET REGIUS
IMPRESSOR EXCUDEBAT.
CUM PRIVILEGIO.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Abhor from, *to be contrary to.*—I. 210. Sir Thos. Elyot, in 'the Additions' to his *Dictionary*, gives the following phrases: 'Abhorreo ab urbe relinquendâ (Cic. *Ep. ad Div.* ii. 16), I haue no mynde to forsake the cytie. Abhorret ab illo mea sententia, myn opynion is contrary to his. (Cic. *ubi supra*, vii. 3.) Abhorret à suspitione (Cic. *pro Cæl.* cap. 4), it is contrarye to my supposalle. Abhorret à charitate vulgi (Cic. *de Amicit.* cap. 14), he tendreth not, or passeth nothynge on the poore people. Abhorret hilaritudo (Plaut. *Cistell.* i. 1. 56), thy myrthe is tourned into sadnesse.' Udall, in his translation of Erasmus' Commentary upon S. James, cap. iv., says: 'For he that rayleth agaynste an other mans faultes, appeareth fyrste of all to *abhorre from* those vices, whiche he misliketh in others.'—*Paraph. on St. James* (tom. ii. fol. cclxvii. ed. 1552), where the original has 'Nam qui in aliena vitia debacchatur, primum videtur ab his vitiis abhorrere, quæ in aliis detestatur.'—Erasmus, *Paraph. in Nov. Test.* tom. ii. p. 325, ed. 1541.

Abiecte, abiected, *cast down, rejected.*—I. 295; II. 3, 176, 286. This word is derived from the participle *abjectus* of the verb *abjicere*, to throw or cast away, which is quite classical. Palsgrave gives: 'I *abjecte*, I cast away out of my companye. *Je dejecte*, prim. conj.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 415. Hall uses the word in the following passage: 'The bloude of the saied kynge Henry, althoughe he had a goodly sonne, was clerely *abiected*, and the crowne of the realme (by auctoritee of parliamente) entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heires after the decease of the sayed kynge Henry the syxte.'—*Chron.* Ed. V. fo. 1, ed. 1548. In a letter from the Earl of Surrey to Queen Margaret, in 1523, he says: 'I assure your Grace the Kinges Grace woll never dissist to make war unto Scotland, unto the tyme the seid Duke shalbe clerely *abjected* and abandoned by theym.'—*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 23. And Dr. Nicholas Hawkins, Archdeacon of Ely, writing from Bologna, in 1532, to the king, says: 'The difficultie is in these Italians, whiche I know to be so curiose and delicate, that if the writing plaise them not, thei *abject* it, be the thinge never so good, in so muche that, for this cause wonli, veri mani of them fastide the studi of scripture.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 404. In a report from Bishops Gardiner and Thirlby and Sir Edward Carne to the king, dated Utrecht, Dec. 19, 1545, they say: 'First, we told them this mysliked us, that where they had wylled us to write, and we had soo doone optimâ fide, indifferently for both partes; they *abjecte* that we have doone, without cause or consideration, and send us a newe, al of an other facion.'—*Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 789. The king himself uses the word in his Instructions to Dr. William Knyght, LL.D., 'touching certeyn matiers to be treated and done with the Duc of Burbon,' where he says: 'If

the same Duke, beyng totally *abject* out of the French Kinges favour, be of extreme necessitie inforced and compelled to come to this treatie with the Emperour and the Kynges Grace, as he that withoute the same is in peril to amit and utterly lose his state and possessions; then it is not to be doubted but he shalbe the more glad to condescende facily unto the condicions desired.'—*Ibid.* vol vi. p. 135.

Aboden, *remained, waited for.*—II. 103, 184, 368. None of the Dictionaries notice this form of the past participle of the verb abide. Chaucer uses the forms abyden and abiden very frequently, but so far as the Editor has been able to ascertain never the precise form used by Elyot; he has, however, the analogous form boden as the participle of the verb to bid.

Abrayde, *to start up, rouse oneself.*—I. 161; II. 72. This is a genuine Anglo-Saxon word, and is used by the old Romance writers and by Chaucer. Thus in the poem called *The Lyfe of Ipomydon* we read:

'The blake knyght toke hys stede gode,
The kynge thereof began to wode,
That his knyghtes bore downe were.
He folowyd the knyght with a spere;
He had thoght to done hym harme,
For he smote hym throw the arme.
Ipomydon with that stroke *abrayde*,
And to the kynge thus he sayde:
"As thou arte kynde, gentill, and free,
Abyde and juste a cours with me,
And I foryiffe this vilanye."'
Weber's *Met. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 322, ed. 1810.

Chaucer uses the word in the same sense in *The Reeves Tale*:

'This Johan answerd, "Aleyn, avyse the:
The miller is a perlous man," he sayde,
"And if that he out of his sleep *abrayde*,
He mighte do us bothe a vilonye."'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 130.

Again in *The House of Fame*:

'And therewithalle I *abrayde*
Out of my sleepe, halfe afraide.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 275.

So, too, Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*:

'And if by fortune any litle nap
Upon his heavie eye-lids chaunst to fall,
Eftsoones one of those villeins him did rap
Upon his headpeece with his yron mall;
That he was soone awaked therewithall,
And lightly started up as one affrayd,
Or as if one him suddenly did call:
So oftentimes he out of sleepe *abrayd*,
And then lay musing long on that him ill apayd.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 170, ed. 1866.

Palsgrave has 'I *abrayde*, I inforce me to do a thynge. *Je mefforce*, verb. med. prim. He dyd *abrayde* him to reche it: *il sefforcoyt de lattayndre.*' And also another form of the same word, thus: 'I *breyde*, or take a thyng sodaynly in haste. *Je me mets a prendre hastiuement.* I *breyde*, I make a *brayde* to do a thyng sodaynly. *Je mefforce*, prim. conj. I *breyde* out of my slepe. *Je tressaulx hors de mon somme.*'—*L'Esclairciss.* pp. 415, 463. And this last form is also used by Chaucer in the same sense; thus, in *The Prol. of the Wyf of Bathe*:

'In the floor I lay as I were deed.
* * * * *
Til atte last out of my swown I *brayde*.'
Ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 230.

Accord, *to reconcile.*—II. 135, 240 and note.

Achieuaunce, *achievement.*—II. 352 and note.

Adminiculation, *aid, assistance, support.*—I. 27, 48, 120. None of the Dictionaries notice this word; it is derived from the Latin words, adminiculum, adminiculari, which are quite classical, and are used with reference to the cultivation of the vine; the former denoting the stake or prop on which the plant was trained. Thus Cicero says: 'Vitis quidem, quæ naturâ caduca est, et nisi fulta sit, ad terram fertur, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis, quasi manibus, quidquid est nacta, complectitur . . . . Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura, et ipsa natura delectat: *adminiculorum* ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium.'—*De Senec.* cap. 15. Again we have the verb formed from the substantive: 'Itaque et vivere vitem, et mori dicimus; arboremque et novellam, et vetulam, et vigere, et senescere. Ex quo non est alienum, ut animantibus, sic illis et

apta quædam ad naturam aptare, et aliena; earumque augendarum et alendarum quandam cultricem esse, quæ sit scientia atque ars agricolarum, quæ circumcidat, amputet, erigat, extollat, *adminiculetur*, ut, quo natura ferat, eo possint ire; ut ipsæ vites, si loqui possint, ita se tractandas tuendasque esse fateantur.'—*De Fin.* lib. v. cap. 14. The author, in his *Dictionary*, gives 'Adminiculor, aris, et Adminiculo, are, to ayde, to succour,' and 'Adminiculum, ayde, supportation;' but it does not appear that any such word as 'adminiculatio' was ever used by classical writers. Such a word, however, was certainly in use in the middle ages, for in the life of St. Forannan, Abbot of Walcourt (Valciodorus) in Belgium, who died in 982, written about 1130, occurs the following passage: 'Gloriosus igitur Domini sacerdos Forannanus, nobili ex Scotinensium prosapiâ ortus, primos arcendo lasciviæ impetus, decrevit postponere mundum propriis cum actibus, suamque insignibus nobilitatem exornans virtutibus, seipsum Deo dignum devotus præparare studuit sacrificium, ipsius *adminiculatione* fultus.'—*Acta Sanct.* (April) tom. iii. p. 808.

Admonest, *to admonish.*—II. 414 and note.

Adolescencie, *youth.*—II. 26. The Latin adolescentia, which the author, in his *Dictionary*, defines as 'the age betwene chyldehode and mannes age, whiche is betwene xiv. and xxi.' The same word is used by Holinshed in his account of the murder of William earl of Douglas in 1440: 'Whose death the king, now entring into his *adolescencie* or yeers (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 270, ed. 1587.

Aduaile, *advantage, profit.*—II. 99 and note. In the *Promptorium* we find 'A-whyle (avayle, awayt). *Profectus, proventus, emolumentum*;' also 'A-vaylyn, or profytyn *Valeo, prosum.*'—P. 17. Palsgrave has 'Avayle—*prouffitz*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 195. In an Act, 22 Ed. IV. cap. 12, relating to the Duchy of Cornwall passed in 1482, certain estates were granted to the then Earl of Huntingdon, 'with all Forfeitures, Proufites, Commoditees and *Avayles* to the same or eny of theym in eny wise perteynyng or bilongyng, with the issues proufites and revenuez therof.'—Rolls of Parl. vol. vi. p. 203. Rec. Com. ed. Shakespeare, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, makes the Duke of Florence say—

> 'You know your places well;
> When better fall, for your *avails* they fell.'

Aduaunt, *To puff up, inflate, praise excessively.* **Aduaunt oneself,** *to boast, brag.*—I. 31, 167, 222, 255; II. 22, 29. From the French *vanter*. Thus Montaigne says: 'Plutarque ayme mieulx que nous le *vantions* de son iugement, que de son sçavoir.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 215, ed. 1854. Hence the phrase *se vanter*, to boast. 'I *avaunte* or boste myselfe. *Je me vante*, verb med. prim. conj. Though you do ever so many good dedes, you lese your mede if you *avaunte* you of them. *Tant faciez vous de bonnes oeuures, vous perdez vostre merite si vous vous vantez de les auoyr faictes.*'—Palsgrave, *L'Esclair.* p. 440. The author, in his *Dictionary*, translates extollo, ere, 'to *aduant* or praise,' and jacto, are, 'to *auaunt* or glorie, to speake vaynly, also glorior, ari, 'to *auaunt*, to thintent to haue praises, to extolle with bostynge.' Chaucer uses the word several times, thus, *ex. gr.* in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale*:

> '"Thanne," quod sche, "I dar me *avaunte*,
> Thy lif is sauf, for I wol stonde therby,
> Upon my lif the queen wol say as I."'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 237

We find it also in Robinson's translation of More's *Utopia*: 'They reioyse and *auaunt* themselues, if they vainquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite.'—Fo. 103 b, ed. 1556. Palsgrave supplies us with similar instances of the addition of the prefix *a* or *ad* in English in 'Avaylable, as a thing that avayleth or profyteth—m. et f. *vaylable s.* I avayle or profyte. *Je vaulx*;' and 'I agreue, *Je grieue.*—*L'Esclair.* pp. 305, 419, 440.

Adumbration, *shadow, the shading in a picture.*—II. 403, and note.

A ferde, *afraid.* Still used by the common people in the Eastern Counties.—I. 47, 178, 180; II. 274, 307. In the *Promptorium* we find 'A-ferde (or trobelid) *Territus, perterritus* (*turbatus, perturbatus*).'—P. 7. And the author in his *Dictionary* renders *territo, are,* 'to make *aferde.*' This word is constantly used by Chaucer. Thus in *The Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*:

'A sompnour was ther with us in that place,
* * * * * *
With skalled browes blak, and piled berd;
Of his visage children weren sore *aferd.*'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 20.

And in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

'But when that she
Was ful avysed, tho fonde she right nought
Of peril, why she aught *aferde* be.'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 177.

Agreue, *to make more grievous, to aggravate.*—I. 38. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Aggroggyd or aggreuyd. *Aggravatus.* Agreuyd. *Gravatus.*' P. 8. Also 'Grevyd or a-greuyd yn wrethe. *Aggravatus, attediatus,*' P. 211. Palsgrave has 'I agravate or make grevouse. *Je agrege,* prim. conj. and *je aggraue,* prim. conj. A folysshe answere may agravate a mannes mater more than one wolde wene of: *Une fole responce pourra agreger* ou *agrauer la matiere a ung homme plus que il ne penseroyt.*' And also 'I make grevouse. *Je agrege,* prim. conj. or *je agraue,* and *aggraue,* prim. conj. His frowarde answer made the mater more grevous: *Sa responce peruerse a de plus agregé* or *agraué la matiere.*' —*L'Esclaircissement,* pp. 418, 624. In *Les quatre livres des Rois,* a French translation made in the 12th century of a still earlier work in Latin, we find the following passage in the latter: '*Aggravata* est autem manus Domini super Azotios, et demolitus est eos;' rendered thus, 'Dunc *agreva* Deus sa main sur cels de Azote e de la cuntrée, e forment les descunfist,' P. 18, ed. 1841. And in the *Roman de Raoul de Cambrai,* written probably in the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, the word occurs in the following passage:—

'Sire Bernier, frans chevaliers menbrez,
Vivrés en vos? gardez n'el me célez.
Oil voir, sire, mais molt sui *agréveiz.*'
—P. 202, ed. 1840.

In the sense of to *become worse* it is used by Villehardouin in his work entitled *De la Conqueste de Constantinople,* written in the latter part of the 14th century: 'Lors avint une grant mésaventure; quar Mahius de Monmorenci, qui bien estoit uns des bons chevaliers de l'ost, et du roiaume de France des plus prisiés et des plus amés, acoucha malades, et tant fu *agrevé* qu'il morut.'—P. 63, ed. 1838. Froissart uses the word in the passive sense of to be troubled, molested by. 'Mais il (*i.e.* le sire de l'Esparre) ne put obtenir la place pour lui, et fut pris et mené en Espaigne, et là fut plus d'un an et demi; car il étoit tous les jours *aggrevé* du lignage de ceux de Pommiers.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 4, ed. Pan. Lit. This, however, is rendered by Lord Berners 'For he was styll *behated* with them of the lynage of the lorde Pomers.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 493. From the above passages it is pretty obvious that the word used by Sir Thomas Elyot is simply the English form of the French *aggrauer* or *aggreuer.* It is to be observed, however, that the very word aggravate is used at I. 208.

Aigre, *eager.*—II. 270. This is simply the French word employed like so many others by the author. Palsgrave has 'Sharpe egar—m. et f. *aigre s.* —*L'Esclair.*, p. 323. Froissart employs it in relation to martial affairs. Thus he says, 'Après la destruction de Saint Amand, le comte de Hainaut, qui trop durement avoit pris cette guerre en cœur, et qui étoit plus *aigrè* que nul des autres, se départit encore du siége de Tournay.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 120, ed. Pan. Lit. And in another place he mentions 'le seigneur de Jumont, qui moult étoit *aigre* chevalier et expert sur les ennemis.'—*Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 250.

Alay, *admixture, dilution.*—I. 97. The author in his *Dictionary* translates diluo 'to wasshe, to make cleane, to putte away, to release, to *alaye,* as wyne

is *alayde* with water.' The word is derived from the French word *allayer*, which Cotgrave translates 'to *allay*, or mix gold or silver with baser mettals.' And *allayé*, '*allayed*, stiffened or imbased, as gold or silver (coine) by the mixture of other mettals.' Thus an order of John I. king of France, issued Dec. 6, 1353, to the Masters of the Royal Mints runs as follows: 'Comme Nous pour certaine cause vous ayons n'agueres mandé par noz Lettres ouvertes que à tous Changeurs et Marchans frequentans nosdites Monnoyes, en faisant faire et ouvrer en icelles pour Nous et en nôtre nom monnoye blanche et noire sur le pié de monnoye trente-deuxième et demie vous faciez donner en chacun marc d'argent qu'ils ont apporté, ou apporteront en icelle, *allayé* à deux deniers de loy quatre livres diz solz tournois, et en tout autre marc d'argent *allayé* à quatre deniers et audessus quatre livres quinze solz tournoys.'—*Ordonn. des Rois de France*, tom. ii. p. 548, ed. 1729. We can trace the origin of this word from the Latin word alleium, which was used still earlier. Thus Philip IV. in 1295 promises 'quod omnibus qui monetam hujusmodi in solutum, vel alias recipient in futurum, id quod de ipsius valore, ratione minoris ponderis, *alleii*, sive legis deerit, in integrum de nostro supplebimus.'—*Ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 325, ed. 1723. This passage seems to show that alleium was synonymous with lex. Now Cotgrave gives as one of the meanings of the word loy (loi) 'the *allay*, temper, or mixture of coine'; and M. Poullain tells us that it is the term used, 'pour denoter la bonté interieure de l'argent,' and adds 'il vient proprement du latin Lex, que Budée nomme Indicatura, quòd notam gradumque bonitatis denotet.'—*Trait. des Monn.* p. 400, ed. 1709. There was also the word *Aliage*, which Cotgrave translates, 'The stiffening, *allaying*, or imbacing of gold or silver, by *mingling* them with other mettals.' And, according to M. Boisard, 'Par ce terme *d'Alliage* on entend le mélange de differens métaux; ainsi *allier* n'est autre chose que fondre et méler les métaux ensemble.'—*Trait des Mon.* p. 11, ed. 1714. On the whole it seems evident that the word allay was introduced into England from France, and that Richardson's assertion that it is the same as 'alegge, the g softened into y from the Anglo-Saxon alecgan, to lay, to lay down,' is quite unwarrantable. Chaucer uses the word in *The Clerke's Tale* in the sense of alloy.

'For if that thay were put to such assaves,
The gold of hem hath now so badde *alayes*
With bras, that though the coyn be fair at ye,
It wolde rather brest in two than plye.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 314.

Allect, *to allure, entice.*—I. 159. From the Latin verb allecto, which the author in his *Dictionary* translates 'To allure or drawe to, by fayrenes to allure.' It is used by Cicero. 'Agro bene culto nil potest esse, nec usu uberius, nec specie ornatius: ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque *allectat* senectus.'—*De Senect.* cap. 16. Sir Thomas More has this form in juxtaposition with the more usual equivalent in his *Treatise upon the Passion*. 'What shoulde I speake of the other lesse euils that he alewred and *alected* her with, as the pleasure of the eye in the beholdynge of that frute, wyth likorous desyre of the delicious taste?'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 1276, ed. 1557. It is used by Wolsey in a letter to the King, dated Sept. 5, 1527: 'As to the commyng of the Cardinalles into Fraunce: albeit I have set forthe al thinges that might *allecte* them to come to Avynyon, as well in sending to them letters and saulfeconduytes, as also in offering of money for their expences, bicause dyverse of them be pore, whiche the Frenche King is content, of his own propre tresure, to debourse, yet I can not perceyve that they will by any meanes be induced or persuaded, leaving Italy, to come to Avynion.'—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 270. This word, indeed, seems to have been a favourite one with the Cardinal, as it occurs constantly in his correspondence. We find it also in a letter from Dr. Magnus, the English Ambassador at the Scotch Court, dated Nov. 2, 1524. 'This

mater shewed, with other circumstaunces to *allecte* Her Grace to our purpoos, and that Her Grace shulde not oonly be the autorise of the peace, but the highest avauncer of the commyn weall that ever was in Scotlande.' —*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 210. And, finally, the King himself uses it in his 'Instructions to Knyght touching the Duke of Bourbon' in 1523. 'Amonges other thinges, special regard is to be made by the Kynges said Ambassadour, as nyghe as to hym may be possible, in what state the said Duc presently stondeth with the Frenche King. . . . Semblably howe the favour and love of the Lordes and Commons of Fraunce contynueth and discontinueth towardes hym, and what power by likely hood he shalbe of to *allecte* unto his partie any greate nombre of the said Lordes and Commons.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 135.

Allectyue, *allurement, inducement, bait, temptation.*—I. 32, 45, 275; II. 121. This very uncommon word is, no doubt, derived from the Latin adjective *allectivus* which, though not authorised by classical usage, was employed by the ecclesiastical writers of a later age. Thus we find it used by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, in an Indulgence granted in 1355 to the benefactors to the chapel of the Virgin near Smithfield: 'Gratum obsequium et Deo pium impendere tociens opinamur, quociens mentes fidelium ad pietatis et caritatis opera, per *allectiva* Indulgenciarum munera, excitamus.' Madox, *Form. Anglic.* p. 321, ed. 1702. The English equivalent of this is used by Chaucer in *The Remedie of Love*:

> 'O yong man prosperous, which doth abound
> In thy floures of lust belongeth on thee sort
> Me first to consider what is root and ground
> Of thy mischeefe, which is plainly found,
> Woman farced with fraud and deceit,
> To thy confusion most *allectiue* bait.'
>
> *Works*, fo. 306 b. ed. 1602.

The substantive is used by Sir Thomas More in his *Life of John Picus, Earle of Mirandula*: 'But among all thinges, the very deadly pestilence is this, to be conuersaunt daie and night among them whose life is not only on euery side an *allectiue* to synne, but ouer that all set in the expugnacion of vertue, under their capitain the deuill.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 12, ed. 1557. And also by Dr. Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, in a letter to Sir William Paget, dated Jan. 13, 1546: 'Yf that be true that yet is here affirmyd, viz., that the Frenche King gatheryd men, that may be an *allectyve* to drawe us nere to the Ryne'—*State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 406. Finally may be quoted the title-page of a very rare poem by Skelton, the Poet Laureate, published in 1523, in which the expression occurs: 'A ryght delectable traytise upon a goodly garlande or Chapelet of Laurell, by mayster Skelton Poete laureat studyously dyuysed at Sheryphotton Castell in the foreste of galties, wherein ar comprysyde many and dyuers solacyons and ryght pregnant *allectyues* of syngular pleasure.'

Amoue, *to remove*, sometimes merely in the sense of *to move*.—II. 2. From the Latin amoveo, which the author, in his *Dictionary*, translates: 'to remoue, to put from a place or a thynge.' Speed employs it in the same sense as Sir Thomas Elyot: 'The King of Connaught and his Irish, seeing the King and the Earle of Pembroke (who as Heire to the great Strongbow had goodly possessions in those parts) wholly embusied in the enterprize of Britaine, had inuaded the Kings people with a purpose and hope utterly to expell and *amoue* our nation from among them.'—*Hist. Great Brit.* p. 587, ed. 1632. Fabyan uses it in the sense of the uncompounded word in the following passage: 'When Theodorich was warned of the conspiracye of these foure kynges, that they entended to warre ioyntlye upon him, he was therwith greatly *amoued*, and prouided greatly for his defence in his best maner.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 128, ed. 1559. Chaucer, in *The Clerkes Tale*, says:

> 'Whan sche had herd al this sche nought *ameevyd*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 293.

Annect, *to join, connect.*—I. 209, 275. This word is formed from the

Latin annecto or adnecto, which the author, in 'the Additions' to his *Dictionary*, translates: 'to knyt to a thynge.'

Appair, *to impair, diminish.*—I. 42, 195, 290; II. 111, 132. In his *Dictionary* the author translates attenuo, 'to *appeyre*, to make weaker,' and labefacto, 'to make feble, to *appaire*.' Palsgrave has 'I *appayre* or waxe worse. *Jempire*, prim. conj. He goeth to the writyng scole, but his hand *appayreth* every daye: *il va a lescole pour escripre, mays sa lettre sempire tous les jours.*—*L'Esclair.* p. 433. Chaucer uses the word in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'His neyghebours ful of envy, his feyned freendes that semede recounsiled, and his flatereres maden semblaunt of wepyng, and *appaired* and aggregged moche of this matiere, in preisyng gretly Melibe of might, of power, of riches, and of frendes, despisinge the power of his adversaries.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 143. Hall says of King Henry VI. that he was 'a dispiser of all thynges whiche bee wonte to cause the myndes of mortall menne to slide, fall, or *appaire*.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxxiii. ed. 1548. In the *Morte d'Arthur*, first published by Caxton in 1485, the word occurs in the following passage: 'Syr, it was told me that at this tyme of your maryage ye wolde yeue any man the yefte that he wold aske, oute excepte that were unresonable. That is trouth, said the kynge, such cryes I lete make, and that will I holde, so it *apayre* not my realme nor myne estate.'—Vol. i. p. 72, ed. 1817. And also in the *Poems against Garnesche*, written by Skelton, the poet laureate:

> 'Thow ye be lusty as Syr Lybyus launces to breke,
> Yet your contenons oncomly, your face ys nat fayer,
> For alle your proude prankyng, your pride may *apayere*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 116, ed. 1843.

Appayse, *to appease.*—I. 214. From the French *appaiser*. Thus Palsgrave has 'I *appayse* or content or styll. *Je appaise*, prim. conj. And he be ones angred you shall have moche a do to *appayse* him: *sil est une foys courrouce, vous aurés fort affaire de lappaiser*. I *appayse* or quiet a person from his displeasure. *Je desennuie*, prim. conj. He is *appaysed* now for al his anger: *il est appaisé* or *desennuyé de son ire asteure non obstant son gran courroux.*'—*L'Esclairciss.* p. 433. In *Le Roman de Roncevaulx*, a poem of the twelfth century, we find:

> 'Por ce volons qu'ele soit *apaisée*'
>
> P. 145, ed. 1869.

The form *appese* is used by Chaucer and other early writers, thus in *The Clerkes Tale*:

> 'Ther nas discord, rancour, ne hevynesse,
> In al that lond, that sche ne couthe *appese*,
> And wisly bryng hem alle in rest and ese.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 291.

Again in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

> 'For ther is nothynge myght hym better plese
> Save I my-self, ne more his herte *apese*.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 261.

Applicate, *to apply.*—II. 201. The Latin word applicare, which is quite classical, is translated by the author in his *Dictionary*, 'to ioyne to, to laye to, or sette to, or to applye.' And in 'The Additions' he gives the phrase 'Applicat primum ad Chrisidis patrem se,' which he renders: 'He fyrste made repayre to Chrisis father.'

Approbate, *approved.*—II. 397, and note.

Appropered, *appropriated.*—I. 5; II. 114, 302. Palsgrave has: 'I *apropre*, I gyve a person or place a propertye in a thynge, or gyve to a thyng a propertye. *Japroprie*, prim. conj. I have *appropered* my benefyce to your colledge: *Jay approprié mon benifice a vostre coliege*: and 'I *apropre* a thyng to another, I make one thyng belonge to another, *Je appropria*, prim. conj.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 435. Gower uses the same form as Elyot in the following passage:

> 'Wherof touchende this partie,
> Is Rhetoric the science
> *Appropred* to the reuerence
> Of wordes that ben reasonable.'
>
> *Con. Aman.* fo. cl. ed. 1554.

And so does Sir John Maundevile: 'Zee schulle undrestonde that the

Soudan is Lord of 5 Kyngdomes that he hathe conquered and *apropred* to him be strengthe.'—*Voiage and Travaile*, p. 42, ed. 1727. Chaucer, in *The Remedie of Love*, says :

'But she that coud so ill do and wold,
Hers be the blame for her demerite,
And leaue that opprobrous name cokold
To *aproper* to him as in dispite.'
Works, fo. 308, ed. 1602.

Sir Thomas More also uses it : 'Syth that the apostles and euangelystes dyd applye and *approper* that prophane word *ecclesia* to signify the whole company of christen peple, sacred and sanctifyed in the holy sacrament of baptisme.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 428, ed. 1557. Lord Berners, in his translation of *The Golden Boke*, uses a form still nearer to the French original : 'For amonge wyse men the sayd wordes are moste estemed when they are well *app opryed* and sayd to goode purpose.'—Fo. 34, b, ed. 1539.

Asprely, *fiercely, sharply*.—I. 180 ; II. 223. This is simply the English form of the French adverb *asprement*, which is constantly used by Froissart in describing feats of arms. Thus speaking of a skirmish in 1340, he says : 'Et puis requirent les François fièrement et *asprement* encontre vengeant le seigneur de Potelles qui là gissoit navré à mort.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 101, ed. Pan. Lit. Again, in his account of a sea fight the same year between the English and Normans, he says : 'Là se commença bataille dure et forte de tous côtés, et archers et arbalétriers à traire et à lancer l'un contre l'autre diversement et roidement, et gens d'armes à approcher et à combattre main à main *asprement* et hardiment.' —*Ibid.* p. 106. The Earl of Angus, in a letter to Henry VIII. dated August 10, 1527, uses the same form as Elyot: 'Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Michty Prince, to certify your Celsitude the Kingis Grace, your moist deir nephew, my Soverane, incontinent eftir the resait of your letteris directit unto His Grace callit me and Lord Maxwell his Wardainis accusand us richt *asperlie*, and mervelling nocht litill we suld suffir resset, ayde, or supple be gevin to the transgressouris of the lawis of your Majeste his moist dere Uncle.'—*State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 469. The adjective is used by Chaucer thus in *Troylus and Cryseyde* :

'For which with humble, trewe, and pitouse herte
A thousand tyme mercy I yow preye,
So reweth on myn *aspre* peynes smerte,
And doth somwhat, as that I shal yow seye.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 361.

Again in the same poem :

'Liketh it yow to wyten, sweete herte,
As ye wel knowe, how longe tyme agon
That ye me left in *aspre* peynes smerte.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 55.

And in *Quene Anelyda* :

'Jamque domos patrias Cithiee post *aspera* gentis.
When Theseus with werres longe and grete
The *aspre* folke of Cithe had overcome.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 197.

Palsgrave has 'I stare, I loke brode. *Je regarde asprement.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 733.

Assentation, *flattery*.—II. 165. The Latin word assentatio is quite classical. Thus Cicero says, 'Sic habendum est, nullam in amicitiis pestem esse majorem quàm adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 25. The word seems also to have been naturalised in France, for Cotgrave gives '*Assentation :* assentation, flatterie, colloguing,' but this is not recognised by Littré. Higgins in his 'Address to the Reader,' prefixed to the first edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, says : 'I wrote the twoo first euen as they now are, and because I would not kepe secrete my first labours in this kinde of study, I shewed them to a friend of myne, desiring his unfayned iudgement in this matter . . . . Yet hee making relation to other his frendes what I had done, left mee not quiet till they likewyse had seene them : whose perswasion, as it semed, without any suspition of *assentation* or flattery, so hath it made mee bolder at this present then before.'—Vol. i. p. 9, ed. 1815. The Earl of Northampton, one of the Commissioners appointed to

try Garnet, the Jesuit, for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, in delivering judgment in 1606, said: 'These are not the true grounds nor proper motiues of your standing forth, but your art in cherishing, your malice in encouraging your impietie in strengthening a kinde of practise, neuer heard nor thought upon before in any age, against the life of the most gracious and iust King that euer raigned on either side of Trent, of a Queene, renowmed both for her own worth and for her happy fruit, and of a Prince, whom without *assentation*, I may bee bold to call the sweetest and the fairest blossome that euer budded, either out of the white or the red Rosary.'—*Proceedings against Garnet*, signat. Dd. 3, ed. 1606.

Assentatour, *a flatterer.*—II. 176. The Latin *assentator*, which is used by Cicero in the following passage: 'Concio, quæ ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem id est *assentatorem* et levem civem et inter constantem severum et gravem.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 25.

Attemptates, *attempts.*—II. 324, 335, 386 and note.

Auncetour, *ancestor.*—II. 30, 31, 76, 328. The *Promptorium* has 'Awncetyr. *Progenitor.* Awncetrye. *Progenitura, prosapia, herilitas.*'—P. 19. Chaucer uses this form in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale*:

> 'And he that wol have pris of his gentrie,
> For he was boren of a gentil hous,
> And had his eldres noble and vertuous,
> And nyl himselve doo no gentil dedis,
> Ne folw his gentil *aunceter*, that deed is,
> He is nought gentil, be he duk or erl.'

And again:

> 'Al were it that myn *auncetres* wer rude,
> Yit may the highe God, and so hope I,
> Graunte me grace to lyve vertuously.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. pp. 241, 242.

In the Romance of *William and the Werwolf*, written according to Sir F. Madden, about 1350, we have the following lines:

> 'So schaltow gete god los and gretli be menskked (*i.e.* honoured)
> As han al thin *aunceteres* or thow were bigeten.'
>
> P. 185, ed. 1832.

Foxe, the Martyrologist, in his Dedication to Queen Elizabeth of the Saxon Gospels, uses this form of the word at the end of the sixteenth century: 'Moses, that meeke seruaunt of God, in his canticle of the booke of Deuteronomie, willeth us to remember the dayes of olde antiquitie, and to record the auncient generations of our forefathers, and to aske our *aunciters*, and they (sayth he) shall tell us'—A. ii. b. ed. 1571. Skelton uses the form, *auncetry*. See *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 128, ed. 1843.

Auncientie, *antiquity.*—II. 396, and note.

Auoutry, aduoutry, *adultery.*—I. 209, 227; II. 188, 190, 212. This is the old French form of the word. Thus in the Laws of William the Conqueror: 'Si le pere truvet sa fille en *avulterie* en sa maisoun, u en la maisoun soun gendre, ben li laist ocire la *avultere*.'—A. de Chevallet. *Or. et For.* tom. i. p. 116, ed. 1853. Again in the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*: 'Jugiez est jà, n'i a que dire, Par l'ovraigne del *Avoiltire*.'—Tom. ii. p. 352, ed. 1838. Again in *Le Roman de la Rose*, written in the thirteenth century:

> 'Jà n'oïstes vous onques dire
> Que j'aie fait nul *avoutire*
> Se li fol qui le vous conterent
> Par mauvestié nel controverent.'
>
> Tom. iii. p. 116, ed. 1814.

In the fifteenth century we find this form of the word in the miracle play of the Nativity, where Joseph is made to say:

> 'Il est escript en nostre loy
> Que fame prise en *advoultire*
> Son corps est livré à martire.'
>
> Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits*, tom. ii. p. 54, ed. 1837.

Chaucer, in *The Persones Tale*, says: '*Advoutrie*, in Latyn, is for to sayn, approching of other mannes bed, thorugh the which tho that whilom were oon fleisch, abaundonè here bodyes to other persones.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 345, ed. 1866. Sir John Maundevile tells us that 'in Cycile there is a manere of serpentes be the whiche men assayen

and preven where here children ben bastardis or none, or of lawefulle Mariage. For ȝif thei ben born in righte mariage, the serpentes gon aboute hem, and don hem non harm, and zif thei ben born in *avowtrie* the serpentes byten hem and envenyme hem.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 67, ed. 1727.

Auoyd. *To empty, clear out, make void.*—II. 76. From the French *vider* or *vuider*, which, by the early writers, is spelt *voider*. Palsgrave has 'I avoyde, as water dothe that ronneth by a gutter or synke. *Je me vuyde, je me suis vuydé, vuyder*, prim. conj. This water avoydeth nat well, by lykelyhod the goutter is nat courrant: *ceste eaue ne se vuyde pas bien, il fault dire que la gouttiere nest pas courrante.*—*L'Esclair.* p. 441. In the French version of the Psalms, written in the twelfth century, Psalm cxxxvii. 7, is thus rendered: 'Remembrere seies, Sire, des filz Edom, el jur de Jerusalem; Chi dient: *Voidez, voidez*, desque al fundament en li.'—*Libri Psalm.* p. 213, ed. 1860, by M. F. Michel. And in *La uie St. Thomas le martir*, which is referred by M. Littré to the same century, we find the same form of the word:

'Car ainceis ne l'osast nuls escummenier,
Mais qu'um li peust bien faire iglise *uoidier*.'

See Mém. de l'Acad. Berlin, 1838. (*Phil. und Hist. Abhandl.* p. 61.) The author, in his *Dictionary*, renders vacuefacio, 'to empty or *auoyde*.' And in the *Promptorium* we find 'A-voyden. *Evacuo, devacuo.* A-voydyd. *Evacuatus.* A-voydaunce. *Evacuacio.*'—P. 19. Froissart in his account of the capture of Conualle or Cremale in 1388 by Gautier de Passac, says: 'Quand messire Gautier vit l'entrée, il la fit découvrir, et ôter la terre et les herbes et les ronces qui étoient à l'environ.' (*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 444, ed. Pan. Lit.), which is thus translated by Lord Berners: 'And when he sawe the hole where the yssue was, he caused the erthe and busshes to be *auoyded*.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 118, ed. 1812. Shakespeare, in *Coriolanus*, makes one of the servants say:

'What have you to do here, fellow?
Pray you *avoid* the house.'
Vol. vi. p. 206, ed. Dyce.

And Bacon employs the word in the same sense in his *New Atlantis*. 'He desired to speak with some few of us; whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest *avoided* the room.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 332, ed. 1825. North, in his translation of Plutarch, says: 'On a holy daye common playes being kept in Rome, upon some suspition or false reporte, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volsces should *auoyde* out of Rome before sunne set.'—P. 251, ed. 1579. Speed, in the next century used the word precisely in the same sense as Sir T. Elyot: 'The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, (as though some weighty matters were to be handled) hee (*i.e.* Osbright) commanded an *auoydance* from the presence.'—*Hist. Great Brit.* p. 378, ed. 1632. The word void was used in the same sense: 'He leet *voyden* out of his chambre alle maner of men, Lordes and othere, for he wolde speke with me in conseille.'—Sir John Maundevile, *Voiage, &c.*, p. 166, ed. 1727.

Awaite, good, to have, *to take heed, to keep good watch.*—II. 48, 102, 107, 316. The author in his *Dictionary* translates the Latin word observo, 'to *awayte* diligently with the eyes and also the mynde, to take good hede.' In the *Promptorium* we find 'Awaytinge or takinge hede. *Attendens.*' P. 17. And also 'Waytyn or a-spyyn (waytyn after). *Observo.*' P. 513. Palsgrave has 'I awayte, I lie in wayte of a person to marke what he dothe or sayeth. *Je aguayte*, prim. conj. and *je me tiens en aguayt, je me suis tenu en aguayt, tenir en aguayt.* Haste thou awayted me this tourne: *mas tu aguayté ce tour?* Let him awayte hardely, for whan he thynketh leste, he may happe to be taken sleper: *quil se tienne sur son guayt* or *quil se tienne en aguayt, car quant il pence le moyns, on le surprendra par aduenture en dormant.*' And also 'I ley in wayte of one to do him a displeasure. *Je aguayte*, prim.

conj. I have layed in wayte for him these ten nyghtes to do hym a displeasure : *je lay aguayté ces dix nuictz pour luy faire quelque desplaysir.*'—*L'Esclairciss.* pp. 441, 605. The English word is no doubt derived from the French *aguet*, *aguetter*, which by early writers were spelt *agait*, *agaiter*, or *await*, *awaiter*, respectively. M. A. de Chevallet says : 'On écrevait autrefois *wait*, *waiter*, aussi bien que *gait*, *gaiter*.—Tud. *waht*, guet, faction ; *wahten*, faire le guet, faire faction, guetter, veiller sur quelqu'un ou sur quelque chose.' And in the Laws of William the Conqueror, which he prints from the original MSS., we find this form of the word : 'et si aveir trespassent per iloc u il deivent *waiter*,' which he translates 'et si des bestiaux passent par le lieu où les gardes doivent *exercer leur surveillance.*'—*Origine et Form. de la lan. Fran.*, tom. i. pp. 114, 506, ed. 1853. Pierre de Fontaines, a celebrated jurisconsult of the thirteenth century, in a work called *Le Conseil*, written like the *De Laudibus* of our own Fortescue, for the instruction of a young prince, has the following passage in which the word occurs in the sense of to watch : 'Li Empereres Valentins et Theodoxes et Archemes dient à ciaus des contrées Nous donnons à tous franque poosté qui que soit Cheualiers ki ira par nuit essilier les cans ou *waitera* les chemins ki sunt hantables par armes.' P. 145, ed. 1668. The word *waite* or *wayte* in the sense of *watch* was retained in the sixteenth century, in connection with feudal tenure, and Spelman mentions an inquisition post mortem, taken in the reign of Elizabeth, in which it is stated that the manor of Narborough is held of the Queen 'ut de manerio suo de Wingrave, per servitium militare et per redditum 14*s.*, pro *wayte fee* et Castle garde.' *Gloss. sub voc.* Waitefee.

B.

Baratour, *a cheat, a disorderly person.*—II. 158. This is the English form of the French *barateur*, which Cotgrave translates : 'A deceiver, cheater, cousener ; cogger, foister, lier (in bargaining), also a barterer, trucker, exchanger.' Palsgrave has 'Desceyvar—*baratier s.* m.' and 'Deseeyt—*baraterie s.* f. *deception s.* f. *barat s.* m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 213. In the *Promptorium* we find : 'Baratowre. *Pugnax*, *rixosus*, *jurgosus.*' P. 23. Also 'Debate Maker, or baratour, *Incentor.*' P. 115. And 'Feghtare, or baratowre (feyter), *Pugnax*,' P. 153. The word seems to be derived from the Low Latin baratare, to cheat, from baratum or barataria = fraus, dolus, whence was formed the substantive baratator or barator, a cheat. Thus in the criminal statutes of the city of Savona in Italy, provision is made for dealing with 'personæ malæ et suspectæ, utputa ludentes cum falsis dariis, et aliis malis ludis, *baratantes*, maleficii, mathematici, lenones utriusque sexûs, et aliàs inhonestæ conversationis et vitæ.' P. 79, ed. 1610. Theodoricus of Niem, who lived in the fourteenth century, in his *Life of Pope John XXIII.*, speaking of the taxes which the latter imposed upon the citizens of Bononia, says : 'Et certè à scortis etiam et *baratoribus*, scilicet, lusoribus taxillorum, nec non fœneratoribus Bononiæ, atque de turpi eorum lucro gabellas extorsit.'—P. 11, ed. 1620. Pope Gregory, in his letter of accusation against Frederic II., in 1239, complains that the Emperor had asserted that the world had been deceived 'à tribus *baratatoribus*, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse, et Machometo.'—Matt. Paris. *Chron. Maj.*, vol. iii. p. 607, the Rolls. ed. Hence the word passed into French, and in *Le Roman de la Rose*, we find : 'Qu'il n'est *barat* qu'el ne congnoisse.' Tom. i. p. 159, ed. 1814. And Gaguin, in his poem *Le Passe Temps d'Oysiveté*, says of the Devil :

> 'Car il est menteur et parjure,
> Grant *barateur* et non creable.'

—M. de Montaiglon, *Rec. de Poes. Franç.*, tom. vii. p. 249, ed. 1857. Sir John Maundevile, speaking of the subjects of Prestre John, says : 'Thei sette not be no *Barettes*, ne by Cawteles,

ne of no disceytes.'—*Voiage, etc.*, p. 329, ed. 1727. In England, however, it seems to have been more generally used to designate a brawler or riotous person. Thus in the *Customs of London*, published by Arnold at the commencement of the sixteenth century, charge is given to 'the Quest of Warmot in euery Warde,' to enquire 'yf ther be ony comon ryator, *barratur*, or ony comon nyght walker wythout lyght, contrary to the ordynaunce of the cite, be dwellyng wythin the warde.'—P. 90, ed. 1811. Lord Coke defines 'a barrettor' as 'a common moover and exciter, or maintainer of suits, quarrels, or parts, either in courts, or elsewhere in the country, in three manners: first, in disturbance of the peace: secondly, in taking or keeping of possessions of lands in controversie, not only by force, but also *by subtiltie and a deceit*, and most commonly in suppression of truth and right: thirdly, by false inventions, and sowing of calumniations, rumours, and reports, whereby discord and disquiet may grow betweene neighbours.'—Co. Litt. 368, b. It may be added that the word 'barratry' is still preserved in English law, and Sir Travers Twiss, in his valuable edition of the Black Book of the Admiralty, observes that: 'the use of the word "barrataria" in the Amalphitan Table is suggestive that the term was imported into Italy direct from the Levant, and was Latinised by the Amalphitans, its origin, under any circumstances, being traceable to the Sanskrit word "bharat."'—Vol. iv. p. 5, note, the Rolls. ed.

Bargenette, *the name of a dance.*—I. 230. Probably this is merely the English form of the French word *Bergerette.* Palsgrave has: 'Kynde of daunce—*bargeret.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 236. That the word is French is evident not merely from the collocation in the text, the words *pavion* and *turgion* being indisputably the names of French dances, but from the fact that Gascoigne, in one of his pieces, *The Adventures of Master F. I.*, employs the very word in a passage which shows that it was a dance accompanied by a song: 'F. I. with heauie cheare returned to his company, and Mistresse Fraunces, to toutch his sore with a corosiue, sayd to him softly in this wise: Sir, you may now perceyue that this our countrie cannot allowe the French maner of dauncing, for they (as I haue heard tell) do more commonly daunce to talke, then entreate to daunce. F. I. hoping to driue out one nayle with another, and thinking this a meane most conuenient to suppresse all ielous supposes, toke Mistresse Fraunces by the hande, and with a heauie smyle, aunswered: Mistresse, and I (because I haue seene the French maner of dauncing) will eftsones entreat you to daunce a *Bargynet.* What meane you by this? quod Mistresse Fraunces. If it please you to followe (quod he) you shall see that I can iest without ioye, and laugh without lust; and calling the musitions, caused them softly to sound the *Tyntarnell*, when he, clearing his voyce, did *Alla Napolitana* applie these verses following unto the measure.'—Gascoigne, *A hundreth sundrie Flowres*, p. 223, ed. 1576. Jean de Troyes in his chronicle of the reign of Louis XI. speaks of the songs or lays called *bergerettes* being sung by children of the Chapel Royal in 1467: 'Et dedans iceux estoient les petits enfants de chœur de la Sainte-Chapelle, qui illec disoient de beaux virelais, chansons, et autres *bergerettes* moult mélodieusement.'—P. 275, ed. Pan. Litt. He makes no mention of dancing, but Chaucer uses the same word in a passage which shows that he regarded the one as the proper accompaniment of the other. In *The Flower and the Leaf*, he says:

'And before hem wente minstrels many one
As harpes, pipes, lutes, and sautry;
All in greene——
And so dauncing into the mede they fare.
And, at the laste, there began anone
A lady for to singe, right womanly
A *bargaret* in praising the daisie;
For, as me thought, among her notes swete,
She said "*Si douse est la Margarete.*"'

Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 99.

In *England's Helicon*, a collection of

pastoral and lyric poems, published in 1600, one of the pieces is entitled 'The *Barginet* of Antimachus.'

Batable, *debateable, a subject of debate.*—II. 218 and note. Applied particularly to the land lying between England and Scotland, and as to which the possession was disputed. Thus 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 16 makes it a felony 'to sell, exchaunge, or delyver within the Realme of Scotlond, or in any place or grounde called the *batable* Grounde betweene England and Scotland, to the use of any Scottisshe man, any Horse, Gelding, or Mare, without licence opteyned of the Kinges Highnes by his lettres patentes under his greate Seale.' Cotgrave gives the French word *batable*, and translates it 'beatable, batterable, which may be battered with cannon, as a fortresse, &c., also quarrelsome, contentious, litigious.'

Bayne, *a bath.*—II. 282 and note. The French *bain*. Sir John Wallop, in a letter to the King from Melun, November 17, 1540, speaking of his visit to Fontainebleau, says: 'And from thense the King browght me to the saied *baynes*, being warme, and reked so muche like as it had ben a myst, that the King went before to guyde me. After he entred into the stove, whiche is aswel made for that purpose as can be: the *bayne* is made like a ponde, rayled abowte, and no more place therein, but for one person to go in frownte.'—*State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 484.

Berne, *a barn.*—II. 155. This is a genuine Anglo-Saxon word, being a contraction from bere = hordeum, and ern = locus. In the Promptorium we we find 'Berne of lathe—*Horreum*.'—P. 33. And Palsgrave has: 'Berne to put corn in—*granche s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 197. It is often used by Chaucer, thus in *The Milleres Tale*:

> 'But of hir song, it was as loude and yerne
> As eny swalwe chiteryng on a *berne*.'
> *Poet Works*, vol. ii. p. 101.

Again in *The Schipmannes Tale*:

> This nobil monk, of which I yow deuyse,
> Hath of his abbot, as him list, licence
> (Bycause he was a man of heih prudence,
> And eek an officer) out for to ryde,
> To se her graunges and her *bernes* wyde.'
> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 109.

Bikerynge, *fighting.*—II. 353 and note.

Blenchars, *a species of scarecrow.*—I. 247. The following passage was not brought to the Editor's notice until after the note on this word was in print. The reader will observe that it supplies the best possible commentary upon the passage in the text, inasmuch as it is from the pen of a contemporary, Richard Layton, one of the commissioners appointed by Cromwell to visit the University of Oxford, in 1535. 'The seconde tyme we came to New Colege, affter we hade declarede your Injunctions, we fownde all the gret quadrant court full of the leiffs of Dunce (*i.e.* Duns Scotus) the wynde blowyng them into evere corner: and ther we fownde one Mr. Grenefelde, a gentilman of Bukynghamshire, getheryng up part of the said bowke leiffs (as he saide) there to make him sewells or *blawnsherrs* to kepe the dere within the woode, thereby to have the better cry with his howndes.'—Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* vol. ii. p. 61, 2nd Series. The term is used by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*: 'And so many daies were spent, and many waies used, while Zelmane was like one that stoode in a tree, waiting a good occasion to shoot, and Gynecia a *blancher* which kept the dearest deere from her.'—P. 65, ed. 1605.

Bordell, *a brothel.*—II. 115 and note. In the Promptorium we find 'Bordele. *Lupanar, Prostibulum.*' P. 44. Palsgrave has 'Bordell house—*bourdeau x*, m.' in *L'Esclair.* p. 199. Originally the word was used without any disreputable meaning, for it is merely the diminutive of *borde*, which, according to M. de Chevallet, signified anciently 'maisonette, maison des champs, métairie, ferme; d'où *bordier* métayer, fermier. Le diminutif de *borde* est *bordel*, qui signifiait maison chétive et de peu d'apparence, masure, bicoque, et de plus maison de prostitution.'—*Or. et Form. de la lan. Fran.* tom. i. p. 360,

ed. 1853. Instances of the use of the word in this primitive and untarnished sense occur in the *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie:*

'Si fu arse, prise e robée
Que n'i remist à eissiller
Bordell ne grange ne mostier.'
Tom. ii. p. 425. Coll. de Doc. Ined.

At least as early as the 13th century it had come to denote a house of ill fame, and thenceforward this signification was exclusively attached to it. Thus Montaigne says, 'De là disent aulcuns que d'oster les *bordels* publicques, c'est non seulement espandre partout la paillardise qui estoit assignee à ce lieu là; mais encore aiguillonner les hommes vagabonds et oisifs à ce vice, par la malaysance.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 515.

Braste, *burst.*—I. 10; II. 45, 138, 157. The author in 'the Additions' to his *Dictionary* renders erumpo, 'to *braste* out, some tyme to leape forthe.' This form is constantly used by Chaucer, thus in *Troy. and Crys.*,

'And in his breste the heped wo bygan
Out *brast*, and he to werken in this wyse.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 309.

Again,

'Hire thought hire sorwful herte *braste* a-two;
For when she gan hire fader fer espie,
Wel neigh down of hire hors she gan to sye.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 8.

And in *Quene Anelyda:*

'What shuld I seyn? she loveth Arcite so
That when that he was absent eny throw,
Anoon her thoght her herte *brast* atwo.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 199.

Sir Thos. More in his *History of King Richard III.* says, 'And therewith the lordes came downe, and the company dissolued and departed, the more part al sad, som with glad semblaunce that wer not very mery, and some of those that came thyther with the duke, not able to dissemble theyr sorow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their heart *braste* oute at theyr eyen.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 65, ed. 1577.

Brenne, brenned, brennynge, *burn, burnt, burning.*—II. 233, 267, 282, 315, 423. In the Promptorium we find: 'Bren, by the selfe (brenne) *Ardeo.* Brennyn or settyn on fyre, or make bren. *Incendo, Cremo, Comburo.* Brennynge. *Ustio, combustio, incendium.* Brent. *Combustus, incensus.*' P. 49. Palsgrave has 'I *brenne*, as the fyre dothe or such lyke.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 465. It is used very constantly by Chaucer, thus in *The Knightes Tale:*

'The fyres *brenne* upon the auter cleer,
Whil Emelye was thus in hire preyer.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 72.

Again in the same tale we have:

'And leet comaunde anon to hakke and hewe
The okes old, and lay hem on a rewe
In culpouns well arrayed for to *brenne.*'
Ubi supra p. 88.

And both verb and participle occur together in the following passage from *The Prol. of the Wyf of Bathe:*

'Thou likenest it (*i.e.* love) also to wilde fuyr,
The more it *brenneth* the more it hath desir
To consume every thing that *brent* wol be.'
Ubi supra, p. 217.

The substantive occurs in *The Knightes Tale:*

'But it were al to long for to devyse
The greate clamour and the waymentynge
Which that the ladies made at the *brennynge*
Of the bodyes——'
Ubi supra, p. 31.

And the participle in *The secounde Nonnes Tale:*

And right so as these philosofres wryte,
That heven is swyft and round, and eek *brennynge.*
Right so was faire Cecily the whyte,
Ful swyft and besy ever in good werkynge,
And round and hool in good perseverynge,
And *brennyng* ever in charité ful brighte.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 32.

Brokle, *brittle.*—II. 316 and note.

Bronde, *a brand.*—II. 423. Palsgrave has 'Bronde of fyre—*tison s*, m.' *L'Esclair.* p. 201. In the Promptorium we find 'Bronde of fyre. *Facula, fax, ticio, torris.*'—P. 53. Sir John Maundevile, narrating a legend of Bethlehem, uses this old Saxon form: 'And whan sche hadde thus seyd, she entred in to the Fuyer; and anon was the Fuyr quenched and oute: and the *Brondes* that weren brennynge becomen rede Roseres: and the *Brondes* that weren not kyndled

becomen white Roseres fulle of Roses.' —*Voiage, &c.* p. 84. ed. 1727. And so does Chaucer in *The Knightes Tale:*

'That other fyr was queynt, and al agon;
And as it queynt, it made a whistelyng,
As doth a wete *brond* in his brennyng.
And at the *brondes* end out ran anoon
As it were bloody dropes many oon.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 72.

Bronte, *brunt.*—II. 266. Various derivations of this word have been suggested, but it is most probable that it is connected with the Saxon *Byrn*, the Gothic *Brynja*, which are both represented by the low Latin *Brunea* or *Bronia*=lorica, and by the French *Broigne* or *Brugne*. The Anglo-Saxon word, meaning a breast-plate, occurs in the Laws of King Ine, and also in those of Cnut. See *Ancient Laws and Instit. of England*, vol. i. pp. 138, 414. ed. 1840. Palsgrave has 'Stresse a brunt. —*Effort s*, m.' And 'At the firste brunte *De Prinsault*, as *la bonne femme nourrice de Paris de prinsault se layssa cheoyr aux piedz du prince Hector.*' —*L'Esclair.* pp. 201, 277, 805. In the Promptorium we find 'Brunt. *Insultus, impetus.* Bruntun or make a soden stertynge (burtyn) *Insilio.*'—P. 54. Hall in his account of the battle of Flodden in 1513, says: 'Then the lord Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with longe speres lyke moorishe pykes, whyche Scottes furnished them warlike, and bent theim to the forwarde, whiche was conducted by the lord Admirall, whiche perceyuynge that, sent to hys father, the erle of Surrey, hys Agnus dei that honge at his brest that in all haste he woulde ioyne battayl euen wyth the *bront* or brest of the vantgarde: for the forwarde alone was not able to encountre the whole battayl of the Scottes; the erle perceyuynge well the saiynge of hys sonne, and seynge the Scottes ready to discende the hyll, auaunced hym selfe and hys people forwarde, and broughte theym egall in grounde wyth the forwarde on the left hande, euen at the *bront* or brest of the same, at the foote of the hyll called Bramston.'—*Chron.* fol. xli b, ed. 1548. C. de Seissel, in his translation of Thucydides, viii. 8., made in the 15th century, had the following passage: 'Ce temps pendant et le iour ensuyuant suruindrent a layde des Peloponesiens les nauires des Corinthiens, et tantost apres ceulx des autres alliez les quelz voyant quil leur seroit trop mal ayse de garder celluy lieu desert estoient en grande perplexite et *de prime face* parlerent de brusler leurs nauires.'—Fo. clxxi. b. ed. 1520. This was translated by Nicolls: 'were in greate perplexitie and at the furste *brunte* did speake of burning their ships.'—Fo. cc. ed. 1550. Richard Grenewey, whose translation of the annals of Tacitus was published at the beginning of the 17th century, renders: 'Monet Meherdaten, barbarorum *impetus* acres cunctatione languescere, aut in perfidiam mutari' (lib. xii. cap. 12), 'Hee shewed unto Meherdates, that the first *brunt* of the barbarians was fierce and hote, but by delay and lingring became cold or turned into treason.'—P. 158, ed. 1612. Frith, in his *Aunswere unto Rastel*, says, 'He alleageth also against me, that I say M. More is sore deceaued and set on the sand euen at the first *brunt*, and in the beginning of hys voyage.'—P. 67, ed. 1573. Joye uses precisely the same form as Elyot: 'Therfore decree thei thus, to stand still lyke idle idols and in securite, as it were afarre of loking upon and beholdinge the *bront* of the bataill, no handis putting forthe, nor yet once (when thei might) to helpe to any amendement or reformacion.' *Expos. of Dan.* fo. 210, ed. 1545.

Burgen, Burgine, *to bud* or *blossom.* —I. 30, 132. The author in his *Dictionary* translates pullulasco '*to bourgen.*' In the Promptorium we find 'Burgyn, or burryn as trees, *Germino, frondo, gemmo, frondeo.* Burgynynge (burgynge), *Germen, pullulacio.*'—P. 56. This word is the Anglicised form of the French *bourgeonner*, which Cotgrave renders 'to bud, spring or sprout out, to *burgeon*, put, or shoot out.' Palsgrave has, 'I *burgen*, I put forthe as a tree dothe his blossomes, *Je bourgonne*, prim. conj. whiche I fynde somtyme written

je bourgeonne, lest the reder shulde sounde the g amysse. These trees *burgen* a moneth soner than I loked for, *ces arbres bourgonnent ung moys plus tost que je ne pensoye.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 472. Palsgrave also gives 'Burryon, or budde of a tree,—*germe, burjon s*, m.' and 'Budde—*bouton, bourgon s*, m.'—*Ibid.* pp. 200, 201. The substantive occurs in *Le Roman de la Rose*, in the 13th century :

'La roche porte un bois doutable
Dont li arbre sunt merveillable
L'un est brehaigne et riens ne porte
L'autre en fruit porter se déporte.
* * * * * *
Et quant *borjons* à l'une viennent
Les autres flestries se tiennent.'

Tom. ii. p. 91. ed. 1814.

Both verb and substantive occur frequently in the great agricultural work of Olivier de Serres, published in the 16th century, thus, in treating of the almond tree he says, 'En ce tardif planter, la reprinse de l'arbre est très-doubteuse, pour son naturel hastif à *bourgeonner*, qui avoit faict ordonner à nos ancestres, de le loger en terre des premiers.'—*Théâtre d'Agricult.* tom. ii. par. 1. p. 375, ed. 1805. Chaucer uses another form of the same word in the *Testament of Love:* 'Wost thou not well (qd she) but euery tree in his sesonable time of *bourioning*, shew his blomes fro within, in sign of what fruit should out of him spring, els the fruit for that yeare men halt deliuered, be the ground neuer so good. And though the stocke be mighty at the full, and the braunches seere and no *burions* shew, farewell the gardiner, he may pipe with an yuy leafe, his fruit is fayled ; wherfore thy braunches must *burionen* in presence of thy lady, if thou desire any fruit of thy ladies grace.'—Fo. 299, b. ed. 1602. Lydgate, in his Minor Poems, has 'To se *burgyons* on a dede drye stok.'—P. 56, ed. 1842. Fairefax uses precisely the same form as our author in *Godfrey of Bulloigne.*

'When first on trees *burgen* the blossomes soft.'

Vol. i. p. 184. ed. 1817.

And so does Lord Berners in *The Golden Boke* : 'By the floures the fruites are knowen, and the vines in *burgenyng.*' —Fo. 77. ed. 1539. Whilst Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, in describing the months of the year, says of February :

'——Yet had he by his side
His plough and harnesse fit to till the ground,
And tooles to prune the trees, before the pride
Of hasting Prime did make them *burgein* round.'

Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 277. ed. 1866.

Buten, *booty.*—II. 4. The French word *butin.* Palsgrave has, 'Boty that man of warre take—*butin s*, m.' And also 'Schare of a man of a prise of warre tyme—*butin s*, m.' And 'I parte a butyne or a pray taken in the warre. *Je butyne*, prim. conj. Let us go parte our butyn : *allons partir nostre butyn* or *allons butyner.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 200, 266, 653. Sir William Paget in a letter from Amboise, Jan 20, 1543, says : 'Here be cum certain capitains of his, (*i.e.* the Duke of Cleves) to declare unto this King that De Longevale and La Planche hath robbed hym of moche treasure in the payment of wages, and used them very ill in division of *butyns.*' *State Pap.* vol. ix. p. 272.

C.

Cautele, *caution*, but more generally used in a bad sense for *craft.*—I. 31. This is the French word *cautelle* which is itself derived from cautela, a latin word which was not used by any classical author, but occurs in the Digest and in the writings of the commentators upon Roman law. In his *Dictionary* Elyot translates the word offuciæ (Plaut. *Most.* i. 3. 107. Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* lib. xiv. cap. 1) '*Cawtellis*, crafty wayes to deceyue.' In the Promptorium we find '*Cautele* or sleyte, cawtele or sleight, *Cautela.*'—P. 64. Whilst Palsgrave has 'Cautell sleyght—*cautelle s.* f., and also 'With his wyles he begyleth the : *par ses cautelles il te cautelle.*' *L'Esclair.* pp. 203, 446. Cotgrave renders *cautelle*, 'A wile, *cautell*, sleight ; a crafty reach or fetch, guilefull devise or indeavor ; also craft, subtilty, trum-

pery, deceit, cousenage.' Froissart uses it in the sense of 'precaution,' as when, speaking of the letters by which Edward III. acknowledged himself bound to do homage to the King of France for the duchy of Guienne, he tells us: 'Ces lettres rapportèrent en France les dessus nommés seigneurs, et les baillèrent au roi de France, qui tantôt les fit porter en sa chancellerie et mettre en garde avec ses plus espéciales choses à la *cautelle* du temps avenir.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 46, ed. Pan. Lit. Sometimes it is used in the sense of 'stratagem.' Thus in the *Histoire du Mareschal de Boucicaut*, who was Marshal of France under Charles V., the writer (a contemporary) says: 'Et tout ainsi comme on a de coustume prendre icelles bestes en diuerses manieres, c'est à sçauoir à force de bons chiens, ou par traict d'arc, et de dards, ou par bourses et filets, ou autres manieres de les deceuoir, ainsi semblablement le vaillant Capitaine, qui contre ses ennemis se debuoit aider de plusieurs sages *cauteles*, les surprenoit en maintes manieres.'—P. 43, ed. 1620. Our own chronicler Hall uses the word precisely in the same sense in speaking of the capture by surprise of the town of Pont de l'Arche in Normandy in 1448. 'By this praty *cautele* and slyghte imposture was the towne of Pontelarche taken and surprised, which towne was the kay and passage ouer the ryuer of Soame from Fraunce to Normandy.'—*Chron.* fo. cliii. ed. 1548. Gower, speaking of Rhetoric, says that it

> 'is the seconde of science,
> Touchende to philosophie,
> Wherof a man shall iustifie
> His wordes in disputeson,
> And knitte upon conclusion
> His argument in suche a forme,
> Whiche maie the pleyne trouth enforme,
> And the subtile *cautele* abate,
> Whiche euery trewe man shall debate.'
>
> Fo. cl. b. ed. 1554.

Chaucer also uses it in a bad sense in his *Goodly Ballade*:

> '*Cautels* who so useth gladly, gloseth;
> To eschewe suche it is right high prudence.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p 276, ed. 1866.

So does Sir John Maundevile, who, describing the 'Yle of Pentexoire,' says: 'There was dwellynge somtyme a ryche man, and it is not longe sithen, and men clept him Gatholonabes; and he was fulle of *cauteles* and of sotylle disceytes.' *Voiage, etc.* p. 336, ed. 1727. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* speaks of 'some subtyll wyle and *cautele* of the lawe.'—Fo. 74 b, 2nd ed. translated by Robinson. Fulke in his *Confutation of Dr. Allen's Treatise on the Priesthood* uses the word in precisely the same sense as Sir Thomas Elyot. 'You repeat againe that this penance Canonicall was appointed not onelie for *cautele* and prouision against the like sinnes, but also for satisfying of Gods iustice.'—P. 418, Camb. ed. Bacon attaches the notion of dishonesty to the word, when he says: 'The *cautels* and devices put in practice in the delivery of knowledge for the covering and palliating of ignorance, and the gracing and overvaluing of that they utter, are without number.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 302, ed. 1825.

Cesse, *to cease.*—I. 15, 41, 214, 219, 301; II. 35, 95, 98, 107, 132. The French *cesser*. This form is used by Chaucer, in *The Clerkes Tale*:

> 'But ther as ye have profred me to day
> To chese me a wyf, I wol relese
> That choys, and pray yow of that profre *cesse*.
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 283.

Again in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'Sothly, a man may chaunge his purpos and his counseil, if the cause *cesseth*, or whan a newe cause bytydeth.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 159. And also by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*:

> 'For naturall affection soone doth *cesse*,
> And quenched is with Cupids greater flame;
> But faithfull friendship doth them both suppresse,
> And them with maystring discipline doth tame.
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 213.

In the following passage from *All's well that ends well* it is manifest that Shakespeare must have employed this form in order to preserve the rhyme, although in many editions the word is spelt cease:

> '*Count.* Which better than the first, O dear heaven, bless!
> Or, ere they meet, in me, O nature, *cesse*!
>
> Vol. iii. p. 278, Dyce's ed

Chaufed, *chafed, heated.*—I. 188; II. 266, 322, 334, 423, 442 and note.

Circumscription, *compass, description.*—II. 272. The Latin word circumscriptio is quite classical. Thus Cicero speaks of 'circuitus ille orationis, quem Graci περίοδον, nos tum ambitum, tum circuitum, tum comprehensionem, aut continuationem, aut *circumscriptionem* dicimus.'—*Orat.* cap. 61. And Sir T. Elyot has evidently borrowed his use of the word in the above sense from this passage. Udall in his translation of Erasmus's Commentary on Acts viii. says: 'And where the one natiuitie, and eke the other, cannot be in worde expressed, whether it be his eternal generacion of his father, which from euer was without *circumscription* of time, or that he once had of the virgin by the holy ghostes handy woorke without mannes helpe.'—Tom. i. fo. ccccliii. ed. 1551. The original being, 'Porro quum utraque nativitas sit ineffabilis, sive qua *sine tempore* semper nascitur à patre, sive qua sine viri operâ per opificium spiritûs sancti natus est de virgine.'—*Paraph. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 692, ed. 1541. The word occurs frequently in the patristic writings, or rather in the Latin versions of those writings, and Dr. Joseph Hall, who was born in the last quarter of the 16th century, gives us the following translation of a passage from Cyril's *Dialogue on the Trinity* (*Opera*, tom. ii. p. 257, ed. 1604): 'If the Deity itself were capable of partition, it must be a body: And if it were a body, it must needs be in a place, and have quantity and magnitude; and thereupon should not avoid *circumscription*.'—*Works*, vol. ix. p. 254, ed. 1808. Hobbes in his *Leviathan* gives the following definition of the word: 'The *circumscription* of a thing is nothing else but the determination, or defining of its place.'—P. 373, ed. 1651. Ayliffe, in his great work on ecclesiastical law, says: 'The reason why an instrument is not valid without inserting the particular place's name where it was made, is, because by *circumscription* of time and place the matter is render'd more certain and less suspected.'—*Parerg. Jur. Can. Ang.* p. 306, ed. 1734.

Circumstaunce, *circumlocution.*—II. 409, and note.

Coarcted, Coarted, *compressed, constrained.*—I. 10, 138. The verb coarcto or coarto in Latin in the sense of to confine, compress, is quite classical; thus Ovid has:—

> Sed quid et Orion, et cetera sidera mundo
> Cedere festinant, noxque *coarctat* iter?'
> *Fast.* lib. v. 545.

And Cicero in his *Letters to Atticus* says: 'Cnæus noster quid consilii ceperit, capiatve, nescio, adhuc in oppidis *coarctatus* et stupens.'—Lib. vii. ep. 10. Elyot in his *Dictionary* renders coarcto, 'to strayne or presse togyther.' From Latin the word passed into French, and Palsgrave gives 'I *coarcte*, I constrayne. *Je coarcte*, prim. conj. or *je constraings*. He that wyll nat do his dutye with good wyll must be corrected: *qui ne veult faire son debuoyr de bon gré, fault quon le coarcte*, or *quon le constraigne*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 488; and also 'Coartyng,—*efforcement*.'—*Ibid.* p. 206. And Cotgrave translates *coarcter*, 'to straine, presse, or thrust hard together; to restraine, or bring within a narrow compasse.' The word is used by Chaucer in his *Testament of Love*: 'Of the which thyngs, Lady, thilke persons broughten in answere toforne their most soueraigne iudge, not *coarted* by paining dures, openly knowledgeden, and asked thereof grace.'—*Works*, fo. 277, b. ed. 1602. Sir Richard Baker, whose *Chronicle* was written toward the end of the 16th century, says: 'In the first year of his reign (*i.e.*, Henry IV.), an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever should after that day alledge for his excuse any constraint or *coarcting* of his Prince for doing of any unlawful act.'—P. 164, ed. 1730. Fuller uses a longer form of the word, for in his account of Copt Hall in Essex, he tells us that: 'In the year of our Lord 1639, in November, here happened an hirecano or wild wind, which entering in at the great east window blew that down, and carried some part thereof with the picture of the Lord

Coventry all the length of the gallery out of the west window, which it threw down to the ground. It seems the wind finding this room in form of a trunk, and *coarctated* therein, forced the stones of the first window, like pellets, clean thorough it.'—*Worthies of Eng.* p. 319, ed. 1662. It may be observed that both Mr. Todd and Dr. Latham, in their respective editions of Johnson's Dictionary, besides misquoting this last passage, refer it to 'Bacon;' a piece of inaccuracy which is surely inexcusable in two successive editions of a standard work of reference.

Coknayes, *pampered pets, milksops, minions.*—I. 201. About this word, the original of the modern 'cockney,' a great deal, as Richardson remarks, has been written to little purpose. Much, however, of the confusion and misconception in which the subject has been involved would no doubt have been avoided, if those who endeavoured to explain the word had contented themselves with investigating its history, instead of indulging in crude speculation and unphilosophical theories. Dr. Latham, for instance, one of the latest expositors, says, with a degree of assurance amounting almost to rashness: 'All that the editor feels sure of is that it is in the word *cocaigne*, as applied to a fictitious district, that the origin of the word lies; a *cockney* being a native of the land so called.'—*Dict. sub voc.* How far such assurance is justified by the history of this word the reader will be able to judge for himself when he has perused the evidence, but it seems only fair to state here that the discovery of the derivation which finds favour with Dr. Latham was anticipated by Dr. Hickes at the commencement of the last century. Hickes printed in his great work on the Anglo-Saxon language a MS. which had been sent him by his friend Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph. This MS. commences as follows:

'Fur n see bi west Spaynge
Is a lond ihote *cokaygne*'

The word in italics Dr. Hickes says is 'now (*i.e.* in 1705) called *coquin*. A word which formerly (*olim*) signified in French, voluptuous, slothful, lazy, &c. Hence our country folk (*pagani nostri*) used to call (*vocabant*) city people (*urbanos*) whose habits are sedentary and inactive in comparison with those who lead a laborious country life *cokaignes* or as it is now (*i.e.* in 1705) written *cockneys*.'—*Thesaur.* tom. i. p. 231. Upon this it may be observed; 1st, that *cokaygne* is obviously not, and never could have been, a translation of *coquin*, but is simply the Anglicised form of the French substantive *cocagne*, which, although Dr. Hickes was evidently not aware of the fact, was in use as early as the 13th century, and was applied exactly in the same way as it is in his MS., to denote a land of plenty. M. Barbazan, at the commencement of the present century, published in his collection of French *Fabliaux* one bearing the title of *Li Fabliaus de Coquaigne*, and which in many respects resembles the poem printed by Hickes, as may be seen from the following passage:

'Li païs a à non *Coquaigne*,
Qui plus i dort, plus i gaaigne,
Cil qui dort jusqu'à miedi
Gaaigne cinc sols et demi.
* * * *
C'est fine véritez provée
Qu'en la terre benéurée
Cort une riviere de vin.'
Tom. iv. pp. 176, 177, ed. 1808.

Now unquestionably we have here the origin of 'the lond ihote cokaygne,' but we are still a long way from the origin of *cockney*, notwithstanding that M. Littré, *sub voc.* Cocagne says, 'Le mot est donc Français et non emprunté; il avait même pénétré dans l'Anglo-Saxon, comme le montrent des vers cités par Johnson au mot *cokney*.' The verses here alluded to are those which form the commencement of Hickes's poem, and which were quoted by Dr. Johnson in his *Dictionary*, but without any comment of his own. 2nd, there is not a particle of evidence to show that, at any period of English history, any class of persons whatever were called *cokaignes*, and therefore this step in the pedigree of the word (assuming *cokaygne* as the root) rests entirely on Hickes's unsup-

ported assertion. In what sense then is the word used by Elyot in *The Governour?* The best way of testing this is to see how the word is used by him elsewhere. Now on turning to his *Dictionary* we find the Latin phrase Delicias facere translated 'To be wanton, to be squaymyshe, to play the *cockeney*.' He also gives 'Delitium et delitiæ, A wanton worde, which uneth may be expressed in Englysshe, used betwene a man and a woman in wanton pastyme. Meum delitium, meæ delitiæ, My swete harte, my darlynge, my ioye, and suche other lyke, expressed best by theym that be Venus secretaries.' In Cooper's edition of the author's *Dictionary* we find, 'Deliciæ pueri, apud Plautum sic dictum est, ut Delicias hominum à Juvenale pro Delicato homine. A minion boy, a *cockney*, a wanton.' The word had indeed been mentioned in dictionaries still older than Elyot's; thus in the Catholicon Anglicum, which yet exists in MS. and has never been printed, 'A coknay' is represented by the mediæval Latin equivalents ambro, mammotrophus, delicius; whilst in the *Medulla Grammatices*, which is the earliest Latin-English Dictionary, also in MS., we find 'Mammotrophus, qui diu sugit,' and the semi-leonine distich,

'Mammotrophus mammam longo qui tempore servat,
Kokenay dicatur, noster sic sermo notatur.'

Now this word mammotrophus or mammothreptus, of which our 'milksop' is the exact equivalent, had been used by St. Augustine in his commentary on Psalm xxx. and explained by him to mean, 'Quales dicuntur pueri qui diu sugunt, quod non decet.'—*Opera*, tom. iv. p. 246, Migne ed. Erasmus has the same word in his *Colloquies*, and interprets it Aviæ alumnus (*Opera*, tom. i. col. 824, ed. 1703). The *Promptorium* compiled in 1440 and first printed in 1499, has rather a different definition of the word from the authorities above mentioned, but the meaning is clearly the same. '*Coknay* (*cokeney*) carifotus, cucunellus, fotus, delicius (lauticius, carenutus, coconellus, lucimellus),' and we are expressly told that these names were fictitious and employed in an ironical sense: 'Sunt nomina derisoriè ficta et inventa.' Palsgrave, the contemporary of Elyot, has, 'Wanton cockeney—*mignot s*, m. *mignotte s*, f.;' and 'I bring up like a cocknaye. *Je mignotte*, prim. conj.' *L'Esclair.* pp. 286, 470. He has also given us the same explanation in an expanded form in his English version of the *Acolastus*, a comedy written in Latin by a Dutchman calling himself Fullonius. For he renders the passage, 'Quandoquidem malit errare quolibet ex suâ libidine, paterno quàm sinu foverier amplius.' 'For why, he had rather wander at his owne plesure, whither so euer it lyketh hym, than to be brought up any longer in his fathers bosom, (than to be dandlyd any longer uppon his father's knee, or to be any longer taken for his fathers *cockney* or minyon or darlyng),' —Signat. D. ed. 1540. Hence it is clear that Palsgrave considered cockney the equivalent of minion. Now Minsheu, whose *Dictionary* was published long afterwards, in describing the word 'minion' says, '*Mignon* proprièapud Gallos de illis dicitur (qui?) præ cæteris habentur in deliciis. Hinc est quòd *Mignons du Roy*, Jovis pullos, primæ authoritatis aulicos et primi fastûs vertat Budæus.' The Editor has been unable to verify Minsheu's authority, as he has not given a reference to any particular work of Budé. But there is evidence of the same expression having been similarly applied at a very much earlier date, for according to Festus, 'Puer, qui obscœnè ab aliquo amabatur, ejus, à quo amatus esset, pullus vocabatur, unde Q. Fabius, cui Eburno cognomen erat propter candorem, quòd ejus natis fulmine icta esset *pullus Jovis* appellatus est.' The notion of effeminacy and wantonness was therefore clearly associated with the word, which from the passage last cited would seem not unnaturally connected with the French *Coq*. The meaning which Cotgrave assigns to *coqueliner*: 'to dandle, cocker, fedle, pamper, make a wanton of a

child,' seems almost identical with Elyot's translation of the phrase 'delicias facere.' The verb to cocker also evidently sprang from the same root, for in the Promptorium we find 'Cokerynge or grete cherschynge (ouer greate cherysshinge). *Focio, nutricio, carefocus* (*carifotus*)' and 'Cockeryn, *Carifoveo*,' which are precisely the same Latin words as were used to express 'cockney.' On the other hand Palsgrave renders the English verbs 'to cocker,' and 'to bring up like a cockney' by identically the same French verb, viz., *mignotter*. Littré tells us that the phrase *Ces coquins d'enfants*, in use at the present day, 'indique une impatience mêlée d'amour.' One of the earliest English writers (not reckoning the compilers of dictionaries already mentioned) by whom the word *cockney* is used, is Chaucer, who, in *The Reeves Tale*, says :

> 'And when this jape is told another day,
> I sal be held a daf, a *cokenay*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 131,

where the meaning is clearly 'a milksop, an effeminate fellow.' In fact, its usage by Elyot and Chaucer seems almost identical. Harrison, whose *Description of England* was not published till several years after *The Governour*, has some lines purporting to have been uttered by Hugh Bigot, *temp.* Hen. III., in which the word occurs, as follows :—

> 'If I were in my Castell of Bungeie,
> Upon the water of Waueneie,
> I would not set a button by the King of *Cockneie*.'

But Harrison himself had doubts as to their authenticity, for he adds : 'I repute them but as toies fondlie uttered, if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue beene spoken of like holds.'—P. 195, ed. 1587. These verses were reproduced, not quite accurately, by Camden, in his *second* edition of the *Britannia*, published in 1607 (they are not in the *first* edition) and there can be little doubt that he copied them from Harrison's work, although the source from whence they were obtained is not stated. Since Camden's time they have been constantly adduced as evidence that the application of the term *Cockney* exclusively to Londoners can be referred to the time when the boast in question is supposed to have been uttered. In reality they prove nothing of the kind. Fuller was the first to give currency in his *Worthies* to this notion, but in his anxiety to establish the antiquity of the word, or, as he styles it, 'proverb,' he is guilty of a gross anachronism. He maintains that the word 'is more than four hundred years old,' as no doubt it was then, (Fuller wrote about 1660) but not in the sense in which he wished it to be understood. For in order to make the facts square with his theory, he declares that under the title of 'King of Cockeney,' allusion was intended to King Henry the *Second*, regardless of the fact that Harrison had assigned a much later date to the legend, viz., the fiftieth year of the reign of King Henry the *Third*. It may be noticed here that not only Fuller, but a host of subsequent writers, have quoted the above lines on the authority of Camden, in apparent ignorance of the fact that Harrison was not only the first to give them publicity, but to cast doubts on their authenticity. It is indeed surprising to find it seriously stated, as it is by Mr. Todd, in his edition of Johnson's Dictionary, that 'the citation of Camden (*sic*) in his *Britannia* shews, whencesoever the triplet comes, that *London* was known by this name ; and hence *a Cockney* might be assumed for a *Londoner*.' A very little reflection will show that this assumption is based upon an entire misconception of the idea pervading the verses, and of the character of the King to whom allusion is made. Fuller, be it observed, was not so unphilological as to affirm that 'Cockeney' in the triplet is synonymous with London ; this startling proposition has been reserved for later writers, including, as we see, an editor of Johnson's Dictionary. All that Fuller said was : 'Meaning thereby King Henry the *Second*, then peaceably

possessed of London, whilest some other places did resist him.' Mr. Todd, however, evidently considered that 'King of Cockeney' was equivalent to 'King of London,' a solecism of which even Fuller, writing in an uncritical age, was incapable. It would seem that the phrase 'King of Cockneie' at any rate at the period when Harrison wrote (about the middle of the sixteenth century), might be susceptible of quite another interpretation. For in his time 'King of Cockneys' was a recognised title, annually conferred with all due solemnity on a member of the Inns of Court. Dugdale, in his description of the grand Christmas Revels held at Lincoln's Inn, tells us that in 9 Hen. VIII., it was 'agreed and ordained that the *King of Cockneys* on Childermass day (*i.e.* Holy Innocents' Day, December 28) should sit and have due service; and that he and all his officers should use honest manner and good order, without any waste or destruction making in wine, brawn, chely, or other vitails; as also that he and his Marshal, Butler, and Constable-Marshal, should have their lawful and honest commandments by delivery of the officers of Christmas; and that the said *King of Cockneys*, ne none of his officers, medyl neither in the Buttery nor in the Stuard of Christmass his office, upon pain of 40*s.* for every such medling.'—*Orig. Jurid.* p. 247, ed. 1671. The appointment of a King of Cockneys (*aviæ alumni*) seems peculiarly appropriate in connection with a Feast-day specially commemorative of young children. Evidently the peculiar function of the King of Cockneys was to administer the delicacies and dainties of the feast, and to complete the representation of royalty, the mimic King was attended by subordinates bearing titles suggestive of veritable high officers of State. Hence the *double entendre* of the verses which, as Harrison himself tells us, were spoken 'in contempt,' and were evidently designed to exhibit the king in a ridiculous light, which no doubt they could not do more effectually than by suggesting a comparison between the sovereign of the realm and the mock king, whose jurisdiction was limited to the Christmas revels. The language in which the verses are recorded by Harrison would be alone almost sufficient to dispose of the question whether they could have been actually spoken in that form by anybody *temp.* Henry III., but assuming that the haughty Baron to whom they are attributed really uttered anything breathing the same spirit, it is obvious that the sting would lie not so much in the boasted strength of his own castle, as in the implied weakness and incapacity of the sovereign. For the inevitable implication is that the king would not dare to attack the speaker in his own stronghold. This is quite in harmony with modern estimates of Henry the Third's character, whose lot, as Lingard says, 'cast him into one of the most turbulent periods of our history, without the talents to command respect or the authority to enforce submission.' Thus a comparison between the real King, whose effeminacy was notorious, and the counterfeit king who held his court in the midst of riot and revelry, and surrounded by the minions of Folly, offers at once an intelligible explanation of the legend and of the word, with the advantage of avoiding an obvious anachronism. We have seen that the notion of effeminacy and wantonness was attached to the word 'cockney' from its earliest mention down to the time when Elyot and Palsgrave employed it in the first half of the sixteenth century, and we shall now see that it continued to bear this meaning during the latter half of the same century. To begin with dictionaries, Huloet's *Abcedarium*, first published in 1552, gives: 'Cockeney. Acersa, Vineolus (?) Molliculus, Ineptus et Blax, Mollis, Delicatus, lascivus, qui nescit res discernere, et qui se inaniter jactat. Homme delicat, inepte, sot, badault, badaulde.' Baret's *Alvearie*, first published in 1573, gives: 'A cockney, a childe tenderly brought up, a dearling. Pedagium, *Plut.*: A cockney, after Saint

Augustin, a childe that sucketh long, but Erasmus taketh it for a childe wantonly brought up. Mammothreptus, μαμμόθρεπτος nutricius vel à nutrice educatus. A cockney, a wanton. Deliciæ pueri.' Twyne, who translated the twelfth book of the *Æneid* in 1573, renders the lines :

'Da sternere corpus,
Loricamque manu validâ lacerare revulsam
Semiviri Phrygis, et fœdare in pulvere crines.'

'His carkas grant that I may ouerthrow in battell bold,
And with a valiant hand from off the necke the gorget teare
Of that same *Cockny* Phrygian knight, and drench in dust his heare.'

Ed. 1583.

Tusser, whose *Five Hundred Points of good Husbandry* was so popular that it reached twelve editions, uses the word unmistakeably in its original signification in his 'Good motherlie' advice :

'Som *Cocknies* with cocking are made verie fooles,
Fit neither for prentise, for plough, nor for schooles.'

P. 139, ed. 1593.

Whilst Meres, in his *Second part of Wits Commonwealthe*, says : 'The young Cuckow, being a bastard, deuoureth the legitimate birdes, and the dam too : so many brought up with great cockering, as *Cockneys* bee, ouerthrow their educators.' Fo. 59 b, ed. 1598. This writer also applies the term to women in a passage which purports to be a quotation from Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, but in which, for some reason best known to himself, Meres has substituted the words italicised for the single word 'good,' which alone appears in the original. 'Many *Cockney and wanton* women are often sicke, but in faith they cannot tell where ; so the name of poetrie is odious to some, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the summe that contains him, nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise.'—*Ibid.* fo. 276 b. Coming now to Shakespeare, we find that he has employed the word twice only, and though Dr. Johnson, followed by subsequent commentators, has distinguished the usage of the word in *King Lear* and in *Twelfth Night*, and considers the former an apt illustration of what must be called the *modern* application of the term, it would seem that there is no real ground for such distinction, and that in both passages the word was intended by Shakspeare to imply precisely the same notion which was attached to it by Elyot, and other sixteenth century writers. In *Twelfth Night* Sebastian says to the Clown : 'I prithee, vent thy folly somewhere else : thou know'st not me.' Whereupon Clown retorts, 'Vent my folly ! he has heard that word of some great man and now applies it to a fool. Vent my folly ! I am afraid this great lubber, the world will prove a *cockney* —I prithee now, ungird thy strangeness and tell me what I shall vent to my lady : shall I vent to her that thou art coming?' A writer in *Notes and Queries* (vol. iv. p. 476) says, 'This is somewhat obscure, but I conceive that the Clown means to express his opinion that the world is already replete with folly. The Clown probably intends to say, that to vent his folly to the world will be like sending coals to Newcastle, or provisions to *Cocagne* ; for that, as regards folly, this great lubber, the world, will prove to be a *Cocagne* or *Cokeney*, *i.e.* a land of plenty. He may, however, mean to hint in a roundabout way that *Cockneys* or natives of London are full of folly ; or that the world is as well supplied with folly as a *Cockney* is with food.' It seems almost superfluous to remark that all these theories are not only far fetched but quite beside the mark, and though a good many 'Londoners' are, no doubt, 'full of folly,' yet it seems certain that Shakespeare employed the word *cockney* without any idea of confining it to a definite class of persons. If the sentence in which this word occurs be fairly considered together with the context, and without unduly straining the sense of the whole passage so as to adapt it to the modern acceptation of the particular expression, a clue to its true explanation will un-

doubtedly be found in the repetition by Clown of the word 'vent,' which evidently struck him as something new-fangled and unaccustomed, its 'strangeness' appeared to him a mark of affectation, of *mignardise*, such that the 'great man,' the great (unknown) lubber, 'the world,' (the *on dit*) from whom Sebastian had borrowed it, must necessarily turn out to be some effeminate, dainty fellow, in short, a 'cockney.' The other passage occurs in *King Lear*, who soliloquises thus: 'O me, my heart, my rising heart!—but down!' Whereupon Fool says: 'Cry to it, nuncle, as the *cockney* did to the eels, when she put 'em i' the paste alive; she knapped 'em o' the coxcombs with a stick, and cried, "Down, wantons, down!" 'Twas her brother that, in pure kindness to his horse, buttered his hay.' Mr. Pegge (*Anec. of Eng. Language*) considered that Shakespeare's usage of the word here is 'in exact conformity with the received opinion,' *i.e.* that the dramatist intended to ridicule the ignorance of *Londoners* with regard to country matters. 'The above-cited instance,' says Mr. Pegge, 'points strongly at the—Rerum rusticarum ignarus.' But this method of treating the subject is not only very unfair, but exceedingly unphilosophical. There can be no need to go out of the way to put a forced interpretation upon this passage, if we recall a phrase which Elyot himself has employed as the equivalent of 'to play the cockney,' viz. 'to be squeamish.' The idea present to the mind of the dramatist was clearly that of squeamishness, not ignorance, the female cockney (*coquine*) was too soft-hearted to be able to bring herself to kill the eels before she put them in the paste, and her brother, a male cockney (*coquin*), judging of his horse's feelings by his own, 'in pure kindness,' not in ignorance, pampered him accordingly. In this way, without doing violence to the sense, the original meaning of the word is preserved in an uninterrupted course from Chaucer to Shakespeare. The question, however, still remains to be answered, how and when did the term come to be applied in its present limited sense exclusively to Londoners? We have seen that not one of the writers already quoted whose works were published during the 16th century, gives the slightest indication by his usage of the word, that he was aware of any special or local significance being attached to it. With the commencement of the 17th century however a new era in the history of the word 'cockney' was ushered in. And John Minsheu, author of the *Ductor in linguas*, published in 1617, must be held responsible for having fixed for all time to come an indelible stigma on generations yet unborn of unoffending citizens. The modern cockney, however, may derive some consolation for the injury he has sustained at the hands of this writer, from the reflection that the latter at the same time exposed his own credulity and impaired his reputation as a philologist. For after stating in most unequivocal language that the word 'cockney' is 'applied only to one borne within the sound of Bow-bell, that is, within the City of London,' he has solemnly placed on record, as a fact equally important and authentic, what he considered to have been the origin of the term. 'Which came first out of this tale: that a Cittizen's sonne riding with his father out of London into the country, and being a nouice and meerely ignorant how corne or cattell increased, asked, when he heard a horse *neigh*, what the horse did, his father answered, The horse doth *neigh*; riding further, he heard a *cocke* crow, and said, Doth the *cocke neigh* too? and therfore *Cockney* or *Cocknie*, by inversion thus, incock q. incoctus i.e. raw or unripe in Country-mens affaires.' No wonder that Dr. Skinner, referring to this etymology half a century later, spoke of it as 're verâ fabula.' It is indeed almost on a par with that of Meric Casaubon, who traced the derivation of cockney to the Greek word οἰκογένης, 'born and bred at home.' Yet Fuller considered Minsheu's fable worthy of serious notice, and spoke of it as 'the original,' though he had the

sense to reject the alternative derivation 'by transposition' from incoctus, which he wisely considers 'as forc'd and far fetch'd.' Minsheu however must have had some reason for applying the epithet particularly to Londoners, and it seems not improbable that the real origin of the contemptuous application of the term may be found in the habits of the gilded youth 'about town,' whose mode of life excited the contempt and exercised the pens of so many writers at the commencement of the 17th and the end of the preceding century. Nash, for instance, whose *Pierce Penilesse* was written in the last decade of the 16th century, has left us the following picture, drawn, no doubt, from the life, of the boys of the period: 'A yoong heyre or *Cockney* that is his *mother's darling*, if hee haue playde the waste-good at the Innes of the Court or about London, and that neither his students pension nor his unthrift's credit will serue to maintaine his collidge of whores any longer, falles in a quarrelling humor with his fortune, because she made him not King of the Indies, and sweares and stares after tenne in the hundreth that nere a such pesant as his father or brother shall keepe him under, hee will to the sea and teare the gold out of the Spaniards throats but he will haue it, and is lamentable sicke of the scuruies, his *dainty fare* is turned to a hungry feast of dogs and cats, or haberdine and poor John at the most, and, which is lamentablest of all, that *without mustard*.'—Signat. B. 4. ed. 1593. A few years later Dekker, in his 'Knights Conjuring,' puts the following speech into the mouth of a juvenile rake: 'I'll stand to't, it's better to be the son of a cobler, then of a common councell man. If a coblers sonne and heyre run out at heeles, the whoreson patch may mende himselfe; but wee, whose friends leaue us well are like howre glasses turn'd up, though wee bee neuer so full, wee neuer leaue running, till wee haue emptied our selues, to make up the mouths of slaues, that for gayne are content to lye under us, like spaniels fawning, and receive what falls from our superfluity. Who breedes this disease in our bones? Whores? No, alack, let's doe them right; 'tis not their fault, but our mothers, our cockering mothers, *who for their labour make us to be called cockneys*, or to hit it home, indeed, those golden asses, our fathers.'—Signat. E. ed. 1607. Still later in the same century, Burton speaking of 'our Citty Captaines and Carpet Knights,' says that 'they many times wilfully pervert the good temperature of their bodies, stifle their wits, strangle nature and degenerate into beasts. Some againe are in the other extreame, and drawe this mischiefe on their heads by too ceremonious and strict diet, being ouerprecise, *Cockney-like*, and curious in their obseruation of meats, times, as that *Medicina statica* prescribes just so many ounces at dinner, which Lesbius enioynes, so much at supper, not a little more nor a little lesse, of such meat, and at such houres, a diet drinke in the morning, Cock-broth, China-broth at dinner, Plumbe-broth, a chicken, a Rabbet, ribbe of a Racke of mutton, winge of a Capon, the merry thought of a hen, &c.; to sounder bodies this is to nice and most absurde.'—*Anat. of Mel.* p. 69, ed. 1628. In these and similar passages from the writings of contemporaries may probably be found the true reason for the modern application of the term cockney. For it was to these foppish and effeminate boys, the spoilt darlings of their mothers, the forefathers of the 'bucks' and 'bloods' of a still later period, to whom, no doubt, the contemptuous expression was beginning to be collectively applied. These town-bred youngsters, the *petits crevés* of that age, regarded all country folk with supercilious disdain, and were in turn regarded by the latter with contempt, on account of their real or affected ignorance of all matters pertaining to ordinary country life. Hence by the time that Minsheu wrote, the word *cockney* had, no doubt, passed into common currency as a term of reproach, to distinguish the

dainty London gentleman from his simpler country cousin. Three passages, frequently referred to, remain to be noticed, in which the word cockney has been variously interpreted, and which at first sight appear to necessitate a meaning inconsistent with that which has been previously assigned to it. In the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, after enumerating various articles of food, he goes on to say: 'ich haue no salt bacon; nouht a *cokeney*, by cryst colhoppes to make.'—Part III. p. 155. Early Eng. Text Soc. ed. 1873. According to Mr. Todd, we must read this as if it were 'a little cock,' though he does not condescend to inform us by what process, short of prestidigitation, 'collops' could be obtained from such unpromising material. If, however, we refer the 'colhoppes' in the second line to their natural antecedent, the bacon in the first, we shall not be doing violence to our common sense, and at the same time shall have the satisfaction of preseruing the historical continuity of the word *cockney*, if we suppose the latter to represent a familiar term of endearment for the female, who might naturally be expected to 'make' i.e. cut and prepare the collops. The next passage in which the meaning is dubious occurs in the last stanza of the *Turnament of Tottenham*, published by Bishop Percy, which commences with the following lines:

'At that feast were they served in rich aray,
Every fyve and fyve had a *cockeney*.'
Rel. Anc. Poet. vol. ii. p. 24, ed. 1775.

Mr. Thomas Wright, commenting upon this in the glossary to his edition of Piers Plowman, suggests that it is 'intended to satirize the poorness of the fare,' and therefore would understand by *cockney* 'some kind of meagre food, probably a young or *small cock*, which had little flesh on its bones.'—Vol. ii. p. 586, ed. 1842. Mr. Todd had previously proposed a similar explanation, with an alternative suggestion of 'a *peacock*, a favourite dish among our ancestors.' But Bishop Percy's proposal that we should understand that 'every five and five had a cook or scullion to attend them' is far preferable, though a minion or page would seem to be even more in harmony with the spirit of the poem, as well as with the usual meaning of the term; and this view seems confirmed by the employment of the word 'served' in the preceding line. It may be observed, however, that the stanza in question is of doubtful authenticity, and does not appear in the MS. preserved in the Brit. Mus., and therefore rests solely on the authority of Bedwell, who first published the poem in 1631, and who certainly took some liberties with the text, for Bishop Percy tells us that 'he reduced the orthography, if not the phraseology, to the standard of his own time.' The last passage to be mentioned offers perhaps the greatest difficulty of all. Heywood has left us the following proverb:

'He that comth euery day shall haue a *cocknaie*.
He that comth now and then, shall haue a fat hen.
But I gat not so muche in comyng seeld when,
As a good hens fether or a poore egshell.'
Signat. E. ii. b. ed. 1566.

The most plausible explanation of this proverb will probably be found in the implied recommendation to intending guests, to partake of the speaker's abundant hospitality, so that the more often they come, the more welcome they will be, and the constant guest will have a minion, a page, or attendant assigned to wait upon him. This interpretation has at any rate the merit of preserving the original meaning of the word, without doing violence to the sense of the proverb. For the mass of independent evidence afforded by the passages cited from a long string of writers, not only contemporary with Heywood, but of an earlier as well as later date, as to the uniform employment of the word 'cockney' in reference to *persons* alone, ought surely to outweigh the suggestion, that in this single instance the writer has attached to the word a quite different and probably unique signification.

Coluer, *a dove or pigeon.*—II. 164. Turberville has also some lines suggested by those in Ovid's *Tristia*, which it is interesting to compare with Elyot's rendering of the same passage. The poem is entitled: 'To one that, upon surmise of adversitie, forewent hir Friend,' and begins thus:

'As too the whyte and lately lymed house
The doves doe flock in hope of better fare,
And leave their home of *culvers* cleane and bare.'

Songs and Sonets, p. 204, ed. 1567.

Sir John Maundevile has a passage in his description of Syria, which shows that the famous pigeon-posts, established during the siege of Paris in 1869–1870, had been anticipated by besieged citizens at least four centuries earlier. 'In that contree and other contrees bezonde, thei han a custom, whan thei schulle usen werre, and whan men holden sege abouten cytee or castelle, and thei with innen dur not senden out messagers with lettres from Lord to Lord, for to aske sokour, thei maken here letters and bynden hem to the nekke of a *Colver* and leten the *Colver* flee; and the *Colveren* ben so taughte, that thei fleen with tho lettres to the verry place that men wolde sende hem to. For the *Colveres* ben noryssche in tho Places where thei ben sent to; and thei senden hem thus, for to beren here lettres. And the *Colveres* retournen azen, where as thei ben norisscht, and so thei don comounly.'—*Voiage etc.* p. 143, ed. 1727.

Compacte, *composed of.*—I. 1, 4, 117, 144, 242, 262; II. 11, 89, 206, 390, 431. The Latin adjective 'compactus' from which this word is formed, is quite classical. Thus Virgil in his *Bucolics* has:

'Est mihi disparibus septem *compacta* cicutis,
Fistula, Damætas dono mihi quam dedit olim.'

Ecl. ii. 36, 37.

This use of the word, however, is not very common with English writers, but Shakespeare has used it on several occasions. Thus in the *Comedy of Errors* Luciana says:

'Alas, poor women! make us but believe,
Being *compact* of credit, that you love us.'

Again, in *As you like it* the Duke says:

'If he, *compact* of jars, grow musical,
We shall have shortly discord in the spheres.'

and in *Venus and Adonis:*

'Love is a spirit all *compact* of fire,
Not gross to sink, but light, and will aspire.'

Comprobate, *to agree with, to confirm.*—II. 306, and note.

Compromit, *to submit.*—II. 218. This word does not appear to have been in use previous to the sixteenth century, and most likely was introduced through the French word *compromettre*, which Cotgrave translates: 'to *compromit*, or put unto compromise.' In a letter from the Bishop of Norwich to Wolsey, in 1528, the former says: 'And whereas, nowe, I understonde that the said president and convente, before the said Maister Stewarde and other your officers, have proceded to their election, and fully *compromytted* in your Grace to name and appoynt one of the brethern and convente there, suche one as your grace shall thinke moste mete and profightable for the place.'—Wright's *Monast. Lett.*, p. 5, ed. 1843. In the 'Instructions' given by Wolsey in 1524, to Magnus and Radclyff, we find the word used in the following clause: 'They (*i.e.* the commissioners) shal labour the best they can, and by al the dexterite to theym possible, bifore all other waies, to conduce a fynall concorde and agrement, bothe bitwene the Quene of Scottes and the Erle of Angwishe, and also bitwene hym and the Erle of Arayn; or at the lest to bring it unto that, that al the partyes may *compromyt* thair differences in to the Kinges handes, if they can not be incontinently componed.'—*State Pap.* vol. iv. p. 198. And in the report made by Magnus to Wolsey in the following year, he says: 'Yf the Quenes Grace wolde be content to have conscideration to the saide Erle, and other the Lordes, and to see a substanciall Counsaill ordoured for the weall of the King, and the due admynistration of justice, all Scotlande

wolde fall unto her foote, and at this tyme doe *compromitte* thaym, specially the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, to the ordour and reaport of the Kingges Highnes, our Soveraine Lorde and Maister.'—*Ibid.* p. 306.

Concinnitie, *neatness, aptness, fitness, propriety.*—I. 231. From the Latin 'concinnitas,' which is generally used by Cicero in relation to speech, as in the following instances: 'Collocata autem verba habent ornatum, si aliquid concinnitatis efficiunt, quod verbis mutatis non maneat, manente sententiâ.'—*Orat.* cap. 24. Again: 'Illam autem concinnitatem, quæ verborum collocationem illuminat his luminibus, quæ Græci, quasi aliquos gestus orationis, σχήματα appellant, (quod idem verbum ab his etiam in sententiarum ornamenta transfertur) adhibet quidem hic subtilis, (quem, nisi quod solum, ceteroquin recte quidam vocant Atticum), sed paulo parcius.'—*Ibid.* cap. 25. And it is with reference to this last passage that Peacham, at the commencement of his *Garden of Eloquence*, says: 'Figures of the Grecians are called Tropes and Schemates, and of the Latines, Fygures, Exornations, Lightes, Colours, and Ornaments of speeche. Cicero, who supposed them to be named of the Grecians, Schemates, as a iesture and countenaunce of speech, called them *Concinnitie*, that is, propernesse, aptnesse, featnesse.'—Signat. B. i. ed. 1577.

Condisciple, *a schoolfellow, a companion in learning.*—II. 104. The Latin word 'condiscipulus' is frequently used by Cicero and other classical authors, as, for instance, in the following passages: 'Dicæarchum vero, cum Aristoxeno equali et condiscipulo suo, doctos sane homines, omittamus.'—Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. i. cap. 18. Again: 'Nec vero ejus condiscipulus Xenocrates in hoc genere prudentior.'—*De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 13. It is also met with in the patristic writings. Thus the fifth epistle of Clement is addressed 'Dilectissimis fratribus et condiscipulis Hierosolymis cum charissimo fratre Jacobo coepiscopo habitantibus, Clemens episcopus,' which is thus translated by Dr. Thomas Martin: 'To his right derely beloued brethren and *condisciples* dwelling together, with his moste honourable brother, James Bishop of Hierusalem, &c., Clement the Bishop sendeth greting.'—*Traictise on the Marriage of Priestes*, signat. H. iii. ed. 1554. The French, according to Cotgrave, had the word *Condisciple* in the sixteenth century, which he translates 'A schoole-fellow, or fellow-disciple,' in spite of which M. Littré tells us that '*Condisciple*, qui n'est ni dans Furetière ni dans Richelet, est donné par l'Académie pour la première fois dans l'édition de 1762.'

Confins, *borderers, occupants of a contiguous district.*—I. 228. As applied to persons this word appears to be very rare in English. We find it used, however, a few years later, by Richard Eden, in his translation from the Latin of Peter Martyr's travels: 'There is seldoome entercourse or byinge and sellynge betwene these naked people, bycause they stand in neede of fewe thynges, and haue not the use of money. But yf at any tyme they exercise any bartering, they doo it but nere hande, exchangynge golde for housholde stuffe with theyr *confines*, whiche sumewhat esteeme the same for ornamente when it is wrought.'—*The Decades of the Newe Worlde*, fo. 89, ed. 1555. The Latin word 'confinis,' is quite classical, and is frequently used as an adjective, but not often as a substantive, although it would appear to be so in the following passages: 'Confines erant hi Senonibus.'—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. cap. 3. 'Tamen vitia sua capillis et pallio, et (quod maximum est velamentum) divitiis prætegebat; quas ut augeret, ad amicitias judicum miro ambitu penetrabat, eosque sibi repente auctoritate falsi nominis obligabat; non modo ut eorum sententias venderet, verum etiam ut *confines* suos, quos sedibus agrisque pellebat, à suo repetendo hâc potentiâ retardaret.'—Lactant. *Div. Inst.* lib. v. cap. 2. The French substantive, *confin*, is never

used in this way as applied to *persons*, and though M. Littré quotes a passage from Charron, a writer of the sixteenth century, to illustrate its use in the metaphorical sense of neighbours, the Editor finds, on referring to the original, that the word really used by Charron was *cousins*, a further proof that we ought not to rely too implicitly upon even the best dictionaries, for a very similar instance of inaccuracy was pointed out in Vol. II. p. 399, note a. Cotgrave gives '*Confin*, m. *ine*, f. neer, neighbour, confining or adjoyning unto, bounding or bordering upon.' The word 'confiner' seems to have been generally employed in the sense in which Elyot uses this word. Thus Bacon, in his *Natural History*, says: 'The participles or *confiners* between plants and living creatures, are such chiefly as are fixed, and have no local motion of remove, though they have a motion in their parts, such as are oisters, cockles, and such like.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 284, ed. 1826. And Shakespeare, in *Cymbeline*:

'*Luc.* But what from Rome?
Cap. The senate hath stirred up the *confiners*
And gentlemen of Italy.'
Works, vol. vii. p. 705, Dyce's ed.

Hobbes thus translated Thucyd. i. 7: 'As for cities such as are of late foundation, and since the increase of navigation, inasmuch as they haue had since more plenty of riches, haue beene walled about and built upon the shore, and haue taken up Isthmi, (that is to say, neckes of land, between sea and sea), both for merchandise, and for the better strength against *confiners* (*πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους*).'—P. 5, ed. 1634. A verb 'to confine'=to march with, is used by Wolsey in his Instructions to Sir Thomas Boleyn and Richard Sampson in 1523: 'It is thought right necessary that the Archiduke Don Ferdinando shulde kepe his residence this somer either in his Duchie of Wiertenberg, or in his Countie of Ferrate, whiche dothe *confyne* in some partes with the Swices.'—*State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 119.

Conglutinate, *joined*, lit. *glued together*.—II. 187. The author, in his *Dictionary*, translates the Latin verb conglutinare 'to ioyne togyther, as it were glewyd.' Cicero constantly uses all forms of the word. Thus: 'Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret.'—*De Amicit.* cap. 9. Again: 'Quid est in Antonio præter libidinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus conglutinatus est.'—*Philipp.* iii. cap. 11. In his *Castel of Health*, Elyot has used the same word in a rather different sense: 'Also, by reason of the affinitie whiche it (*i.e.* whey) hath with mylke, it is conuertible into bloude and fleshe, specyally in those persons whiche do inhabyte the northe partes, in whom naturall heate is *conglutinate*, and therfore is of more puissance and vertue in the office of concoction.'—Fo. 35, ed. 1541. In the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrase* upon Eph. iv. we find the word used as follows: 'But, forasmuche as the whole body is perfectly *conglutinate* in itself, it commeth to passe that the spirite of Christe practiseth his efficacie in euery membre accordyng to their seuerall capacitie and ordre.'—Tom. ii. fo. 136, ed. 1552, where the original has: 'Verum dum omne corpus sibi conglutinatum est, fit ut in singulis membris pro suo cujusque captu atque ordine Christi spiritus vim suam exerceat.' Erasmus, *Paraph. in Nov. Test.* tom. ii. p. 181, ed. 1541.

Congrue, *proper*, *good*, with reference to Grammar.—I. 164. M. Littré thus explains the word *Congru*, *ue*: 'qui est conçu ou qui s'exprime, en termes exacts et précis. Réponse congrue. Phrase congrue.' And he quotes a poem of Olivier Basselin of the 15th century, which affords an illustration of the word almost exactly parallel to its usage by Elyot:

'Certes *hoc vinum est bonus.*
De mauvais latin ne vous chaille;
Si bien *congru* n'estoit ce jus,
Le tout ne vaudroit rien qui vaille.
Escolier, j'appris que bon vin
Aide bien au mauvais latin.

Ceste sentence pratiquant,
De latin je n'en appris guere,
Y pensant estre assez sçavant,
Puisque bon vin aimois à boire.
Lorsque mauvais vin on a beu,
Latin n'est bon, fust-il *congru*.'
Vaux de Vire, p. 37, ed. 1858.

The word is used by Foxe, the Martyrologist, apparently in the sense of 'rightful': 'Furthermore I professe and denounce in like manner, that neither haue you any iust or *congrue* occasion in my boke so to iudge, much lesse to raile of me.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 702, ed. 1583. And by Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, in precisely the same connection as Elyot: 'What had he read, that, being a judge in the same disputations, cried out so bitterly upon the man of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and that four or five times together, *Ostende mihi qualis corpus fuit? qualis corpus fuit?* and was not able to utter his mind in *congrue* Latin?'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 53, ed. 1845, Par. Soc.

Congruence, *propriety, fitness.*—I. 26; II. 335. The Latin word 'congruentia,' which in Cooper's edition of the author's *Dictionary* is translated 'agreeablenesse, metenesse, likenesse,' is used only by Suetonius and Pliny; thus the former, in his life of the Emperor Otho says, 'Per hanc insinuatus Neroni, facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentiâ morum.'—*Otho*, 2; or, as Holland rendered it into English in the 17th century: 'By her meanes winding himselfe into the favour of Nero, he easily obtained the cheife place among his minions and favorites, such was the *congruence* of their humours and dispositions.'—P. 223, ed. 1606. Strype quotes 'a discourse,' intended to justify the King's appeal from the Pope, and 'published or designed to be published' in 1533, in which the word occurs in the following passage: 'If mortal creatures to their heads, Sovereigns, and natural Princes, be chiefly bound next unto God; especially where they, as careful fathers and tutors, prudently and rightly rule and govern the great numbers and multitudes of men by God committed to their obedience; whereby of good *congruence* all subjects become most bound to their Soveraigns and Princes. . . . then let no Englishman forget the most noble and loving Prince of this realm.'—*Mem.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 226. Barnes, who suffered martyrdom for the faith, uses this word in his article on Free Will: 'St. Paul sayth, "The flesh lusteth contrary to the spirite, and the workes of the fleshe bee aduoultry, fornication, unclennes, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, wrath, zeale, sedition, enuying, with such other. . . . Thinke you that these workes doe deserue, of *congruence*, remission of mortal sinne?'—*Works*, p. 273, ed. 1572. Dr. Martin in his *Traictise on the Marriage of Priestes*, says: 'By the ordinaunce of the churche euery man maye bee prieste that wyll, so he be mete, and euery man maye marie that wyll, so that he haue not vowed, ne taken a contrarie profession upon him before; whiche seing that he taketh of his owne free will, what iniurye hathe he to abide the same, whiche thereto is accessary and of *congruence* apperteinyng?'—Signat. X. ii. ed. 1554. Archbishop Parker, in his Preface to the Bible of 1568, after quoting St. Augustin's opinion that 'diuers translations haue made many tymes the harder and darker sentences the more open and playne' (nam nonnullas obscuriores sententias plurium codicum sæpe manifestavit inspectio.—*De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 12), adds, 'So that of *congruence* no offence can iustly be taken for this newe labour (*i.e.* the Bishops' Bible), nothing preiudicing any other mans iudgement by this doying, nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a translation, as that hereafter might followe no other that might see that which as yet was not understanded.'

Congruent, *fitting, proper, suitable,*—I. 6, 45, 291. The author in his *Dictionary* translates the Latin adjective 'congruens,' 'accordynge, lyke.' This word is quite Ciceronian. As for instance: 'Est enim actio quasi sermo corporis: quo magis menti congruens esse debet.'—*De Orat.* lib. iii. cap. 59.

Congruite, *concordance.*—I. 115. None of the Dictionaries take notice of the fact that this word was used in a technical sense to denote grammatical concordance. That this was so, however, is evident, not merely from the passage in the text, but from the following, taken from Palsgrave's Introduction to his French Grammar: 'The diffyculte of the Frenche tong, whiche maketh it so harde to be lerned by them of our nation, resteth chefely in thre thynges: in the diversyte of pronunciation, that is betwene us and them; in theyr analogie and maner of *congruite*, where in they be moche more parfyte and exquisyte than we be, and moche more approche towardes the parfection of the latin tong than we do; and thyrdly in theyr propertes of spekyng, where in theyr phrasys be dyfferent frome ours, and letteth us that, thoughe we shulde gyve worde for worde, yet the sens shulde moche differ betwene our tong and theyrs.'—*L'Esclair.* p. xv. 'The chefest poynt whiche concerneth the kepynge of trewe *congruyte* in this tong, resteth upon the knowledge of the gendre and nombre of the substantyve, for bycause that with hym must agre the adjective, the pronowne and the participle, as I shall hereafter in this introduction more playnly declare whan I speke of theyr *congruite*.' —*Ibid.* p. xxvi. 'As touchyng theyr *congruite* wherby they joyne theyr adjectyves, pronownes, and participles unto substantyves or pronownes, whan they stand for substantyves, and theyr verbes unto theyr nominatyve cases, and theyr relatyves unto theyr antecedentes, they therin be moche more parfyte than we be, and moche more resemble the latine tong.'—*Ibid.* p. xxxviii. 'So moche do the frenchmen covyte to avoyde all maner displesaunt sounde in theyr pronounciation, that they prefer it somtyme afore theyr *congruyte*, in so moche that, if they must joyne any of the thre fyrst pronownes derivatyves with a feminyne substantyve begynnyng with a vowell, they use not *ma*, *ta*, *sa*, but *mon*, *ton*, *son*, to avoyde the yvell sounde of the two vowelles, if they shulde be sounded one after an other, and for the same cause breke they somtyme the *congruite* betwene the substantyve and the adjectyve.'—*Ibid.* p. xxxix. Sir Thomas More uses the word in this sense in his *Apology*: 'Surely if the man thus ment in dede, besydes that he should haue set out hys sentence more plainly, hys meaning wyll, but if he declare it the better, misselike better men, and better learned to, than I and he be bothe. And sauing for that point, which is no smal mater, elles as for his rules of rethorike or grammaticall *congruitie* either, or ouersight in resoning, as thinges of no great weight, I would not much vouchsafe to touche.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 875, ed. 1557. And Gower tells us that:

> 'Grammer first hath for to teche
> To speake upon *congruitee*.'
> *Conf. Amant.* fo. cl. ed. 1554.

Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning*, seems to use the word in a rather wider sense when he says that the Scriptures 'are not to be interpreted only according to the latitude of the proper sense of the place, and respectively towards that present occasion whereupon the words were uttered, or in precise *congruity* or contexture with the words before or after, or in contemplation of the principal scope of the place.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 311, ed. 1825. The following definition of congruity is given in 'Regulæ grammaticales antiquorum, cum earundem declarationibus et argumentis,' one of the earliest printed Latin grammars. '*Congruitas* est orationis perfectio ex proportione modorum significandi causata ad exprimendum mentis conceptum finaliter adinventa. Est autem duplex *congruitas* quædam, est ad sensum ubi constructibilia vocetenus exprimuntur, ut, Ego lego. Alia est congruitas ad intellectum, quæ est ubi constructibilia vocetenus non exprimuntur, sed unum subintelligitur in alio, ut, Legimus, eo quod in omni verbo primæ aut secundæ personæ certus intelligitur nominativus.' The English word seems now to be quite obsolete, except in the compound form 'incongruity.'

Coniuration, *conspiracy.*—II. 436, and note.'

Conueiaunce, *artifice, trick, sleight of hand.*—I. 273. Probably most persons would imagine that the phrase which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Pistol: '*Convey*, the wise it call,' was the origin of the word 'conveyance' as here used, yet we see that the latter was employed by Elyot, at least seventy years before the appearance of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and not only by Elyot, but by More, Tyndall, and others. It seems not unlikely that Palsgrave was one of the first to give currency to this sense of the word in the following phrases: 'I convay, I set a syde and put out of the waye, *Je mets a part*, or *hors de voye*, *jay mis a part*, or *hors de voye*, *metre a part*, or *hors de voye.* I dare warrant you it is nat stollen, it is but convayed a syde: *je vous ose guarantir quon ne la pas desrobbé*, *mays on la mys a part*, or *on la mys hors de voye.*' And 'I convaye a thyng sodaynly or hastely from one place in to an other, *Je transporte*, prim. conj. Convaye these thynges at ones out of syght, for my lorde cometh by and by: *transportez ces choses a coup hors de veue*, *car Monsieur vient tout asteure.*' Again 'I convay my selfe craftely. *Je me subtille*, prim. conj. Se howe craftely the felowe convayeth him selfe: *aduisez comment ce compaignon se subtille.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 498. Sir Thomas More uses the word pleonastically in *The Supplicacion of Soules*, where, referring to Fish, the author of *The Supplication of Beggars*, he says: 'For this mischeuouse deuise of hys is in dede a great brode bottomlesse occean sea, full of euils, wherein woulde not faile the greuouse shipwracke of the comen welth, which god would sone forsake, yf the people ones forsake hys fayth, and contempned his holy sacramentes as thys beggers proctour laboureth to bringe aboute. Which thing hys deuise and *conueiance* wel declareth, although he forbere expressely to saye so farre.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 307, ed. 1557. Tyndall, in his *Practise of Popishe Prelates*, speaking of the Papists, says: 'They coupled their cause unto the kynges cause, (as now), and made it treason to beleue in Christ as the scripture teacheth, and to resiste the Byshops, (as now), and thrust them in the kinges prisons, (as now), so that it is no new inuention that they now do, but euen an olde practise, though they haue done theyr busie cure to hide their science, that their *conueyaunce* should not be espyed.'—*Works*, p. 363, ed. 1573. He has also the word 'conueyar,' *i.e.* the person who conveys, and the context would lead us to suppose that his cant use of this expression was really connected with the fraudulent 'conveyances,' so common at this period, and which the Statute of Uses was passed to prevent, although 'conveyance' as a technical legal term did not come into general use until long after. Referring to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 'He alleageth,' says Tyndall, 'an other text of Paule (2 Thess. ii.), that is, sayth Rochester, before the comming of Antichrist there shall be a notable departing from the fayth. . . . What say ye of this crafty *conueyar?* Would he spare, suppose ye, to alleage and to wrest other doctours pestilently, which feareth not for to iugle with the holy scripture of God, expounding that unto Antichrist which Paule speaketh of Christ? . . . Note also how craftely he would *enfeoffe* the Apostles of Christ with their (*i.e.* the Papists') wicked traditions and false ceremonies, which they themselues haue fayned, alleaging Paule, 2 Thess. ii.'—*Ibid.* p. 128. Now the preamble of the Act already alluded to, 27 Henry VIII., cap. 10, recites that 'Where by the common Lawes of this Realme, Landes, Tenementes, and Hereditamentes be not devysible by testament, nor ought to be transferrid frome one to a nother but by solemne lyvery and season, matter of recorde, wryting suffycyent, made bonâ fide without covyne or fraude, yet nevertheles dyverse and sundry ymaginacions, subtile invencions and practises, have bene usid, wherby the Heredytaments of this Realme have bene *conveyed*

frome one to an other by fraudulent feoffementes, fynes, recoveryes and other assurances, craftely made to secrete uses, intentes, and trustes.' The word 'conveyance' is only used once in the act, viz., in sec. 3, where it bears its present legal signification, and appears as the equivalent of 'a suffycyent graunt.' In an old Morality, or Interlude, called Hyckescorner, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and therefore certainly not later than 1534, Imagination, one of the characters, is made to say :

" Sir, the whoresons could not *convey* clean ;
For, and they could have *carried by craft* as I can,
In process of years each of them should be a gentleman.
Yet as for me I was never thief ;
If my hands were smitten off, I can steal with my teeth ;
For ye know well, there is craft in daubing ;
I can look in a man's face and pick his purse,
And tell new tidings that was never true, I wis ;
For my hood is all lined with lesing.'

Dodsley's *Coll. Old Engl. Plays*, vol. i. p. 159, ed. 1874.

The words italicised in the second line of the above seem exactly to represent the meaning of the cant expression in the first, and possibly Shakespeare had this play in his mind when writing *The Merry Wives*. The same idea is conveyed in the following passage from the comedy of *King Cambises*, written by Preston in the reign of Elizabeth :

'He is as honest a man as euer spurd cow ;
My cosin Cutpurse I meane, I beseech ye iudge you.
Beleeue me, Cosin, if to be the Kings gest ye could be taken,
I trust that offer would not be forsaken.
But Cosin, because to that office ye are not like to come,
Frequent your exercises, a horne on your thumb,
A quick eye, a sharp knife, at hand a receiuer,
But then take heed, Cosin, ye be a clenly *conuayour*.'

Signat. E. iii. b. ed. 1570.

Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in his *Actes of Englysh Votaries*, first published in 1546, employs the word several times. Thus, speaking of the Papists he says : 'He that wolde take the payne to conferre their Chronycles and writynges but concerninge thys onlye matter, obseruynge dylygentlye their diuerse bestowynge of tymes, places, and names, with other thynges perteynynge to the circumstaunce of hystorye, shuld anon percyue their subtyle *conueyaunce* in many other matters.'—Fo. 21, ed. 1551. Again, speaking of the contempt of marriage exhibited by monks, he says : 'Ye maye se by thys, the vertuouse studye of these holye chast fathers, and the clarkelye *conueyaunce* of their fleshlye mouynges.' —Fo. 29. Again, in a chapter entitled 'A spirituall *conueyaunce* to be marked,' Bale narrates a scandalous story, affecting Saint Etheldreda, who was professed a nun by Wilfred, Bishop of York (A. D. 664), 'This kyng (*i.e.* Egfride, king of Northumberland) after that perceyuynge his (*i.e.* Wilfred's) knauerye, by assent of Theodorus, the archebyshop of Caunterbury, bannyshed hym out of hys lande. Then followed she (*i.e.* Etheldreda) after a pace, and whyles he was byshop of Eastsexse, she became abbasse of hely (*i.e.* Ely), not farre from his elbone. Marke thys *conueyaunce* for your learnynge. If this were not knauerye, where shal we fynde knauery? Yet was this gentylman *conueyer* admytted for a saynte, because he buylded a college at Rippon.' —Fol. 43. In another place, speaking of Dunstan's trick to make the rood speak at Winchester, Bale says : 'Al they were astonyed that knewe not therof the crafty *conueyaunce*. If thys were not cleane legerdemayne, tell me.'—Fo. 70. Foxe, in his account of the trial of Lord Cobham, says : 'The which commission and inditement, albeit in countenance of words, will seeme to ministre much suspition against them (*i.e.* the prosecution), to the simple reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtile dealings and practises of Prelates ; yet trusting upon the goodnesse of the cause which I see here so falsely and sleightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt to produce the same out of the Records in Latine, as they stand ; to the intent that when the craftie handling of the aduersaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicitie of the innocent, to the true

harted reader shall the more better appeare. The words first of the Commission here follow under written, which when thou shalt heare, let them not trouble thy minde, gentle reader, I besech thee, before thou understand further what packing and subtile *conueyance* lieth couered and hid under the same.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 574, ed. 1583. Spenser, in depicting a courtier in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, uses this word :

'All his care was himselfe how to advaunce,
And to uphold his courtly countenaunce
By all the cunning meanes he could devise
Were it by honest wayes, or otherwise,
He made small choyce ; yet sure his honestie
Got him small gaines, but shameles flatterie,
And filthie brocage, and unseemly shifts,
And borowe base, and some good Ladies gifts :
But the best helpe, which chiefly him sustain'd,
Was his man Raynolds purchase which he gain'd.
For he was school'd by kinde in all the skill
Of close *conveyance*, and each practise ill
Of coosinage and cleanly knaverie,
Which oft maintain'd his masters braverie.'

Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 25, ed. 1866.

Huloet, in his *Dictionary*, published in 1572, has, 'Conuey craftely, Subduco. *Conuoyer* (Palsgrave). Conueye in pryuely, Submitto. Conueyed craftely or pryuely, Subductus, Submissus, Deductus, *Amené*.' Also 'Crafty conueyaunce, Subductio, Crafty conueyer, Subductor.' In Cooper's edition of Elyot's *Dictionary*, published in 1578, subduco is translated 'To take away, to plucke or drawe away, to remoue, to steale away priuily, to *conuey* away priuily, to plucke backe, to draw backe, to deceiue, to steale.' And 'subducere pallium lapsum à cubito' (Martial viii. 59), 'Priuily and by stealth to take up and *conuey* away a robe falne away from ones arme.' Manticulatio which the author in 1538 translated 'slyenesse, deceite' appears in 1578 as 'slye and deceytfull *conueyance*.' The inference being that this expression had become much more common in the interval which elapsed between the respective editions. The same remark applies to 'interverto' which Elyot merely rendered: 'to take away craftily or falsly:' but to which Cooper adds: 'to *conueigh* away falsly that was lent one, or committed into his handes;' and a quotation from Marcellus (Dig. xvi. 3. 22.) 'Si hæredes rem apud defunctum depositam dolo interverterint;' which is translated: 'If the heyres craftily conuey away any thing left in the custody of the dead person.' Also Cicero's phrase, 'intervertere et ad se transferre' (2 *Philipp.* cap. 32.), 'To *conuey* away and take to his owne use.' And 'interverso regali dono' (*Verr.* iv. 30), 'The princely present craftily *conueyed* away.' Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, narrates a conversation between himself and the Cardinal in which the latter is made to say, 'I considered that mine enemies had brought the matter so to passe against me, that they *conveied* and made it the King's matter and case, and caused the King to take the matter into his owne hands.'—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 621, ed. 1853. Turning now to Shakespeare, we see that the word is a favourite one with him. Thus in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* the Duke of Gloster says :

'I am come to survey the Tower this day :
Since Henry's death, I fear, there is *conveyance*.' —

Vol. v. p. 14. Dyce's ed.

Again in *The Third Part*, Queen Margaret says :

'Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick ! peace,
Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings !
I will not hence till, with my talk and tears,
Both full of truth, I make King Louis behold
Thy sly *conveyance* and thy lord's false love ;
For both of you are birds of self same feather.'

Ibid. p. 285.

There is a *double entendre* in the following passage from *King Richard II.* :

'*Bolingbroke.* Go, some of you convey him to the Tower.
'*K. Rich.* O good ! convey ?—*Conveyers* are you all,
That rise thus nimbly by a true King's fall.'

Vol. iv. p. 165.

So in the following colloquy in *Cymbeline* :

'*First Gent.* His only child.
He had two sons,—if this be worth your hearing,
Mark it,—the eldest of them at three years old,
I' the swathing-clothes the other, from their nursery
Were stol'n; and to this hour no guess in knowlege
Which way they went.
'*Sec. Gent.* How long is this ago?
'*First Gent.* Some twenty years.
'*Sec. Gent.* That a king's children should be so *convey'd!*
So slackly guarded! and the search so slow,
That could not trace them!'
Vol. vii. p. 637.

And in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, when Mrs. Page says: 'If you know yourself clear, why I am glad of it; but if you have a friend here, convey, convey him out . . . Your husband's here at hand; bethink you of some *conveyance*: in the house you cannot hide him.'—Vol. i. p. 383. It only remains to add that the Latin word 'conveare' was in use in the Middle Ages, and probably the English word was derived immediately from that. We find, for instance, in a licence to import armour, granted by Hen. VII. in 1492: 'Cum Dominus Merue Flandriæ gubernator . . . concesserit et licentiam dederit præfato Johanni quòd ipse per se aut deputatum suum diversas hernesias in hoc regnum nostrum Angliæ pro viagio nostro afferre et *conveare* possit.' — Rymer, tom. xii. p. 471, ed. 1711.

Couch, *to compose, express*, also *to lay or place together.*—II. 78, 136, 317. From the French *coucher*, which Cotgrave translates 'To *couch*, or lie, also to lay down or along; to goe, also to get, bring, or have, to bed; also *to mention or set downe in writing*; also to plant, or set a root or slip flat along within the ground; also to stake at play.' He gives also the phrases '*Coucher de belles. Ils en couchent de belles.* They write goodly matters sure; 'tis sweet stuffe that they set downe; ironically.' Sherwood, on the other hand, renders 'To couch in writing: *Mettre par escrit.*' Palsgrave has: 'I endyte, I write, *Je compose, je dicte*, and *je couche.* Write thou and I wyll endyte: *tu escripras, et je composeray*, or *je dicteray*, or *je coucheray le langaige.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 534. We find it used in the sense of 'to express,' by Commines, in the fifteenth century; for in the Prologue to his *Memoires*, he says: 'Par laquelle œuvre se pourra connoistre la grandeur du prince dont vous parleray, et aussi de votre entendement. Et là où je faudroye, vous trouverez Monseigneur du Bouchage, et autres, qui mieux vous en sçauroient parler que moy, et le *coucher* en meilleur langage.'—P. 2, ed. Pan. Litt. Wilson, in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, seems to use the worde in a double sense, combining both the meanings implied in Elyot's usage: 'Elocution is an applying of apte wordes and sentences to the matter, founde out to confirme the cause. When all these are had together, it auaileth little if man haue no Memorie to containe them. The Memorie therefore must be cherished, the whiche is a fast holdyng bothe of matter and wordes *couched* together, to confirme any cause.' —P. 6, ed. 1584. Wolsey uses the word in his 'Instructions' to Magnus and Radclyff in 1524: 'The said Quene and Erle of Arayne have sent unto His Grace, and to the said Lord Legate, letters, articles, and clauses commynatoryes . . . and therupon do make a demonstracion by waye of a threate, that they woll not send their ambassadours, with other thynges, *cowched* so ferre from good reason, humanite, or discretion, that the same nedeth not to be rehersed . . . Wherwith they shal say the Kinges Grace is nothing contented, ne pleased, supposing that his said derest suster, with whom His Grace procedeth so sincerely and lovingly, shuld never have *cowched* suche a commynacion or threate unto hym.'—*State Pap.* vol. iv. pp. 195, 196. So Dr. Magnus, in his report to Wolsey, in the same year, from Edinburgh, speaks of having received 'An other letter directe from my saide Lorde of Norffolk to the Quenes Grace, right roundely penned and *cowched.*'—*Ibid.* p. 247. And in a letter from the Duke of Richmond's Council (Magnus, Parre, and Uvedale)

to the King, dated September 7, 1527, they say: 'that the said King of Scottes and Erle of Angwyshe have bothe addressed their severall letters of awnswer at this tyme unto my said Lordes Grace, right effectuelly *couched* and penned in full honourable maner and fourme, lyke as shall and maye appere unto Your said Highnes by the same.'—*Ibid.* p. 476. In the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius, translated by Higins in 1585, we find the word used in the last sense given above: 'Opus emplecton. Vitru. Cum frontibus utrinque politis medium naturalis saxorum materia temerè collocata farcit. ἔμπλεκτον. Worke wel knit and *couched* togither: properly stones so layd, that their fronts or partes which are in sight, being smooth and trim on both sides, their naturall substance remaineth rough and unhewne, to stuffe and fill up the middest of a wall, &c.'—P. 199. And also 'Coagmentum, *Plauto*, commissura. Arcta et compressa conjunctio, propriè lapidum, σύστημα, συναφὴ, ἁρμη. *Jointure, attachement, liaison.* The close ioyning or *couching* of things together, properly of stones.'—P. 417. The *Promptorium* has 'Cowchyn or leyne thinges togedyr, *Colloco*.'—P. 96.

Couenable, *convenient, proper.*—I. 78. This is really the French word *convenable*, as appears from Palsgrave, who gives 'Conuenable—m. et f., *conuenable s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 308. In his Introduction, he uses the same form as Elyot: 'So that the lernar maybe advertised what gendre all their substantyves be of . . . and fardermore, what order and congruite they use in the *covenable* joynyng of every of the sayd partes, one with another, as they come togyder in sentences.'—*Ibid.* p. 151. Cotgrave translates *convenable*, 'Convenient; apt, fit, meet for; agreeable, sutable, according unto; proper, comely, decent, beseeming, seemly.' In *Le Roman de la Rose*, we read:

> 'Or est-il voirs, sans point de fable,
> Bien est ceste mort *convenable*
> A la vie que tu menoies,
> Quant l'ame avec ce cors avoies.'
>
> Tom. ii. p. 291, ed. 1814.

M. Littré cites from a collection of documents of the thirteenth century by M. Tailliar, a passage which would serve to illustrate the use of the form *covenables*, if it could be relied upon as accurate, but on referring to the authority quoted by M. Littré, the Editor finds that the word actually used was *covenaules*. Froissart, in his account of the assembly at Paris, in 1356, says: 'Si se accordèrent que les prélats éliroient douze personnes bonnes et sages entre eux, qui auroient pouvoir, de par eux et de par le clergé, de ordonner et aviser voies *convenables* pour faire ce que dessus est dit.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 363, ed. Pan. Litt. This is translated by Lord Berners: 'Than they agreed that the prelates shuld chose out twelfe persones amonge theym, who shulde haue power by theym, and by all the clergy, to ordayne and to aduyse all thynges *couenable* to be done.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 208, ed. 1812. Sir John Maundevile says: 'No man may zeven *covenable* Medicyne, but zif he knowe the qualitee of the dede.'—*Voiage, &c.*, p. 145, ed. 1727. Chaucer, in *The Persones Tale*, says: 'Many ben the wayes espirituels that leden folk to oure Lord Jhesu Christ, and to the regne of glorie; of whiche weyes ther is a ful noble way, and ful *covenable*, which may not faile to man ne to womman . . . and this wey is cleped penitence.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 264: and in *The Romaunt of the Rose:*

> '"Sir," seide they, "soth is every deel
> That ye reherce, and we wote wel
> Thilk oth to holde is resonable;
> For it is good and *covenable*,
> That ye on riche men han sworne."'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 183, ed. 1866.

Bishop Jewel, in his *Controversy with Harding*, shows that this word is the exact equivalent of the Latin 'conveniens': 'Again, whereas the ancient and great learned bishop Cyrillus teacheth plainly and at large the marvellous uniting and joining together of us with Christ, and of ourselves into one body by this sacrament . . . His words be these, much agreeable to

Dionysius Areopagita afore-mentioned: Ut igitur inter nos et Deum singulos uniret, quamvis corpore simul et animâ distemus, modum tamen adinvenit, consilio Patris et sapientiæ suæ *convenientem*. That Christ might unite every one of us within ourselves, and with God, although we be distant both in body and also in soul, yet he hath devised a mean *covenable* to the counsel of the Father, and to his own wisdom.' —*Works*, vol. i. p. 140, ed. 1845, Par. Soc.

Counterfaict, *to counterfeat.*—II. 36. The termination of this word betrays its French origin, for Palsgrave gives 'Counterfayting—*contrefaicture s*, f.' and 'Counterfayte, mysshapen—m. *contrefaict z.* f. *contrefaicte s.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 209, 308, and Cotgrave, '*Contrefaict*, m. *icte*, f., counterfeit, adulterate, fained, forged, false.' Montaigne uses this form on several occasions, thus: 'La generale police du monde, où il n'y peult avoir rien de *contrefaict*.' Again: 'Quand on presenta à Cæsar la teste de Pompeius, les histoires disent qu'il en destourna sa veue, comme d'un vilain et malplaisant spectacle. Il y avoit eu entre eulx une si longue intelligence et societé ou maniement des affaires publicques, tant de communauté de fortunes, tant d'offices reciproques et d'alliances, qu'il ne fault pas croire que cette contenance feust toute faulse et *contrefaicte*.' And he calls the Swiss 'Ces Ægyptiennes *contrefaictes*.'—*Essais*, tom. i. pp. 337, 349, 395, ed. 1854.

Counterpointe, *a counterpane.*—II. 238 and note.

Cruciate, *to torment, vex.*—II. 150, 278. From the Latin word *cruciare*. Bishop Bale, who was a contemporary of Elyot, in his *Image of both Churches*, says: 'I perceive thy manifold tribulations, how thou art outwardly afflicted by continual persecution of enemies, and inwardly *cruciated* in conscience to behold the damnable errors, frowardness, blindness, and utter contempt of God's truth, which reigneth in the wicked.'—*Select Works*, p. 276, ed. 1849, Par. Soc. Foxe, in his history of the *Ten Persecutions* in the primitive Church, says: 'Further I proceeded in the story, and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my griefe with them and for them encreased, not onely pitying their wofull case, but almost reasoning with God, thus thinking, like a foole, with myselfe, "Why God, of hys goodnesse, would suffer hys children and his servants so vehemently to be *cruciated* and afflicted?"'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 100, ed. 1583.

D.

Decerpt, *plucked, gathered.*—I. 22; II. 370. The Latin *decerptus*, part. from *decerpo*, which is quite classical, and which Elyot himself translates 'to pull, or plucke of,' in his *Dictionary*. In Cooper's edition of the latter the passage from *Tusc. Quæst.* is rendered thus: 'The minde of man, taken and formed of a part of the spirite of God.'

Defalcate, *deprived or shorn of.*—II. 112 and note. From the French *défalquer*, which Cotgrave translates 'to defaulke, deduce, diminish, cut off or take away part of.' Thus Charron says: 'Le temps de l'enfance, vieillesse, dormir, maladies d'esprit ou de corps, et tant d'autre inutil et impuissant à faire chose qui vaille, estant *defalqué* et rabattu, le reste est peu.'—*De la Sagesse*, p. 165, ed. 1662.

Defende, *to forbid, prohibit.*—II. 294. The French *défendre*. Palsgrave has 'I forbyd, I commaunde one that he do nat a thynge. *Je defens*. I forbydde hym on his lyfe that he passe nat this way: *je luy defens sur sa vie quil ne passe poynt par icy*,' and 'God *defende* it: *a Dieu ne plaise*.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 509, 554. In the *Promptorium* we find: 'Defendyn, or forbedyn, *Prohibeo, inhibeo*.'—P. 115. The word occurs in this sense as early as the eleventh century, in the Laws of William the Conqueror: 'E nous *defendun* que l'un christien fors de la terre ne vende n'ensurchetut en paisinime.'—Chevallet. *Or. et For.* tom. i. p. 117. Joinville, in his *Hist. de Saint Louis*, written in the thirteenth century, speaking of Egypt,

says: 'Toute la puissance du soudan se logerent sur le fleuve de Rexi, dautre part devant nostre ost, pour nous *deffendre* le passage, laquelle chose leur estoit legiere car nulz ne povit passer ladite yaue par devers eulz se nous ne la passions a nou.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 220. Commines, in his account of the conspiracy against le comte de Saint Paul Constable of France, in 1475, says: 'Dès ce que ledit duc (de Bourgongne) sçut ces nouvelles, il manda au seigneur d'Aimeries, son grand baillif de Hainaut, qu'il fit garder la ville de Mons, en façon que ledit connestable n'en pust saillir, et que à luy fust *deffendu* de partir de son hostellerie.'—*Mem.* p. 112, ed. Pan. Lit. Montaigne tells us that 'Les Ægyptiens, d'une impudente prudence, *deffendoient*, sur peine de la hart, que nul eust à dire Serapis et Isis, leurs dieux, eussent aultrefois esté hommes.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 394. Sir John Maundevile uses the word in the same way: 'In that hille Thabor, oure Lord transfigured him before seynt Petre, seynt John; and seynt Jame. . . . And oure Lord *defended* hem, that thei scholde not telle that avisioun, til that he were rysen from dethe to lyf.'—*Voiage*, &c. p. 138. And so does Chaucer in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'Prudens answerde: "Certes, wel I wot, attemperel wepyng is no thing *defended* to him that sorwful is, amonges folk in sorwe, but it is rather graunted him to wepe. . . . But though attemperel wepyng be graunted, outrageous wepynge certes is *defended*."' —*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 141, ed. 1866. Again in *The Persones Tale:* 'After this cometh the synne of japers, that ben the develes apes, for thay maken folk to laughen at here japes or japerie, as folk doon at the gaudes of an ape; suche japes *defendith* seint Poule.'—*Ibid.* p. 320. Brende translates the following passage: 'Tum Cænus: "Dii *prohibeant*," inquit "à nobis impias mentes: et profecto prohibent;"' (Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 3.) 'Then Cenus beganne in this wyse, The Goddes *defende* our myndes from all wicked thoughtes, as I doubt not but they wyll.'—Fo. 186, ed. 1553.

Deinzins, *denizens.*—I. 243. There is no doubt that the origin of this word must be sought for in *deinz*, the old French form of the preposition answering to *dedans*, within. It is true that this etymology does not meet with the approval of Mr. Todd, who, in his edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*, derives it 'from *dinasddyn* a man of the city, or *dinesydd* free of the city,' both Welsh words; nor with that of Richardson, who adopts Minsheu's (or rather Coke's) suggestion of *donaison* = donatio 'a gift or *donation* of liberty.' Minsheu however is ready with the sagacious alternative of 'Dane's Son, Dani filius. Danos enim olim rerum pottos (potitos?) novimus; filiosque suos utcunque alienigenos libertate donatos.' But as it was to the ingenuity of this great authority that we are indebted for the assumed derivation of *cockney* from the words *cock* and *neigh*, the reader will probably not be disposed to attach undue importance to this fresh proof of Minsheu's skill in etymology. It is only fair, however, to add (although he does not acknowledge the fact) that Lord Coke had already anticipated him in assigning *donaison* as an alternative derivation, 'because his freedome is given unto him by the king.' But Coke was much nearer the truth when he said: 'He that is born within the king's liegeance is called sometime a *denizen*, *quasi deins née*, borne within.'—*Co. Litt.* 129. a. The addition of *né*, however, to the preposition is not only unnecessary to the meaning, but is totally at variance with the orthography of the word. It is, on the other hand, quite consistent with our experience of the formation of other substantives and adjectives from prepositions to suppose that the word deinzin or deinzein was formed simply from deinz, just as in the case of 'inning' and 'outing' from the prepositions in and out respectively, and the Latin extraneus from extra. The first mention of the word that the Editor has been able to discover in the Statutes of the Realm, occurs in 27 Ed.

III. Stat. 2, commonly called the Statute of the Staple, passed in 1353. But as that Statute recognises the existence of denizens it is evident that the term was not a new one, and had probably been long in use. By 1 Rich. III. cap. 9, passed in 1483, it is provided: 'que null persone nient neez desoubz lobbeisaunce du Roy ne fait *Deinszein*, de quelconque nacion ou paiis qil soit' shall occupy a house, &c. In the English translation of the above this word is spelt *deinsyn*. The preamble of 1 Hen. VII. cap. 2, passed two years later, declares that divers grants were made by Ed. IV. 'es diversez merchantz estraungez neez dehors cest Realme destre *deinzins*, pur quel ilz ount et enjoient tiels franchesez etc. come font *deinzins* neez deinz cest Realme etc. et sovent foitz soeffrent autres estraungez nient *deinzins* deskipper et carier etc. pur le quell lez ditz bienz sont fraudez de Custome en semblable maner comme ilz fuerent bienz dun *Deinzin*.' The English title of this is: 'An Acte that *Denysons* shall paye Custome and subsidy.' It will be seen from the above that Lord Coke's derivation, although plausible, is not warranted by the history of the word, inasmuch as the last mentioned statute mentions denizens '*neez dehors* le Realme,' whom Lord Coke's definition would exclude. According to Rastell '*Denisin* est lou alien deuient le subiect le roy et obteine les letters patentes le roy pur inioyer touts priuileges come un home Engleis, mes si un soit fait *denizin* il paiera customes etc. come aliens.'—*The Exposicions of the Termes of the Lawes*, fo. 33, b. ed. 1567. Elyot's spelling of the word is exactly in accordance with that of the Statutes already quoted. Udall in his translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon St. Matthew v., says: 'The world lamenteth and counteth them unfortunate, which be banished and dryuen out of theyr countrey, but Christ pronounceth them blessed whiche be banished for the Gospel sake, for they be made *denisens* in heauen.'—Tom. i. fo. xviii. ed. 1551, the original of the above passage being, 'Mundus ut infelices deplorat qui pulsi patriâ solum vertere coguntur, sed Christus beatos pronunciat qui ob Euangelium exulant cœlo *municipes ascripti*.'—*Paraph. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 24, ed. 1541. Bryskett, whose *Discourse of Civill Life* bears internal evidence that its author was acquainted with *The Governour*, in a passage bearing a close resemblance to that in the text, says: 'You must giue me leaue to use new words of Art, such as are proper to expresse new conceits, though they be yet strange, and not *denizened* in our language.'—P. 44, ed. 1606. Kelham, in his *Norman Dictionary*, gives 'Deinz, *within*, Deinzseins, *denizens*. Denzeyn, denzeisne, *denizen*. It is curious that neither Du Cange nor Littré recognise the claim of this word to be considered of French extraction, the former describing denizatio as 'vox fori Anglici,' whilst the latter treats *denizen* as English and defines it as 'étranger admis á la jouissance des droits civils, sauf celui de succession.' This word affords an instructive example of the effects of the transposition of letters, and it would be interesting to learn when the change took place, and to what it was due.

Deliuer, *Supple, agile, active.*—I. 112, 215. This word seems to have originated in the French *délivré*, as a term of falconry. According to Littré, oiseau délivré is a bird 'qui n'a point de corsage et qui est presque sans chair,' héron délivré signifying 'héron maigre et dont le vol n'est point retardé par le poids que lui donnerait sa chair.' Palsgrave has: *Delyver* redy quicke to do any thing—m. et f. *agile*, s. : m. et f. *deliuré s. Delyver* of ones lymmes as they that prove mastryes—m. et f. *souple s.*' Also 'Lyght or *delyver*—m. et f. *agile s*; m. *legier s* f. *legiere s.*' And 'Nymble delyver or quycke of ones lymmes—m. et f. *souple s.* Nymble quycke—m. et f. *deliure s.* —*L'Esclair.* pp. 309, 317, 319. Cotgrave renders *Delivre de sa personne*, 'An active nimble wight, whose joints are not tied with points, one that can wield his lims at pleasure.' In the

Promptorium we find 'Delyvere (or quycke in beynesse [qu. besynesse?]) *Vivax*.'—P. 118. The word is used by Gower:

'And as it shulde tho befalle,
That daie was set of suche asise
That they shulde in the loude gyse,
As was herde of the people seie,
Her commune game than pleye.
And cried was, that thei shulde come
Unto the game all and some.
Of hem that ben *deliuer* and wight,
To do suche maistrie as thei might.'

Conf. Am. fo. clxxvii. b. ed. 1554.

Sir John Maundevile says: 'In Cipre men hunten with Papyonns, that ben lyche Lepardes: and thei taken wylde bestes righte welle, and thei ben somdelle more than Lyouns, and thei taken more scharpely the Bestes and more *delyverly*, than don Houndes.'—*Voiage and Travaile*, p. 34, ed. 1727. Chaucer, in *The Tale of Melibeus*, says: 'And Tullius saith, that grete thinges ben not ay accompliced by strengthe, ne by *delyvernes* of body, but by good counseil, by auctorité of persones, and by science.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 155. And in *The Prologue to the Cant. Tales* the description of a young squire is that

'Of twenty yeer he was of age I gesse,
Of his stature he was of evene lengthe,
And wondurly *delyver*, and gret of strengthe.'

Ibid. vol. ii. p. 4.

In *The Nonne Prest's Tale*:

'The fox answerd "In faith, it schal be doon,"
And whil he spak that word, al sodeinly
This cok brak from his mouth *delyverly*,
And heigh upon a tree he fleigh anoon.'

Ibid. vol. iii. p. 247.

In *The Persones Tale*: 'Certis, the goodes of the body ben hele of body, strengthe, *delivernesse*, beauté, gentrie, fraunchise.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 300. Fabyan in his account of Harold, the son of Canute, says, that he 'for his *deliuernesse* and swiftnesse was surnamed Harefoote.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 278. The word was not confined in its application to living creatures, for the writer just quoted, in describing a sea-fight in 1337, says: 'Of the Frenchmen were xiii sailes, great and smal, and of the Englishmen but fiue, that is to meane, these two foresaid great ships, two barckes, and a caruell, the which thre smal ships escaped by their *deliuer* sayling, and the two abode and fought beyonde ix houres.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 206, ed. 1559. In the first edition of Holinshed's *Historie of Englande*, we are told that 'Egbert was a politike prince and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and *deliuer* men, wher Bernulfes souldiers, through long ease, were cowardly persons, and ouercharged with flesh.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 203, ed. 1577; but in the ed. of 1587, 'hartie' (p. 138) is substituted for 'deliuer,' with an evident want of appreciation of the true meaning of the latter word. However, in another place in the same work, where we are told that 'there arriued at Harfleur the Lorde of Kilmayne in Ireland with a bande of xvi. hundred Irishmen . . . . all of them being tall, quicke and *deliuer* persons,' (*Ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 1194,) the more modern reading 'nimble' (*Chron.* vol. iii. p. 565) of the second edition preserves the original meaning. Warner, in the fifth book of his *Albion's England*, alluding to Robin Hood, says:

'Those daies begot some malcontents, the principal of whome
A county was, that with a troope of yomandry did rome;
Braue Archers and *deliuer* men, since nor before so good;
Those took from rich to giue the poore, and manned Robin Hood.'

P. 132, ed. 1597.

Demulced, *coaxed*, literally *stroked gently*.—I. 213. From the Latin 'demulceo,' which the author in his *Dictionary* translates 'to stryke gentilly and softly with the hande, as we do to chyldren or houndes, whan we make moche of them.'

Departe, *to divide*.—I. 14, 198. From the French *départir*. Palsgrave has: 'I departe, I devyde thynges asonder, *Je depars* and *je desassemble*. Departe this meate a sonder: *departez*, or *separez*, or *desassemblez ceste piece de viande*. I departe, I distrybute, *Je distribue*, prim. conj. Departe to every man alyke: *distribuez a chascun sa portion egalle*. I departe thynges asonder that be joyned togyther. *Je separe*, prim. conj. No man can parte

them: *nul ne les peult separer.* I departe, I distrybute the partes of a thynge to dyvers persons. *Je mespars*, conjugate lyke his simple *je pars*, I parte. He hath quartered an oxe and departed him unto foure persones: *il a escartellé ung beuf et la mesparty a quatre personnes.* I departe, or devyde thynges asonder that were myxed or medled togyther. *Je desmesle.* Departe this skayne of threde, we can nat els wynde it up: *desmeslez ceste piece de fil, ou aultrement nous ne scaurions la deuider.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 512. The author in his *Dictionary* translates 'separo,' 'to putte aparte, or *departe* one from an other.' The original is used by Commines in this sense. 'En retournant aux ducs de Normandie et de Bretagne, qui estoient allés prendre la possession de la duché de Normandie, incontinent que leur entrée fut faite à Rouen, ils commencèrent à avoir division ensemble, quand ce fut à *départir* le butin.'—*Mémoires*, p. 31, ed. Pan. Lit. The same form is used by Sir John Maundevile, who says: 'There is a great Hille that men clepen Olympus, that *departeth* Macedonye and Trachye.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 20, ed. 1727; and by Chaucer, as in *The Persones Tale*: 'For certes, right as a swerd *departith* a thing in two parties, right so consentynge *departeth* God fro man.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 290, ed. 1866. Again in *The Romaunt of the Rose:*

'If bothe the hertis Love hath fered,
Joy and woo they shulle *departe*,
And take evenly ech his parte.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 161.

So also Gower:

'He whiche *departeth* daie fro night,
That one derke, and that other bright,
Of seuen daies made a weke.'
Confess. Am. fo. cxlvi. b. ed. 1554.

Deprehende, *to understand, to perceive.*—I. 70, 157. The Latin 'deprehendo,' as appears from the second of the above passages. The author in his *Dictionary* renders it 'to knowe, to perceyue.' The English form is very uncommon, it is used, however, by Bacon in his *Natural History*: 'As for the motions of the minute parts of bodies, which do so great effects, they have not been observed at all; because they are invisible, and incur not to the eye; but yet they are to be *deprehended* by experience.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 62, ed. 1826.

Despeche, *to dispatch.*—II. 14, 273, 421 and note.

Digne, *worthy.*—II. 223. A French word, introduced. Palsgrave has, 'Dygne worthy—m. et f. *digne s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 310. Cotgrave translates it, 'Worthy, condigne, deserving, meet, fit for.' Froissart, speaking of the banner displayed by the French at the battle of Rosbecque in 1382, says: 'Celle oriflambe est une *digne* bannière et enseigne.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 250, ed. Pan. Lit.; which Lord Berners renders; 'This Oriflambe is a *precyous* baner.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 738, ed. 1812. Chaucer uses this word in *The Prologue* to the Cant. Tales:

'And though he holy were, and vertuous,
He was to senful man nought dispitous,
Ne of his speche daungerous ne *digne*,
But in his teching discret and benigne.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 17.

And also in *The Pardoneres Tale*:

'I schal him seeke by way and eek by strete,
I make avow to Goddis *digne* boones.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 97.

Discourage, *discouragement.*—I. 7; II. 407, and note.

Discrepance, *difference.*—I. 2, 3; II. 17, 28. This, like the last, is a French word. Cotgrave gives '*Discrepance*, A discrepancie, difference, repugnancie, disagreement.' But it is not noticed by Littré. In *Les Remonstrances*, a poem attributed to Jehan de Meung, a poet of the 13th century, we find this word:

'Car tous mes faitz tant bien j'ordonne,
Qu'un chascun son espece amaine,
Selon que la matiere est saine,
Ou have; aussi mettent les cieux
Discrepance de tieulx à tieulx.'
Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. iv. p. 131, ed. 1814.

It is used by Foxe in his Allegations against the Six Articles: 'So where he bringeth in the Decree of Pope Calixtus in like maner against the matrimonie of Priestes, Deacons, and Sub-

deacons, he addeth thereto no *discrepance* of his name. And yet al the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the second, and not the first.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1163, ed. 1583.

Discrepant, *different.*—I. 183, 264. The adjective, formed from the above substantive. Cotgrave gives '*Discrepant*, m. *ante*, f. *Discrepant*, different, disagreeing from, repugnant unto.' The word occurs in the following passage of the speech of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, supposed to have been spoken in 1414: 'Are not all lawes *discrepant* from Goddes lawes euel, and to al Christen eares odious and noisome?'—Hall, *Chron.* fo. xxxvii. ed. 1548. Sir Thomas More also uses it: 'Though the wordes which they spake or wrote were straunge and contrarye to right beleue, yet theffect of their mening was not much *discrepant* from the trew fayth of christes church.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 262, ed. 1557.

Dispergement, *disparagement.*—II. 151. If we relied merely on orthography, we should expect this word to be derived from 'dispergo,' but it really represents the low Latin 'dispergamentum' or 'disparagamentum' from 'disparagare,' which according to Spelman = dispares conferre, indecorè et indignè connectere vel assimulare. The very form 'dispergamentum' occurs in the following clause of a contract between Hervé, Count of Nevers, and Philip Augustus of France, dated July, 1215, by which the count engages to give his daughter in marriage to Philip, the king's grandson: 'quod si ego à dictâ Mathildâ uxore meâ filiam vel filias suscepero, prædicti domini Ludovici filius, qui cum dictâ Agnete filiâ meâ sponsalia contrahet, eam vel eas post mortem meam et uxoris meæ, maritabit per terram vel per denarios sine *dispergamento*.'—Martene, *Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect.* tom. i. col. 1124, ed. 1724. The word 'paragium,' or *parage* in French, signified parity or equality of conditions with regard to marriage, *e. g.* of birth, rank &c., but it seems to be used in a wider sense by Froissart in his account of the capitulation of Bayonne in 1386 to the Duke of Lancaster, for the 'ancient man' who recommended this step is called by his fellow citizens 'un homme de *parage* et pour qui on doit moult faire.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 520, ed. Pan. Lit. Lord Berners seems to have experienced a difficulty in finding any English equivalent for this, which he renders: 'ye are a man in this towne of grete *parage*, and may do moche.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 187. This passage, however, seems exactly to bear out Spelman's statement. 'Dicunt autem Galli *parage* pro familiâ, consanguinitate, parentelâ: ut *dame de hault parage*, i.e. sublimis parentelæ domina.' Now disparagatio, *disparagement* was the term used to denote the opposite state, i.e. disparity of the above conditions. 'Hinc in jure nostro,' says Spelman, '*disparagare* idem est quod impares sanguine et nataliciis connectere.' The earliest mention of this feudal term in our law occurs in Magna Charta. 'Heredes maritentur absque *disparagatione* (ita quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium ostendatur propinquis de consanguinitate ipsius heredis);' this provision, with the exception of the words within brackets, was re-enacted in the two following years, 1216–17, by Hen. III. It may be noticed here that Du Cange cites an instance of the use of the word 'dispengatio' for 'disparagatio,' occurring in a charter of Henry, King of England, about 1155, and which he calls 'pro Normannis' on the authority of M. Brussel's *Nouvel Examen de l'usage general des Fiefs*, ed. 1750; but the Editor finds, on referring to this latter work, that the charter in question, which is printed in the appendix to tom. ii., and is there styled 'Lettres patentes de Hen. II., roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, en faveur du Clergé, des Nobles, et de tous les habitans *de Normandie*, environ l'an 1155,' is an impudent forgery, being nothing but a very incorrect and doctored transcript of Magna Charta, and the word which Du Cange relies on as a variant of the usual form 'disparagatione,' is, of course, due to the

ignorance of the transcriber, which has led him, in the same document, to convert Walingford into 'Balui Befordis,' and 'Kidelli' into 'Bideli.' The next provision on this subject is 20 Hen. III. cap. 6, commonly called the Statute of Merton. 'And so it is proved by the same statute,' says Lord Coke, 'that there is no *disparagement*, but where he which is in ward is married within the age of 14 years.'—Co. Litt. 80. a. Lord Coke mentions four kinds of disparagements for which the heir could refuse, 'and Littleton saith that there be many other *disparagements* which are not specified in the said statute, for those two mentioned are put but for examples. In a word it must be competens maritagium absque disparagatione.'—*Ubi supra.* 80, b. In *Les Termes de la Ley*, 'disparagement' is defined to be 'un honte, disgrace, ou villanie fait par le Gardeine en chiualrie à son garde en chiualrie esteant deins age per reason de son marriage.'—P. 130, ed. 1636. One of the complaints made by the Bishops to Hen. III., in 1234, according to Matt. Paris, was: 'quia puellam de Brittanniâ (*i.e.* Alienor, daughter of Geoffrey) et sororem vestram (*i.e.* Alienor, widow of William Marshal, afterwards married to Simon de Montfort) habent sub potestate suâ, et alias plures puellas nobiles et alias mulieres nubiles, cum wardis ac maritagiis, quas dant suis et *disparagant.*'—*Chron. Maj.* vol. iii. p. 270, the Rolls ed. In a grant of the wardship of the lands of an heir minor and of his marriage, made 7th Dec. in the 19th year of Rich. II., *i.e.* 1395–6, we find the following clause: 'Custodiam omnium terrarum &c., habendam usque ad legitimam ætatem Johannæ filiæ et hæredis prædicti Roberti, unà cum maritagio ejusdem Johannæ absque *disparagatione.*'—Madox, *Form. Anglic.* p. 326. This last, indeed, seems to have been a common form, inserted in all such deeds. Rymer, in a similar grant to the one last quoted, has 'absque *dispergatione*' (vol. iii. p. 136), which, however, is probably a mistake, due to the carelessness or ignorance of the transcriber. It is obvious that the way in which the word is used by Elyot in the text is strictly accurate, having regard to the technical meaning still attaching to it in the 16th century. Bacon, in his *History of King Henry VII.* uses the word in this original and technical sense, when, speaking of the widow of Ed. IV., he says: 'She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a *disparagement* to be mingled with the king's.—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 134, ed. 1825. So too Sir Philip Sidney: 'Master Dorus, (said the faire Pamela), me thinkes you blame your fortune very wrongfully, since the fault is not in Fortune but in you, that cannot frame your selfe to your fortune, and as wrongfully doe require Mopsa to so great a *disparagement* as to her father's servant, since she is not worthy to be loved, that hath not some feeling of her owne worthinesse. . . . I thus answered her: Lady, most worthy of all duty, how fals it out, that you, in whom all vertue shines, will take the patronage of fortune, the only rebellious handmaid against vertue, especially since before your eyes you have a pitifull spectacle of her wickednes, a forlorn creature, which must remaine not such as I am, but such as she makes me, since shee must be the balance of worthinesse or *disparagement.*'—*Arcadia*, p. 102, ed. 1633.

Dissease, *to trouble, vex, annoy.*—II. 237 and note.

Dissimule, *to dissemble.*—II. 137, 166. From the Latin 'dissimulo,' which the author in his *Dictionary* translates 'to dissemble or fayne a thynge, whiche is not as it semeth to be.' A concise definition of this word is contained in the school-boy line 'Quod non es simulas, dissimulasque quod es.' The French have also the verb *dissimuler.* Thus Froissart says: 'Le chevalier qui là étoit à genoux, tout honteux, car telles paroles ouïr lui étoient moult dures, et bien véoit que taire lui étoit plus profitable que parler, si ne répondit oncques

mot à ces paroles et *dissimula* au mieux qu'il put, et se départit de la présence des seigneurs, en prenant congé quand il vit que heure fut.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 53, ed. Pan. Lit. It is therefore a question whether the English word was formed mediately or immediately from the Latin. Chaucer had already used it in *Troylus and Cryseyde:*

> 'But in hymself with manhode gan restreyne
> Ech rackle dede, and ech unbrideled chere,
> That alle tho that lyven, soth to seyne,
> Ne sholde han wiste, by word or by manere,
> What that he mente, as touchynge this matere;
> From every wyght as fer as is the cloude
> He was, so wele *dissimulen* he koude.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 242.

It is also used by Sir Thomas More: 'Ye shal see that I deceue you not as master Masker dooeth, that thorow all his exposicion flitteth all fro the poynte, and *dyssimuleth* all the woordes of those old holy men.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 1056. And by Foxe in his account of the Disputation of John Huss before the University of Prague in 1348: 'Neyther are these things to be *dissimuled*, the whyche wee haue spoken of, for hee that may correcte any thyng, and doeth neglect the same, wythout all doubte he maketh hym selfe partaker of the sinne or offence.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 458, ed. 1583; but Foxe was here merely translating from the Latin, as is evident on comparing the following passage in the *Historia et Monumenta Joannis Hus:* 'Nec enim sunt *dissimulanda* quæ diximus, quia qui emendare potest et negligit, participem se proculdubio delicti constituit.' Pars i. fo. cxix. b. ed. 1558. And so Brende, in his translation of Q. Curtius, says, 'In the meane season when soeuer Bagoas got the Kyng alone, he would fil his credulous eares with tales against Orcynes, euer *dissimulinge* the cause of hys dyspleasure, lest therby he myght lose the credite of his false report' (fo. 207, ed. 1553); the original being, 'Interim quoties sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures implebat; *dissimulans* causam iræ, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset.'—Lib. x. cap. 1.

Distemperature, *unhealthiness.*—II. 405 and note.

Domesticall, *domestic.*—I. 22; II. 60, 78, 407. From the Latin 'domesticus,' for it does not appear that even in the middle ages any such word as 'domesticalis' was ever in use. The English form of the word appears to be exceedingly rare. We find it, however, in Udall's translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. Matthew x.: 'I am not come to sowe peace and concorde, but the swearde and warre, and that shalbe an inwarde and *domestical* warre betwene dere frende and frend, and not ciuile warre onely betwene such as be no kif nor kynne together. . . . Whom *domesticall* acquaintaunce hathe made louers and veray nere frendes, them shall the sweorde of the gospel set in soonder.'—Tom. i. fo. xlvi. ed. 1551, and as the original has 'bellum etiam intestinum ac domesticum non modo civile' and 'quos domestica consuetudo fecerat homini conjunctissimos' (*Paraph. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 65, ed. 1541), the above translation seems to show that 'domestical' was formed from the Latin. On the other hand it occurs in Nicoll's *Hist. of Thucydides*, which professes to be 'translated oute of Frenche': 'In his retourne from Cipres, taking the cytie of Bizance, togither with the people that the king had left there in garnysone, amongest whom ther were many his parentes and *domesticals* or housholdes, that same Pausanias sente theym again secretly, fayning that they were escaped.'—Fo. xli. b, ed. 1550, the original translation of Claude de Seyssel being, 'entre lesquelz en y auoit plusieurs ses parens et *domesticques.*'—Fo. xxv. Hall, in his account of the parliament, held in 1413–14, says: 'Many peticions moued wer for that tyme deferred. Emongest whiche requestes one was, that a bill exhibited in the parliamente holden at Westminster in the xi yere of kyng Henry the fourth (whiche by reason that the kyng was then vexed and troubled with ciuill deuision and *domesticall* dissencion came to none effect) might now bee well studied, pondered,

regarded, and brought to some good conclusion.'—*Chron.* fo. xxxv. ed. 1548.

Doulce, *soft, smooth, sweèt.*—I. 154. This is merely the French word. Palsgrave has: 'Softe or mylde—m. *doulx*, f. *doulce s.* Softe or swete—m. *doulcereux*, f. *doulcereuse s.* m. *doulx*, f. *doulce s.* Softe, gentyll of condycions—m. *doulx*, f. *doulce s.*' and 'Swete in tast—m. *doulx*, f. *doulce s.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 324, 326. Cotgrave gives the following proverbs: '*Douce parole n'escorche langue*, We say, *good* words breake no bones. *Douce parole rompt grand' ire*, Gentle words appease the irefull. *Douces promesses obligent les fols*, Faire promises oblige fooles, or as our Faire words make fooles faine.' Richardson does not take any note of the fact that the word 'dulce' is merely the French *doulce* or *douce*, although of course derived originally from the Latin 'dulcis.'

Dragges, *dregs.*—I. 147. This word is often confounded by the early writers with 'drugs,' which is perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the similarity of sound, but the latter is, of course, a mere translation of *drogues*, whereas the origin of the former is much disputed. The Latin word 'fæx' was represented by the Anglo-Saxon words *drabbe*, *dresten*, and *dros* according to Somner, while in the *Promptorium* we find not only 'Dreggys or drestys, *Fex.* Dreggy (dresty) or fulle of drestys, *Feculentus.* Dreggys of oyle (drestis), *Amurca.* Dreggys or lyys of wyne (drestis or lese), *Tartarum*;' but 'Dragge, menglyd corne (drage or mestlyon), *Mixtio*,' and 'Drosse or fylthe where of hyt be (qwat so it be), *Ruscum, rusculum.*' Palsgrave too gives 'Dregges—*lie de biere ou de vin s*, f. Drestes of oyle—*lie dhuille s*, f. Drosse of metall—*refus*, m.,' and 'Drostynesse (Drestynesse?)—*lieuseté z*, f.—*L'Esclair.* p. 215. It seems evident therefore that drestes and dregs were synonymous, and Dr. Skinner, whilst suggesting that the latter is derived from the former, offers as alternative roots the Teutonic Treck or Dreck = stercus, lutum; and Drusen = fæx. M. Littré connects 'dregs' with the French *drague*, which he says is 'orge cuite qui demeure dans le brassin après qu'on a cuit la bière,' and derives from 'the old Scandinavian word dregg.' On the other hand he deduces the word drêche, which he explains as '*résidu* de l'orge germée et concassée qui a servi à la fabrication de la bière' from the old German (Teutonic?) word drescan, modern dreschen = battre le blé. But are not both words synonymous representatives of the mediæval 'drascus'? Matthew Paris, in his life of Abbot Garinus, quotes a charter of the Church of St. Mary de Prato, in which the latter word occurs: 'Concedimus præbendam quotidianam ad duos equos de granario nostro sumendam, et unam cribrum furfuris, et majoram cuvam de *drasco*, unaquaque septimana.'—*Vitæ Abbat.* p. 97. The editor of the edition of 1640 on this remarks: '"Cuvam de drasco" existimo fuisse hordeum sive Brasserium coctum, postquam cervisia inde exprimeretur. *Draines, Graines, Draffe* and *Drosse* nos dicimus.' M. Littré, indeed, seems to admit that this may be the correct view, for he adds: 'Cependant Scheler (the author of *Dict. d'Etymol. Franc.* 1873) est disposè a n'y (*i.e.* drague) voir qu'une forme variée de drêche.' Mr. Thorold Rogers, in his *Hist. of Agricult. and Prices*, tells us that in the fourteenth century 'pigs were kept for some time on grains, called *drasch* in the accounts.' This is, of course, the same as the drascus, mentioned above. There is a passage in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, which may be aptly cited as showing the connection between this word and those given by Littré:

> '"Ye bawe," quod a brewere, "I wil nouyt be reuled,
> Bi ihesu! for al yowre ianglynge with *spiritus justicie*,
> Ne after conscience, by cryste, whil I can selle
> Bothe *dregges* and draffe, and drawe it at on hole
> Thikke ale and thinne ale, for that is my kynde."'
>
> Part. ii. p. 362, ed. 1869. *Early Engl. Text. Soc.*

And Ascham seems to imply the same

relation when he says: 'There is nothing that stoppeth this matter, save only a few freers and such like, which with the *dregs* of our English Papistry lurking amongst them, study nothing else but to *brew* battle and strife betwixt both the people.'—*Toxophilus*, p. 76, ed. 1864. Bishop Pilkington uses the same form as Elyot: 'Why should rather heresy come by reading then by hearyng? Nay, thys is their meanyng, they wold haue no preaching nor yet readyng, sauyng of their dirty *dragges* of popery, whych mayntaynes their ydle lordlynes, where as the Scripture setteth out theyr wyckednes, whyche they wyll not haue knowen nor yet once touched.'—*Exposicion on Aggeus*, sig. R. iii. ed. 1560. Brende, in his translation of Q. Curtius, lib. x. cap. 2, 'Soli Athenienses, non suæ modo, sed etiam publicæ vindices libertatis, *colluvionem* hominum, quia ægrè ferebant, non regio imperio sed, legibus moribusque patriis regi assueti, prohibuere finibus; omnia potius toleraturi quàm *purgamenta* quondam urbis suæ, tunc etiam exilii admitterent,' has a yet different form of the same word, 'Only the Athenians which euer defended obstinatly the liberties of their comen wealth, and which had not bene accustomed to liue under the obedience of any king, but under the lawes and customes of their countrey, wold not agre that such *dredge* of men shuld liue amonges them, but did driue them out of their boundes, redy to suffre any thing rather then to receiue such againe as sometime were the rascall of al their citie, and then the refuse of al the outlawes.'—Fo. 209 b, ed. 1553. It may be observed that to *dress* corn is a phrase still in use, in agricultural districts, for to winnow, and seems not unnaturally connected with the words 'drestes' and German 'dreschen,' mentioned above.

E.

Edifie, *to build.*—I. 45; II. 259. The French *edifier*. Palsgrave has: 'I *edyfye*, I buylde. *J'edifie*, prim. conj. He is nat wyse that *edyfyeth* sumptuously upon an other mannes grounde: *il n'est pas saige qui edifie sumptueusement sur les fons*, or *terres daultruy*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 531. Cotgrave renders *edifier* 'to *edifie*, build: frame, erect, found, make up (any thing, but especially) a house.' Froissart, speaking of Pope Gregory XI., says: 'Quand il vit qu'il ne pouvoit trouver nulle paix entre le roi de France et le roi d'Angleterre, dont trop lui vénoit à déplaisance, car moult y avoit travaillé et fait travailler les cardinaux, s'avisa et eut dévotion que il iroit revisiter Rome et le saint siège que Saint Pierre et Saint Paul avoient *édifié* et augmenté.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 21, ed. Pan. Lit.; which is thus translated by Lord Berners: 'Than he aduysed himselfe, and had a deuocion to go and reuyset Rome and the see apostolyke, the whiche saynt Peter and saynte Poule had *edefyed*.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 509. ed. 1812. Hearne prints in the appendix to *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle* a poem on the foundation of the Abbey of Gloucester, said to be by William Malverne, the last abbot, and who, according to Leland, occupied that position from 1514 to the dissolution. In this poem we read that—

> 'When Osrike, as sayd is, *edified* this building,
> Which carved was with Caracts wondrous to see,
> On most goodly of places in that time being,
> He it indued, of his liberality,
> With pleasant possessions and large liberty.'
>
> Vol. ii. p. 578, ed. 1724.

Chaucer uses the word in this, its primitive sense, in his Ballad *To the Lords and Gentilmen*:

> 'Wherefore in youth I rede you *edifie*
> The house of vertue in such a manere,
> That in your age may you keepe and gie,
> Fro the tempest of worlds wawes here.'
>
> *Works*, fo. 318 b, ed. 1602.

And in the *Testament of Love* he says: 'Lo, this man began to *edifie*, but for his foundement is bad, to the ende may he it nat bring.'—*Works*, fo. 276 b, ed. 1602.

And so does Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*:

'A litle lowly Hermitage it was,
Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side,
Far from resort of people that did pas
In traveill to and froe: a litle wyde
There was an holy chappell *edifyde*,
Wherein the Hermite dewly wont to say
His holy thinges each morne and eventyde.'
Poet. Works. vol. i. p. 121, ed. 1866.

Again:

'At last, as nigh out of the wood she came,
A stately castle, far away, she spyde,
To which her steps directly she did frame.
That castle was most goodly *edifyde*;
And plaste for pleasure nigh that forest syde.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 245.

So too Daniel in his *Civile Warres* uses the word in this sense:

'For see what workes, what infinite expence,
What monuments of zeale they *edifie*;
As if they would, so that no stop were found
Fill all with temples, make all holy ground.'
P. 151, ed. 1609.

Eftsones, *again*.—I. 3, 20, 34, 178, 198, 294; II, 35, 56, 71, 144, 145, 177, 190, 213, 242, 269, 300, 304, 368. This is a regular Anglo-Saxon word. The author in his *Dictionary* translates iterum '*efte soones* or agayne,' and the verb itero, are, 'to do a thynge *eftesoones*, to goo backe agayne,' whilst Palsgrave has: 'Eftsones, *encore de rechief*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 858. It is used by Sir John Maundevile: 'The Sarazines countrefeten it (*i.e.* balm) be sotyltee of craft for to disceyven the cristene men, as I have seen fulle many a tyme. And aftre hem the Marchauntis and the Apotecaries countrefeten it *eftsones*, and than it is lasse worthe and a gret del worse.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 62, ed. 1727. And also by Chaucer as *ex. gr.* in *The Milleres Tale*:

'And atte laste heende Nicholas
Gan for to syke sore, and seyde, "Allas!
Schal al the world be lost *eftsones* now?"'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 107.

And in *The Man of Lawes Tale*:

'Almighty God, that saveth al mankynde,
Have on Constaunce and on hir child som mynde!
That fallen is in hethen hond *eftsone*,
In poynt to spille, as I schal telle you soone.' *Ubi supra*, p. 197.

Again in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

'"Sires, she nys no prisoner," he seyde,
"I not on yow, who that this charge layde;
But, on my part, ye may *eftsones* hem telle,
We usen here no wommen for to selle."'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 307.

And in *The Romaunt of the Rose*:

'For if that I telle you the sothe,
I may have harme and shame bothe.
If that my felowes wisten it,
My talis shulden me be quytt;
For certeyne they wolde hate me,
If ever I knewe her cruelté!
For they wolde overalle holde hem stille
Of trouthe that is ageyne her wille;
Suche tales kepen they not here.
I myght *eftsoone* bye it fulle deere,
If I seide of hem ony thyng,
That ought displesith to her heryng.'
Ibid. vol. vi. pp. 185, 186.

It occurs also frequently in Spenser's poems, thus in *The Faerie Queene*:

'The Miser threw him selfe as an offall,
Streight at his foot in base humilitee,
And cleeped him his liege, to hold of him in fee.
So happy peace they made and faire accord.
Eftsoones this liegeman gan to wexe more bold,
And when he felt the folly of his Lord,
In his owne kind he gan him selfe unfold.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 90, ed. 1866.

And in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*:

'The ape, clad souldierlike, fit for th' intent,
In a blew jacket with a crosse of redd,
And manie slits, as if that he had shedd
Much blood throgh many wounds therein receaved,
Which had the use of his right arm bereaved.
But neither sword nor dagger he did beare;
Seemes that no foes revengement he did feare.
Instead of them a handsome bat he held,
On which he leaned as one farre in elde.
* * * * * * *
Eftsoones the ape himselfe gan up to reare,
And on his shoulders high his bat to beare,
As if good service he were fit to doo.'
Ibid. vol. v. pp. 8, 9.

The notion of iteration implied in the word is well illustrated by Holland's translation of the following passage of Livy: 'Ardens igitur irâ tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem: consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse *clamitans*, sine imperio sine magistratu.'—Lib. ii. cap. 56. 'Whereupon the Tribune, chafed and set into an heat, sendeth an officer to the Consull, the Consull likewise a lictor to the Tribune, *crying*

eftsoones alowd that he was but a privat person without command, without magistracie.'—P. 83, ed. 1600.

Eie, at the, *at a glance, visibly, before the eye.*—I. 45, 187; II. 85, 401. There is no doubt that this obsolete phrase represents literally the French *à l'œil, aux yeux.* This will appear from considering the following examples, which are arranged in chronological order, beginning with *La Chanson de Roland*, composed in the eleventh century, where we first find the expression used as follows: 'Kar *à mes oilz* (je) vi quatre cenz milie armez.' P. 22, ed. 1869. In the following century we have in the *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie*:

'Mais li vilains el reprovier
Dit: Teus demeine grant orguil,
Ne set que li pent *al oil.*'
Tom. i. p. 594, ed. 1836.

Joffroi de Villehardouin, who died about 1213, says in his *Conqueste de Constantinople:* 'Quand il virent ces haus murs et ces riches tours dont ele estoit close, et ces riches palais et ces hautes yglises, dont il avoit tant que nus nel péust croire s'il ne le véist proprement *à l'ueil.*'—P. 39, ed. 1838; and in the famous *Roman du Renart*, which belongs to the same epoch, we have these lines:

'Ahi! Renart, trop ai sofert
Ton grant orguel et ton desroi,
Mès se j'en ai congié del Roi,
Jà auras la bataille *à l'oil.*
Renart respont, riens tant ne voil.'
Tom. ii. p. 182, ed. 1826.

Jean le Maingre, commonly known as le Maréchal Boucicaut, died in 1421, and in the prologue to his history, which was written by a contemporary, this phrase occurs: 'Ce sont lettres et escriptures lesquelles sont le premier membre de Science, par qui nous sont rapportées les choses passées, et que *à l'œuil* nous ne voyons mie.'—*Hist. du Mar. de Boucicaut*, p. 9, ed. 1620. Commines says: 'J'ai vu beaucoup d'examples de ceste matière *à l'œil*, et ne parle pas par ouyr dire.' *Mém.* p. 32, ed. Pan. Lit. Coming now to the sixteenth century, Montaigne says: 'En voylà, qui, pour touts iuges, employent en leurs causes le premier passant qui voyage le long de leurs montaignes; et ces aultres eslisent, le iour du marché, quelqu'un d'entr'eux, qui, sur le champ, decide touts leurs procez. Quel dangier y auroit il que les plus sages vuidassent ainsi les nostres, selon les occurrences, et *à l'œil*, sans obligation d'example et de consequence?'—*Essais*, tom. iv. pp. 249, 250, ed. 1854. M. Carloix employs the same expression: 'N'estant au reste si dépourvû de sens et d'experience, qu'il ne sçust bien faire la guerre *à l'œil.*'—*Mém. de Vieilleville*, tom. i. p. 19, ed. 1757. It is used by Philippe Desportes, the poet, in his *Diverses Amours:*

'Bien que *je voye à l'œil* mon malheur preparé
Et que le desespoir soit ma seule esperance.'
Œuvres, p. 389, ed. 1858.

And also by D'Aubigné, the contemporary of Desportes:

'Jadis voz compagnons, compagnons en orgueil,
(Car vous estes moins forts), virent venir *à l'œil*
Leur salaires des cieux: les cieux dont les ventailles
Sans se forcer, gaignoient tant de fortes batailles.'
Les Tragiques, p. 269, ed. 1857.

The English equivalent expression is used by Archbishop Parker in a letter to Queen Elizabeth about 1560: 'We trust that He whose cause it is, and who hath begun this notable work in you, shall perform it to the glory of God, to your eternal fame and renown, to the establishing of your reign in all prosperity and wealth, and to the comfort of the whole Christian world, which, as may appear daily *at eye*, laboureth universally to be disburdened from that old tyrannical yoke, and to aspire to Christian liberty.'—*Corresp.* p. 130, ed. 1853, Par. Soc.

Embraide, Embrayde, *to upbraid.*—I. 34, 40; II. 333, 421. This form is used by Udall to translate the word exprobro in his version of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon S. Mark xiii.: 'For the sunne, the fountayne of lyght shall wexe darke, therby as it were *embrayding* the ungodly with theyr blyndnes, because they would not se the

euerlasting Sunne and lanterne of the worlde.'—Tom. i. p. clxxxix. b. ed. 1551; where the original has, 'Nam sol luminis fons obtenebrescet, velut *exprobrans* impiis suam cæcitatem,' &c.—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom i. p. 256, ed. 1541. Again in the paraphrase upon S. Luke vii.: 'The pourpose that he wente aboute was, by makyng a countenaunce of merueillyng, to commende unto the Jewes the centurions affiaunce and assured trust in God, and also to *embraide* them with their unbelief, by this exaumple of a man being bothe an heathen and a souldier.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. cclxxviii. b.; where Erasmus had written, 'Hoc agebat ut admiratione suâ Iudæis commendaret fiduciam erga deum, et eis incredulitatem ipsorum hominis ethnici et militaris exemplo *exprobraret*.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 353. Hall, speaking of the congress of Arras in 1435, says: 'When this league was sworne, and this knot was knit, the duke of Burgoyne, to sette a vayle before the kyng of Englandes iyes, sent Thoison Dor, his kyng at armes, to kyng Henry with letters, that he beyng not only waxed faint and weried with continual warre and daily conflictes, but also chafed daily with complaintes and lamentacion of his people, whiche of the Frenchemen suffered losse and detriment, *embraydyng* and rebukyng hym openly, affirmyng that he onely was the supporter and mainteyner of the Englishe people.'—*Chron.* fo. cxxviii. ed. 1548.

Emote, *an ant.*—II. 164 and note. In the author's *Dictionary* we find Formica rendered 'An *Emote*, or Ant, or Pismere.' This word is more often spelt emmot, or emmet, and represents the Anglo-Saxon æmet or emet. Bishop Jewel uses the same form as Elyot in the following passage: 'St. Augustine saith, "Vide *formicam* Dei; surgit quotidie; currit ad ecclesiam Dei; orat; audit lectionem; hymnum cantat; ruminat quod audit; apud se cogitat; recondit intus grana electa de areâ." Behold God's *emote*: she riseth daily; she runneth to the church of God; she prayeth; she heareth the lesson of chapter; she singeth the psalm; she cheweth or remembereth that she hath heard; she museth upon it within herself; and within she layeth up the corns chosen from the floor."'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 858, ed. 1850. Par. Soc.

Empeche, *to hinder.*—I. 248. The French *empescher*, or *empêcher*. Palsgrave has, 'I *empesshe*, or let one of his purpose. *J'empesche*, prim. conj. Do what thou wylte, thou shalte nat be *empesshed* for me: *fay ceu que te plaira, tu ne seras pas empesché pour moy*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 531. Froissart, speaking of Gregory XI, says: 'Et lui étant en Avignon, il s'étoit si fort *empêché* des besognes de France, et tant travaillé du roi et de ses frères, que à peine pouvoit-il à lui entendre.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 21, ed. Pan. Lit.; this Lord Berners renders: 'And he thus beyng in Auignon, was so *sore lette* with the besynesses of Fraunce, and so sore traueyled with the kyng and his brethern, that with moche payne he had any leyser to take hede anythyng to himselfe or to his churche.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 509, ed. 1812. Spenser has the word in the same sense in *The Faerie Queene:*

> 'Whenas the noble Prince had marked well,
> He ghest his nature by his countenance,
> And calm'd his wrath with goodly temperance.
> Then, to him stepping, from his arme did reach
> Those keyes, and made himselfe free enterance.
> Each dore he opened without any breach;
> There was no bar to stop, nor foe him to *empeach*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 213, ed. 1866.

And again in the same poem:

> 'Indeede, (quoth he) through fowle intemperaunce,
> Frayle men are oft captiv'd to covetise;
> But would they thinke with how small allowaunce
> Untroubled Nature doth her selfe suffise,
> Such superfluities they would despise,
> Which with sad cares *empeach* our native joyes.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 138.

Endomage, *to do damage to, to injure.*—II. 14. The French *endommager*; which Cotgrave translates 'to indamage, incommodate, hinder; bring

or breed losse unto.' Palsgrave has, 'I damage, I hurte or hynder a person. *J'endammaige*, prim. conj. Thou haste damaged more than all the frendes thou hast be worthe; *tu mas plus endammaigé que tous tes amys nont vaillant.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 506. Froissart, in his account of the capture of Dynant in 1342, says: 'Entre ces archers avoit autres assaillans qui portoient cognées grands et bien tranchans dont, entrementes que les archers ensonnioient ceux de dedans, ils coupoient les palis, et en bref temps grandement les *endommagèrent*, et tant qu'ils en jetèrent un grand pan par terre, et entrèrent dedans efforcément.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 175, ed. Pan. Lit.

Enforce, *to force, compel.*—I. 180; II. 104, 221. This verb which is used in the sense of the uncompounded word, represents the French, *efforcer*, not *enforcir*, as Richardson would have us believe, for the meaning of the latter is rather to add force to, and thus to make or become stronger, whereas the idea of constraint, or compulsion, is always associated with the former. This is evident from the following passages in Palsgrave's work. 'I *enforce*, I constrayne one to do a thyng. *Je parforce*, prim. conj. and *jefforce*, prim. conj. By saynt Marye, and he wyll nat do it, he shall be *enforced* to it: *par saincte Marie, sil ne le veult poynt faire, il y sera forcé*, or *parforcé de le faire.*' And 'I force, I constrayne one to do a thyng. *Jefforce*, prim. conj. Wyll you force me to speke for you whether I wyll or nat: *me voulez-vous efforcer à parler pour vous veuille ou non?*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 534, 555. In the *Livres de Jostice et de Plet*, compiled in the thirteenth century, it is stated that 'un soz-diacre se maria; le évesque le *efforça* forjurer sa feme: l'en dist que il fist bien.'—'P. 193, ed. 1850. And in the fifteenth century Commines says, 'Ainsi donc est vray-semblable que Dieu est quasi *efforcé* et contraint, ou semons de monstrer plusieurs signes, et de nous battre de plusieurs verges, pour nostre bestialité, et pour nostre mauvaistié que je croy mieux.—'*Mém.* p. 149, ed. Pan. Lit. In Elyot's *Dictionary* we find impello rendered 'to inforce' and impulsus, 'inforced.' The use of the word is well illustrated by the following passages taken from Brende's translation of Q. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 1: 'Equidem plura transcribo, quàm credo: nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quæ accepi.' 'Some tyme I am *enforced* to write thynges that I can scarsely beleue; for I neither dare affirme the thinges wherof I doubt, nor counceale suche thinges as I haue receiued for truthe.'—Fo. 182 b, ed. 1553. 'Bella deinde civilia, quæ secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur: iterum, non de regno Asiæ, sed de Rege, ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum.'—Lib. x. cap. 5. 'And then they began to conceiue and forsee in their mindes, the ciuill warres that did eusue, and that they shoulde be *enforced* to shede their bloude againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one that would go about to make himselfe king.'—*Ubi supra* fo. 216. 'His renuntiatis suâ sponte milites arma capiunt; quorum tumultu è regiâ Philippus excitus, "Nihil," inquit, "seditione est opus; nam inter se certantium prœmia, qui quieverint, occupabunt."'—Lib. x. cap. 8. 'When they were returned and their aunswere knowen, the souldiers without any appointment put on their armour and made suche a tumult, that the kyng was *enforced* to come furth of the court, and saide unto them, If we shalbe at strife amonges ourselues, our enemies that be quiet shall enioye the frute of our contencion.'—*Ubi supra* fo. 223. Sir John Davies, in his *Discoverie of the State of Ireland*, speaking of the forces maintained by Queen Elizabeth in the island, says, 'The extreame perill of loosing the kingdome, the dishonor and danger that might thereby growe to the Crowne of England, together with a iust disdaine conceiued by that great minded Queene, that so wicked and ungratefull a Rebell should preuayle against her who had euer been victorious against all her enemies, did moue and almost *enforce* her to send

ouer that mighty army.'—P. 98, ed. 1613.

Enforme, *to shape, fashion, mould*; and hence *to instruct, teach.*—I. 91. In Elyot's *Dictionary* we find Informo translated 'to shape or fourme, to *enforme* or teache good maners.' The phrase 'Magister informator' was used to denote one whom we should now call a class-master. Cotgrave renders the French *enformer*, 'to forme, fashion, add shape or making unto.' The word is quite classical; thus it is used by Virgil in the primitive sense above mentioned.

'Ingentem clypeum *informant*, unum omnia contra
Tela Latinorum; septenosque orbibus orbes
Impediunt.
Æn. viii. 447-9.

And constantly by Cicero, as *ex. gr.* in the following passages: 'Huic veri videndi cupiditati adjuncta est appetitio quædam principatûs, ut nemini parere animus bene à naturâ *informatus* velit, nisi præcipienti, aut docenti, aut utilitatis causâ, justè et legitimè imperanti.' —*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 4. And 'Jam vero Chrysippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrimus habetur interpres, magnam turbam congregat ignotorum Deorum, atque ita ignotorum, ut eos ne conjecturâ quidem *informare* possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse depingere.'—*De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 15. In view of these and other passages it is somewhat startling to be told by Dr Skinner that informare is 'vox classicis authoribus prorsus ignota,' although the learned author of *Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ* is obliging enough to admit that this hardly used word is 'valdè elegans.' It is more inexcusable in Richardson not only to endorse this statement with the weight of his authority, but to add the singularly infelicitous description 'Low Latin.' Chaucer in *The Persones Tale* uses the word in its original sense. 'This vertu (debonairté) cometh som tyme of nature; for, as saith the philosopher, Man is a quik thing by nature, debonaire and tretable by goodnesse; but whan debonaireté is *enformed* of grace, than is it the more worth.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 321, ed. 1866. Sir John Maundevile says 'Sithe that Cristene men han suche beleeve that ben *enformed* and taughte alle day be holy doctryne, where inne thei schold beleeve, it is no marvaylle thanne that the Paynemes, that han no gode Doctryne, but only of here nature, beleeven more largely, for here symplenesse.'—*The Voiage, &c.*, p. 201, ed. 1727. Tyndall uses it in precisely the same way. 'For he that doth wrong lacketh witte and discretion, and cannot amende till he be *enformed* and taught louingly.'—*Works*, p. 203, ed. 1573. In a letter written by John Bradford the Martyr, and dated March 14, 1555, the word seems to be employed in the first sense. 'So, my dearly beloved, though it be something painful to feel God's mason-work, considering what you feel, yet, if you cast out your hope on that which you believe, and if the Hewer all-to commenceth, God is now *enforming* you—surely it cannot but suppress the other much, if that your faith be much.'—*Writings*, vol. ii. p. 204, ed. 1853, Par. Soc. So Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*:

'He knew the diverse went of mortall wayes,
And in the mindes of men had great insight;
Which with sage counsell, when they went astray,
He could *enforme*, and them reduce aright.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 166, ed. 1866.

Engine, Engynne, *device, instrument, invention*, also in a bad sense, *cunning, craft.*—I. 284; II, 215. The French *engin*; which Cotgrave translates 'An *engin*, toole instrument; also understanding, policy, reach of wit; also subtilty, fraud, craft, wilinesse, deceit. *Un homme sans mal engin.* A sincere, upright plain-dealing man. *Mieux vaut engin que force.* Prov. Better be wise then strong.' This word is a very favourite one with Froissart; thus speaking of the siege of Aiguillon in 1346, he says, 'Si ne pouvoient les seigneurs plus aviser voie, manière, ni *engin* comment ils pussent le fort châtel d'Aiguillon conquerre.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 216, ed. P. L. Again he makes Henry de Pennefort in a con-

versation with the Earl of Mountfort say of the town of Hainnebon, 'Vous y pourriez seoir et perdre le temps d'un an, ainçois que vous les pussiez avoir par force ; mais je vous dirai, si croire me voulez, comment vous les pourrez avoir. Il fait bon ouvrer par *engin*, quand on ne peut avant aller par force.' —*Ubi supra*. p. 131 ; which is thus rendered by Lord Berners : 'But, sir, if it wyll please you to byleue me I shal shewe you the wayes howe to wynne it, whanne force can nat helpe, *subtylte and craft* must auayle.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 89. Speaking of the truce of Tournay in 1340, Froissart says, 'Elle ne devoit entrer jusqu'à quarante jours ; dedans lesquels quarante jours chacune des parties le devoit faire savoir aux siens, sans nul *engin*.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 125. Or according to Lord Berners. 'This treuse to begyn the xl day next ensuyng, and within that space euery partie to gyue knowlege to his men without *mallengyn*.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 85. And we are told that M. Jean de Péquigny 'pourchassa tant par son subtil *engin* envers aucuns des bourgeois d'Amiens des plus grands de la cité, que il les eut de son accord ; et devoient mettre les Navarrois dedans la ville.' —*Ubi supra*, p. 389. This is rendered pleonastically : 'He dyde so moche by his *subtyltie, wytte, and fayre language* with certayne burgesses of Amyens of the greattest of the cyte, that they shulde haue sufferedde the nauerose to entre into the cytie.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 225. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in his translation of Erasmus's *Moriæ Encomium*, says, 'These quaynt questions (wene I) the apostles woulde neuer haue soluted with lyke quickenesse of *engin*, as our Dunsmen dooe bothe argue and diffine upon the same.'—Signat. M. i b, ed. 1549. Puttenham uses the word in a similar manner in speaking of 'false orthography' in his *Arte of Eng. Poesie*. 'Such extreme licentiousnesse is utterly to be banished from our schoole, and better it might haue bene borne with in old riming writers, bycause they liued in a barbarous age, and were graue morall men but very homely poets, such also as made most of their workes by translation out of the Latine and French toung, and few or none of their owne *engine*, as may easely be knowen to them that list to looke upon the poemes of both languages.'—Vol. i. p. 68, ed. 1811. Spenser uses the word precisely in the same way as Elyot when he says :

> 'Him therefore now the object of his spight
> And deadly food he makes : him to offend,
> By forged treason or by open fight,
> He seekes, of all his drifte the aymed end :
> Thereto his subtile *engins* he does bend,
> His practick witt and his fayre fyled tonge,
> With thousand other sleightes ; for well he kend
> His credit now in doubtfull ballaunce hong :
> For hardly could bee hurt who was already stong.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 60, ed. 1866.

Bacon, alluding to the capture of Lambert Symnell, says, 'And thus delivered of this so strange an *engine* and new invention of fortune, he (*i.e.*, Hen. VII.) returned to his former confidence of mind, thinking now that all his misfortunes had come at once.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 59, ed. 1858.

Enseignement, *teaching, showing*. —I. 24. The French word *enseignement* ; which Cotgrave translates, 'A teaching, instruction, document, precept, institution, doctrine ; lesson or example set ; a disciplining, ordering, fashioning, directing, or trayning up.' The word occurs in the *Histoire du Mareschal de Boucicaut*, written in the fifteenth century : 'Ne dons, ne esmolumens quelsconques ne veult prendre que on luy veüille donner à cause de l'office du Gouuernement qu'il a. Et en ce faisant tient bien l'*enseignement* du saige Duc d'Athenes, qui fut appellé Pericles, qui disoit, comme rapporte Justin, Que il affiert à chasque homme qui a l'administration de justice de ne contenir pas seulement ses mains et sa langue, mais aussi ses yeux.'—P. 377, ed. 1620. In the next century, Montaigne, narrating the story of Pætus and his wife Arria, says : 'Pætus se frappa tout subdain de ce mesme glaive : honteux, à mon advis, d'avoir eu besoing d'un si cher et precieux *en-*

seignement.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 233, ed. 1854.

Entrelase, Enterlace, *to interlace, intermix.*—I. 38, 68, 209; II. 398 note b.

Entreludes, Enterludes, *Interludes*, or *Moral plays.*—I. 126; II. 270, This word, which is not adequately explained in any of the dictionaries, is manifestly the vulgar rendering of the mediæval word 'interludium,' *i.e.* a piece performed or acted 'inter ludos,' or as Mr. Collier defines it 'a piece played in the interval of an entertainment.' The Latin word is used by Matthew Paris in his life of King Offa, written about 1240. He does not explain its meaning, and apparently introduces it, in accordance with the usual practice of the monastic chroniclers, simply to express his own disapproval of such frivolities. After mentioning the request, preferred to Offa by his courtiers, that he would marry, in order to preserve the succession to the throne, the chronicler goes on: 'Et cum super hoc negotio sæpius Regem sollicitarent et alloquerentur; ipse multotiens joculando et talia verba asserendo, *interludia* fuisse vanitatis, procerum suorum constantiam dissimulando differendoque delusit.'—*Vita Offæ I.* p. 6, ed. 1639. The editor of the edition here quoted gives the following explanation in his glossary: 'Fabulas scenicas nos Angli *Interludes* subinde vocamus.' The word occurs for the first time in the Statutes of the Realm, in 1463, when 3 Ed. IV. cap. 5, after specifying the gradations of apparel, to be worn by different classes of society, contains the following proviso: 'Pourveu auxi que Hensmen, Heroldes, Purcyvauntez, Swerdeberers, as Maires, Messagers et Ministrelles nascun deux ne jouers en lour *entreludes* ne soient comprisez en cest ordenaunce.'—In the rolls of Winchester College for 1466, according to Mr. Collier, 'persons of this profession are called *interludentes* in an entry of the payment of 4*s.* to, "iv. interludentibus et J. Meke citharistæ," who accompanied them as their minstrel.'—*Ann. of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 28, ed. 1831. Mr. Collier also quotes from a MS. then in the Chapter House, Westminster, an entry under date May 17, 1494, of the payment of 5 marcs apiece, to four persons, who are styled: 'Lusores Regis alias in linguâ Anglicanâ les pleyars of the kyngs *enterluds.*'—*Ubi supra*, p. 37. Warton mentions a play or morality printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504, and entitled, 'The Nigramansir, a morall *Enterlude* and a pithie, written by Maister Skelton, laureate, and plaid before the king and other estatys, at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday.'—*Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 508, ed. 1840. Palsgrave renders: 'Interlude—*moralité z*, f.,' but he has also: 'Playe an enterlude—*farce s*, f., Playe of sadde matters—*moralité z*, f.' —*L'Esclair.* pp. 234, 255; which seems to point to the distinction between the two kinds of dramatic representation. Hall, in his account of 'the Justes' before the Court at Westminster, in 1510, says: 'After soupper hys grace with the Quene, lordes and ladyes, came into the White Hall within the sayd Pallays, whiche was hanged rychely, the hall was scafolded and rayled on all partes. There was an *interlude* of the gentelmen of hys chapell before his grace, and diuers freshe songes.'—Fo. x b, ed. 1548. In the *PP. Expenses of the Princess Mary*, under date March 1537-1538, is an entry of the payment of 40*s.*, 'geuen to Heywood, playeng an *enterlude* with his children bifore my ladys grace.'—P. 62. Bacon, in his *Advice to Villiers*, says: 'Besides matters of serious consideration, in the courts of princes there must be time for pastimes and disports; when there is a queen, and ladies of honour attending her, there must be sometimes masques, and revels, and *interludes*; and when there is no queen nor princess, as now, yet at festivals, and for entertainment of strangers, or upon such occasions, they may be fit also.'—*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 54, ed. 1872. Mr. Collier is of opinion that the use of the word 'interlude' implies 'that the plays and pageants represented at court, and else-

where, were usually performed in the pauses of banquets.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 93.

Erogate; Erogation, *to distribute; distribution.*—II. 91 and note, 363.

Esbaied, *abashed, dismayed, frightened.*—II. 323 and note.

Esbatement, *pastime, sport.*—I. 64; II. 13. The French *esbatement*; which Cotgrave translates, 'A sporting, playing, dallying, jeasting, recreation.' Palsgrave has, 'Pastyme—*passetemps*, m; *esbatement s*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 252. Also 'Sporte, myrthe—*soulas*, m. *jeu x*, m.; *esbat z*, m.; *deduict z*, m.; *esbatement s*, m.—*Ibid.* p. 274. Jean le Maire, a celebrated Belgian writer, in his *Illustrations de Gaule*, published in the sixteenth century, speaking of the death of Hector, says: 'Le lendemain Achilles, pour faire honneur a feu son amy Patroclus, mist sus ung grant tournoy et celebra les ieux funebres de toutes manieres *desbatementes* au tumbeau dudit Patroclus, en distribuant par grant largesse diuerses manieres de pris a ceulx qui mieulx les feroient.'—Livre ii. chap. 19, ed. 1512. Froissart, in the Prologue to his Chronicle, uses this word in the sense of amusement. 'Mais ains que je la commence, je requiers au Sauveur de tout le monde, qui de néant créa toutes choses, qu'il veuille créer et mettre en moi sens et entendement si vertueux que, ce livre que j'ai commencé, je le puisse continuer et persévérer en telle manière que toux ceux et celles qui le liront, verront, et orront y puissent prendre *ébatement* et plaisance, et je encheoir en leur grâce.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 1, ed. Pan. Lit. This Lord Berners translates: 'But, or I begyn, I require the sauyour of all the worlde, who of nothyng created al thynges, that he wyll gyue me suche grace and understandyng, that I may continue and perseuer in such wyse that who so this proces redeth or hereth, may take *pastaunce*, pleasure, and ensample.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 1, ed. 1812. In *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, also referred to the fifteenth century, we find the same meaning attached to the word: 'Tout ce disoit par farce et *ébattement*, car il étoit et est toujours très gracieux et nouveau, et bien plaisant gentilhomme.'—P. 112, ed. Pan. Lit. No instances of the use of the word by English writers are given in the Dictionaries.

Espial, *the act of watching, spying*; also *a watchman, spy, scout.*—I. 254; II. 236. Formed from the French *espion*, which Cotgrave renders 'a spie, scout, *espiall*; a privy observer of, or prier into men's behaviour; a malicious dogger, watcher, waylayer of others.' Elyot in his *Dictionary* translates speculator 'an *espyall* in warres.' The word is used in the first sense by Gower.

> 'It was that tyme suche usance
> That euery man the conysaunce
> Of his contre bare in his honde,
> Whan he went into straunge londe:
> And thus was eueryman therfore
> Well knowe where that he was bore;
> For *espyall* and mystrowynges
> Thei did than suche thynges,
> That euery man might other knowe.'
>
> *Conf. Am.* fo. cxxxvi. ed. 1554.

Chaucer too, in *The Freres Tale*, says:

> 'He had a sompnour redy to his hond,
> A slyer boy was noon in Engelond;
> Ful prively he had his *espiaile*,
> That taughte him wher he might avayle.
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 247.

Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, describing how the Cardinal was robbed during his progress through France, says: 'And at Campaigne he lost his standishe, which was all of silver, and gilt: and there it was espied, and the party taken, which was but a little boy of twelve or thirteen yeares of age, a ruffians page of Paris. . . . Then after the *espiall* of this boy, my lord revealed the same unto the counsell, by meanes whereof the ruffian was apprehended, and set on the pillory, in the middest of the market place; a goodly recompense for such an offense.'—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, vol. i. p. 540, ed. 1853. Spenser has the word in the same sense.

> 'But for this threasure throwne uppon his strand;
> Which well I prove, as shall appeare by triall,
> To be this maides with whom I fastned hand,

Known by good markes and perfect good *espiall*:
Therefore it ought be rendred her without deniall.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 302.

In *First Part of King Henry VI.* we have the following dialogue.

'*York.* Are not the speedy scouts return'd again,
That dogg'd the mighty army of the Dauphin?
Messenger. They are return'd my lord; and give it out
That he is march'd to Bourdeaux with his power,
To fight with Talbot: as he march'd along,
By your *espials* were discovered
Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led;
Which join'd with him, and made their march for Bourdeaux.'

The word occurs also in the same sense in *Hamlet.*

'*King.* Sweet Gertrude, leave us too;
For we have closely sent for Hamlet hither,
That he, as, 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia:
Her father and myself, lawful *espials*,
Will so bestow ourselves that, seeing, unseen,
We may of their encounter frankly judge.'

Bacon, in his Essay *Of Followers and Friends*, says: 'There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed *espials*; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 163, ed. 1825. And again: 'She (*i. e.* the Lady Margaret) had some secret *espials*, (like to the Turks commissioners for children of tribute) to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and Dukes of York.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 132, ed. 1858.

Excerpe, *to pick out, cull, select.*—II. 2. In his *Dictionary* the author renders the Latin verb excerpo 'to gather here and there the chiefe of any thynge.' The following passages will show that it was used by the best authors: 'Sed, quia sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere, sed etiam *excerpere* ex his ipsis, si quid inesset boni.'—Cic. *de Off.* lib. iii. cap. 1.

Quid? cum Picenis *excerpens* semina pomis
Gaudes, si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?

Hor. *Sat.* lib. ii. 3, 272-3.

The English form is exceedingly rare, but it occurs in the writings of the 'ever-memorable' John Hales. 'From the order of reading, we come to the *Excerpta*, and to such things as we observe and *gather* in our reading. . . . In your reading *excerpe*, and note in your book such things as you like.'—*Golden Remains*, pp. 349, 354, ed. 1688.

Exchewe, Exchue, *to eschew.*—II. 181, 294, 384, 401. From the French *eschever*, modern *esquiver*. Palsgrave spells this word in the same way. 'I *exchewe* or avoyde, *Jeschieue*, prim. conj. This daunger can nat be *exchewed*: *ce dangier ne peult poynt estre eschieué.*' He has also. 'I avoyde, I shonne a thynge, *Je escheue* or *je euite*, prim. conj. Never have to do with hym, if thou mayst avoyde hym: *Nayes jamays a faire a luy, si tu le peuls escheuer* or *euiter.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 441, 541. The word seems also to have been spelt *eschiver*; thus in *La Chanson de Roland*, composed in the eleventh century, we find these lines

'Puis que il sunt as chevals e as armes,
Jà pur murir n'*eschiverunt* bataille.'

P. 34, ed. 1869.

Again in *Li Romans de Berte aus grans piés*, referred to the thirteenth century, we find this passage:

'Une fontaine treuve, si en but à plenté;
Après ot si grant froit qu'ele à forment trembé,
Ne sait comment le froit puist avoir *eschivé.*'

and the following:

'Une ourse a encontrée en une grant valée,
Qui vers li s'en venoit, courant gueule baée
Quant Berte l'aperçut, moult fu espoventée:
"Aide Diex" fait ele "qui féis mer salée,
Père de paradis, or est ma vie alée."
De la paour qu'ele a est chéue pasmée,
Et l'ourse l'*eschiva*, autre voie est tournée.'

Rom. des douze Pairs, tom. i. pp. 63, 67, ed. 1832.

St. Louis, in the history written of him by Joinville in the same century, exhorts his son thus: 'Fui et *eschiesve* la compaingnie des mauvez.'—Bouquet,

Hist. de la France, tom. xx. p. 300, ed. 1840. A statute of John I. King of France, dated 28 December, 1355, runs thus: 'Avons ordené et ordenons que pour *eschiver* les fausses postes et le peril qui en peut avenir, que avec noz Chiefvetaines ou ceuls qui recevront les Montres de noz Genz d'armes seront presenz les Superintendenz des trois Estaz.'—*Ord. des Rois*, tom. iii. p. 35, ed. 1732. Froissart in his account of the battle between the French and Flemings upon the Mont-d'Or in 1382, says: 'Sur ces deux ailes gens d'armes les commencèrent à pousser de leurs roides lances à longs fers et durs de Bordeaux, qui leur passoient ces cottes de maille tout outre et les prenoient en chair; dont ceux qui en étoient atteints se restreignirent pour *eschever* les horions.' —*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 251, ed. Pan. Lit. Which Lord Berners translates, 'So that the flemynges were glad to *eschewe* the strokes.'—*Chron.*, vol. i. p. 738, ed. 1812. Again, speaking of Sir John Holland at Beverley in 1385, Froissart says: 'Donc, pour *eschiver* tous périls, il s'enferma en la ditte ville.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 332. Which is rendered by Lord Berners: 'So to *eschue* all parylles, he tooke sentuary in the towne of saynt Johans of Beuerley.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 25. Chaucer has also different forms of the same word; thus in *The Persones Tale* he says: 'Now schal men understonde, that al be it so that noon erthely man may *eschiewe* alle venial synnes, yit may he refreyne hem by the brennyng love that he hath to oure Lord Jhesu Crist.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 293; whilst in *Troylus and Cryseyde* we find:

'And, lord! so sche gan in hire thought arguwe
In this matere, of which I have yow tolde,
And what to done best were, and what *eschuwe*,
That plytede she ful ofte in many folde.'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 181.

And in the same poem:

'"O fle nought in," he seth us I suppose,
"Lest he may thynken that ye hym *eschewe*."
"Nay, nay," quod she and wex as rede as rose;
With that he gan hire humbly to salwe.'
Ubi supra, p. 204.

Excogitate; Excogitation, *to devise, contrive; device, contrivance.*—I. 247, 251; II. 84. In 'the Additions' to Elyot's *Dictionary* we find 'excogito' translated 'to fynd or inuent by thinking,' and 'excogitatio' 'invention.' Both words are quite classical and frequently employed by Cicero. The French had also the verb *excogiter*, which Cotgrave renders '*to excogitate*; seriously to thinke, earnestly to consider, intentively to studie of; also to invent by serious thinking, devise after an exact consideration, finde out with earnest studie.' The word does not seem to have been in use either in France or England before the sixteenth century. Mr. Todd, in his edition of Johnson's Dictionary, says that Sir Thomas More 'was fond of the word;' and adds that he had 'repeatedly found it in his writings,' but as in spite of this assertion he only gives a single instance, and does not condescend to give even the reference for that, it would occupy more time than the Editor is able to spare to verify it. Mr. Todd's remark, however, would undoubtedly apply to Sir Matthew Hale who uses it constantly in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, (the Editor on a cursory examination noted three examples on the same page), but the reader will no doubt be satisfied with a single specimen: 'If we consider the various hypotheses of the ancient and modern philosophers touching the general systeme of the world, and those more universal and cardinal solutions of the common and great appearances in nature, we shall find them, or the greatest part of them, to be little else than *excogitated* and invented models, not so much arising from the true image of the things themselves, or resulting from the real existence of them, as certain instituted and artificial contrivances of mens wits and fancies.'—P. 9, ed. 1677. Richard Pate who sat at the Council of Trent as titular Bishop of Worcester reporting to the king from Lille on 11th November, 1540, an interview with John van Dicke says, 'And here crying out in this sort, pro-

nunced to be no such comforth to be *excogitated* for both Realmes, as to have thEmprour resort into Inglond to se Your Majestie hys father, as hit of thother side to cum into Flanders to visite his sone thEmprour.'—*State Pap.* vol. viii. p. 478.

Exhibition, *a stipend, a pension.*—I. 138. This word is still in use at the two Universities to denote a certain kind of scholarship, or benefaction. The Latin word 'exhibitio,' though not authorised by classical usage, was employed by the Roman lawyers, and is also found in the patristic writings. Thus Tertullian says, 'Male nobis de necessitatibus humanæ *exhibitionis* supplaudimus, si post fidem obsignatam dicimus: non habeo quo vivam.'—*De Idol.* cap. 12, tom. i. col. 677. Migne's ed. Lactantius uses the verb 'exhibere' in the sense of to supply the necessaries of life. 'Nec quoque tolerari possunt, quæ ad exhibendos milites spectant.' —*De Mort. Persecut.* cap. 7. And again, 'Quæ cum esset, dapibus sacrificabat pene quotidie, ac vicariis suis epulis exhibebat.'—*Ibid.* cap. 11. We find the word used in the tenth century, in a charter of Otho the Great to the Church of Lodi in Italy; 'Quapropter jam dictâ Ecclesiâ sub nostrâ protectione benignè assertâ præcepta confirmamus ei universa, res quoque atque possessiones sive utriusque sexûs familias, tam in comitatu quàm in ædificiis turrium. . . . verum etiam omne publicum districtum ipsius civitatis vectigalia telonium, tam infra ipsam civitatem quàm extra in suburbio ejusdem civitatis usque ad septem milliaria in circuitu, cunctasque publicas *exhibitiones*, quæ hactenus ad Laudensem comitatum de ipsâ civitate et suburbano ejus redhibitæ sunt jure publico fictationes, utensiones, querelas, et intentiones omnium hominum in dictâ civitate degentium et habitantium, Episcopus ipsius civitatis, aut missus, quem ipse delegaverit noster etiam Regius existens missus ita definiat.'—Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, tom. iv. col. 660, ed. 1719. The present academical use of the word is well illustrated by the two following passages. Strype, speaking of Sir John Cheke's early career, says, 'Being thus known to the King, he soon after advanced him to the honour to be his scholar, together with one Smith of Queen's College, afterwards sufficiently known, being Secretary of State, and employed in embassies abroad. To both whom the King *exhibited* for the encouragement of their studies, and for the bearing of their expenses of travel into foreign countries.'—*Life of Sir J. Cheke*, p. 6, ed. 1821. The same author tells us that Archbishop Parker gave £200 to the City of Norwich. 'For which they were to grant an annuity of £10 to the said college: (*i. e.* Corpus Christi Cam.) and the Master and Fellows thereof were to bestow £8 of the said £10 to these uses, and none other; that is, towards the use and *exhibition* of three grammar scholars, to be found within the said college: to be from time to time nominated and appointed by the Mayor and his successors, with the assent of the most part of the Aldermen, out of the schools at or in the City of Norwich, or Alesham in Norfolk.'—*Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. i. p. 503, ed. 1821. In the following passages it is used in a rather more extended, and, perhaps, almost, in its original sense. Cavendish tells us that when Wolsey was very ill, the king sent three physicians, Cromer, Clement, and Wotton to hold a consultation with Sir William Buttes as to the Cardinal's state of health, and adds: 'To this motion my lorde was contented to hear their judgement; for he trusted more to doctor Cromer than to all the rest, because he was the very meane to bring him from Paris into Englande, and gave him partly his *exhibition* in Paris.' —Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 605. Bacon, in his *Life of Hen. VII.* speaking of that king's projected marriage with the young queen of Naples, says: 'In this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his Ambassadors that this young Queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples. . . . but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands,

all was assigned to the army and garrisons there; and she received only a pension or *exhibition* out of his coffers.' —*Works*, vol. vi. p. 228, ed. 1858. Foxe, in his account of 'the trouble of Humfrey Mummuth, Alderman of London' says: 'Stokesley, then Bishop of London, ministred Articles unto him to the number of xxiv, as for adhering to Luther and his opinions, for hauing and reading heretical bookes, and treatises, for geuing *exhibition* to William Tindall, Roy, and such other, for helping them ouer the sea to Luther, for ministring priuie helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English, &c.' To which Articles Mummuth replied 'that he promised him (*i.e.* Tindall) ten pound (as he then sayd) for his father and mothers soules, and all Christen soules, which money afterward he sent him ouer to Hamborow, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gaue this *exhibition*, but to diuers other moe likewise, which were no heretikes; as to D. Royston, the Bishop of London's Chaplayne, he *exhibited* fortie or fiftie pounds, to D. Wodiall, Prouinciall of the Frier Austens, as much or more, to D. Watson, the king's Chaplayne, also to other scholars and diuers Priests.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 997, ed. 1583. Shakespeare frequently employs the expression in the above sense.

Expend, *to weigh, examine.*—II. 271, 441. This word is used in the same sense as the Latin 'expendo,' which Elyot himself renders, 'to ponder or weye, to examyne streytely.' It is constantly used by Cicero, thus: 'Equidem cum colligo argumenta causarum, non tam ea numerare soleo, quàm expendere.' —*De Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 76. Again: 'Nec vero utetur imprudenter hâc copiâ, sed omnia expendet et seliget.'—*Orat.* cap. 15. And, 'Quæ contemplantes expendere oportebit, quid quisque habeat sui; eaque moderari, nec velle experiri, quàm se aliena deceant.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 31. The English form is used by Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* in this sense: 'In all matters that men take in hande, this consideration ought first to be had, that we first diligently *expend* the cause, before we go through with it, that we maie be assured whether it be lawfull or otherwise.'—P. 101, ed. 1584. And also by Tyndall, in his *Supper of the Lord*, first printed in 1533. 'Again let us compare the figure with the truth, the old passover with the new, and diligently consider the property of speaking in and of either of them. Let us *expend* the succession, imitation and time; how, the new succeeding the old, Christ sitting at the supper, Mediator between both, celebrating both with his presence, did put out the old and bring in the new.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 247, ed. 1850. Par. Soc.

Exploite, Exployte, *to accomplish.* —I. 25, 183, 249, 265, 278; II. 273, 428 and note. From the French *exploicter*. Cotgrave translates this 'to *exploict*, performe, dispatch; act, execute, atchieve." Palsgrave has: 'I exployt, I applye or avaunce my selfe to forther a busynesse. *Je m'exploicte, je me suis exploicté, exploicter*, verb. med. They exployted them so faste that within shorte space they came to their journayes ende: *ilz se exploicterent tant que en briefue espace ilz vindrent au bout de leur journée.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 542. Holinshed, in his *Chronicle of Ireland*, describing the burning of the town of Naas by Rorie Og in 1577, says: 'He taried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while upon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had doone and *exploited* so diuelish an act.' —*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1587. So too Warner uses the same expression:

> 'Suruiue and tell the westerne world what we *exployted* haue;
> How that to Rome, amidst her roofe, the mayden sacke we gaue.'
>
> *Albion's England*, p. 75, ed. 1597.

Holland, in his translation of the Εἰ πρεσβυτερῷ πολιτεύτεον of Plutarch, renders the passage Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ

πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα κατώρθωσε στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἔλαττον δ' αὐτοῦ μνημονεύεται μηδὲ στρατηγοῦντος μηδ' ἄρχοντος ἔργον περὶ Θετταλίαν.—Cap. 27. 'And Epaminondas atchieved (I must needs say), many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was Captaine Generall for Bœotia; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither Generall nor in any office at all, which he *exploited* in Thessaly.' P. 329, ed. 1657. Again, the same writer in his version of the Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων, renders, 'Ἐπιθεμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθόδῳ, ἐπεὶ χρησιμώτατος ἁπάντων ὤφθη, χρήματά τε παραισχὼν δραχμὰς δισχιλίας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας.—*Lysias.* 'When as those of Phila had made a re-entry into the city, and chased out the Tyrants, for that he shewed himself (above all others) most forward in this entreprize, as having contributed (for the *exploiting* of this service) two thousand dragmes weight in silver, and two hundred targuets.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 754.

Exploiture, *achievement.*—I. 87, 252; II. 98, 275, 429 and note.

Expulse, *to expel.*—II. 45, 143, 224. The French *expulser*; which Cotgrave translates, 'to *expulse*, expell; drive, chase, or thrust out.' Palsgrave has: 'I put forthe, or *expulse* one out of a place, *Je boute hors*, *jay bouté hors*, *bouter hors*, prim. conj. and *je expoulse*, *jay expoulsé*, *expoulser*, prim. conj. I shall put hym forthe at all adventures, put hym in afterwarde who wyll: *Je le bouteray dehors*, or *je l'expoulseray une fois, mette le dedans apres qui vouldra.*' —*L'Esclair.* p. 672, see also p. 674. This word does not seem to have been used before the sixteenth century. But we find it in the *Exhortation aux Princes Chrestiens* of Jean Marot, the poet:

'Faictes sonner dedans Rome l'alarme,
Remettez sus Scipions et Cesars,
Et qu'il n'y ayt Prebstre, Moyne, ne Carme,
Qui à present ne trenche du Gendarme
Pour *expulser* ce lyon de voz parcs.'

Œuvres, tom. v. p. 64, ed. 1731.

And Ambroise Paré, the most eminent surgeon in France, and probably in Europe in the sixteenth century, employs it in his great work on surgery: 'Si aucun veut dire qu'une balotte de plomb tirée par une harquebuse, peut demeurer longues années en quelques parties de nostre corps, cela ie leur concede: parce que le plomb a quelque familiarité auecques nostre substance . . . . Toutefois, nonobstant icelle familiarité, Nature *l'expulse* au dehors, si l'espaisseur des muscles, ligamens, ou autres parties solides ne l'empesche.'—*Œuvres*, tom. ii. p. 67, ed. 1840. Goldinge, who translated Cæsar's *Commentaries* in the sixteenth century, says in his preface: 'I thought it expedient for the better understanding of thys History, as well to set oute a more ample description of Gallia, as also to declare what sundry nations haue since Cesars tyme possessed the same. Neuertheles, gentell reader, thou shalt not looke for a particuler declaration of the shifting, remouing, and *expulsing* of euery seuerall kind of people, nor of the alteration of the state of euerye seuerall country in that region.' And he translates 'quum ille præsensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti, regno domoque expulerunt' (*de Bello Gall.* lib. v. cap. 54), 'The which thing when he foreseing had fled unto Cesar, they pursewed hym to the uttermost borders of theyr territory, and utterlye *expulsed* him, both from hys kingdome and country.'—Fo. 142, ed. 1565. Again in his translation of Justin (*Hist.* lib. xx. cap. 1) Goldinge has: 'Dennis, hauinge *expulsed* the Carthaginenses oute of Sicill, and taken the gouernment of al the whole Iland into his hand, . . . conueyed hys hoste into Italy.'—Fo. 92 b, ed. 1564. Shakespeare, in the *First Part of King Hen. VI.*, makes the Duke of Alençon say:

'For ever should they (*i.e.* the English) be
expuls'd from France,
And not have title of an earldom here.'

Works, vol. v. p. 47, Dyce's ed.

Stow, translating the following passage from Mat. Paris, 'Sicut prius in adventu Danorum, et nunc in expulsione Anglorum à Normannis, peccatis exigentibus,

exterminium accessit incolarum'(*Chron. Maj.* vol. ii. p. 3, the Rolls ed.), says: 'Then came the destruction of the inhabitantes, first at the comming of the Danes, and now in the *expulsing* of the Englishmen by the Normans.'—*Annales*, p. 100, ed. 1615. Bacon, in his *Advertisement touching an Holy Warre*, written in 1622, says; 'Much like were the case, if you suppose a nation where the custom were, that after full age the sons should *expulse* their fathers and mothers out of their possessions, and put them to their pensions: for these cases, of women to govern men, sons the fathers, slaves freemen, are much in the same degree.'—*Works*, vol. vii. p. 33, ed. 1859. And in his *Discourse on the Union*, he makes use of the same word again: 'These representations do answer in matter of policy to union of countries by conquest; where the conquering state doth extinguish, extirpate, and *expulse* any part of the state conquered, which it findeth so contrary as it cannot alter and convert it.'—*Ibid.* vol. x. p. 93.

Exquisite, lit. *sought out*, hence *recondite, deep, curious*, also *exact, perfect*. —I. 48,55,65,73,86; II. 279,344. The word seems to have been generally applied to learning, thus Goldinge translates the following passage in Justin, 'Hic Sami Demarato, locuplete negotiatore, patre natus, magnisque sapientiæ incrementis formatus, Ægyptum primo, mox Babyloniam, ad perdiscendos siderum motus, originemque mundi spectandam, profectus, *summam scientiam* consecutus erat.' (*Hist.* lib. xx. cap. 4); 'This man, being the sonne of a ritch merchaunte man of Samos, called Demaratus, and being broughte up in the studies of wisdome, wherin he greatly encreased, takyng his iourney first into Egipt and afterward to Babilon, to learne perfectly the mouing of the planets, and to searche out the beginning of the world, wherof it was made, attained to meruelous *exquisite* knowledge.'—Fo. 94, ed. 1564. So Chaucer, in *The Testament of Creseide*, says:

'Thus when they gadred were the goddes seuen,
Mercurius they chosed with one assent,
To be forespeker in the Parliment.
Who had ben there and liking for to here
His faconde tonge and termes *exquisite*,
Of rethorike the practike he might lere,
In brefe sermon a preignant sentence write.'

Works, fo. 183, ed. 1602.

Bacon affords illustrations of all the above meanings; thus in his *Advancement of Learning*, he says: 'In natural history we see there hath not been that choice and judgment used, as ought to have been; as may appear in the writings of Plinius, Cardanus, Albertus, and divers of the Arabians, being fraught with much fabulous matter, a great part, not only untried, but notoriously untrue, to the great derogation of the credit of natural philosophy, with the grave and sober kind of wits: wherein the wisdom and integrity of Aristotle is worthy to be observed; that having made so diligent and *exquisite* a history of living creatures, hath mingled it sparingly with any vain or feigned matter.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 43, ed. 1825. And, speaking of the embassy to Spain in 1505, he says: 'The instructions touching the Queen of Naples were so curious and *exquisite*, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate; as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 227, ed. 1858. And again: 'To desire in discourse to hold all arguments, is ridiculous, wanting true judgment; for in all things no man can be *exquisite*.'—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 431, ed. 1825.

Exquisitely, *deeply, curiously*.—I. 108; II. 427 and note. The use of this word may be illustrated by Goldinge's translation of the following passage of Justin: 'Tantum facinus admississe ingenia omni doctrinâ *exculta*, pulcherrimis legibus institutisque formata, ut, quid posthac succensere jure barbaris possent, non haberent' (*Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 2); 'Certesse it is great pity that

such fine wits, so *exquisitely polished* withal kinde of learning, and traded (trayned?) in so goodly lawes and institutions, should be so far ouerseene as to commit so heinous an act, that of right they can haue no cause here after to be offended with the barbarus nations for doing of the like.'—Fo. 42 b, ed. 1564. Palsgrave, in the Preface to his Third Book, says: 'Resteth nowe, usyng the same order agayne, to shewe accordyng as I have afore promysed, more *exquisitely* what other accidentes and properties the sayde partes of speche have.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 151. Foxe, in his *Defence of Lord Cobham against Alanus Copus*, says: 'But heere will be sayd again perhaps that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuantes of statutes . . . . is not so precisely to be scande, or *exquisitely* to be stand upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of trouth.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 573, ed. 1583.

Extincte, *to extinguish.*—II. 201, 210, 223. This very uncommon verb seems to be formed from the participle 'extinctus' of the Latin verb 'extinguo,' for the French equivalent of the modern *éteindre* was *esteindre* or *estayndre*, and though the participle of this was *estainct* or *estaynct*, it is obvious that the verb used by Elyot approximates more closely to a Latin than a French original. Moreover, it is no slight confirmation of this hypothesis that it does not appear to have been used by any writer previous to the sixteenth century, when Latin forms were largely introduced. Thus Froissart's remark: 'Il est vérité, que le grand désir que on a aux choses que elles aviennent, *estaind* le sens, et pour ce sont les vices maîtres et les vertus violées et corrumpues' (*Chron.* tom. iii. p. 147, ed. P.L.) is rendered by Lord Berners: 'The great desyre that a man hath to haue the execusyon of that thynge or it be fallen, often tymes *quencheth* reason and wysdome.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 560, ed. 1812. But Brende translated the following passage in Q. Curtius: 'Hinc habuere posteri reges, quorum stirpibus post multas ætates Romani opes *ademerunt*,' (Lib. viii. cap. 6.); 'From thence came their latter kynges, whose lynage the power of the Romaynes long after dyd *extinct*.'—Fol. 161 b, ed. 1553. The word occurs in the Statutes of the Realm in this very year (1531); thus, by 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, it is provided: 'yf it may seme to his high wisdome and moost prudent discrecion mete to move the Popes Holynes and the Courte of Rome amycablye, charitablie, and resonablie to compounde other to *extinct* and make frustrate the paymentys of the said Annates, &c. . . . . that then those wayes and composicions ons taken concluded and agreed &c. shall stonde in strenght force and effecte of a lawe inviolablye to be observed.' Joye, in his *Exposicion of Daniel*, uses the participle of this verb. 'Nowe ah lasse howe is this doctrine to praye obscured and *extincted* utterly, with praying to the dead withe a false faithe, with so many mediators.'—Fol. 220 b, ed. 1545, and so does Holinshed in his history of the *Conquest of Ireland*, for in his panegyric upon the Geraldines he says: 'The memorial of their fame for a time through malice maie be couered, but neuer suppressed nor *extincted*.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 41, ed. 1586.

F.

Faict, *act, action, deed, feat.*—I. 30, 46. A French word. Cotgrave translates *Faict* 'a fact, act, action, worke; deed; a feat, pranke, part, performance, atchievement, exploit.' In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the word now spelt *fait* was commonly written *faict*. Thus Montaigne says: 'Le *faict* du capitaine Bayard est de meillure composition: lequel, se sentant blecé à mort d'une harquebusade dans le corps, conseillé de se retirer de la meslée, respondit qu'il ne commenceroit point sur sa fin à tourner le dos à l'ennemi.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 21, ed. 1854. Again, 'Pourtant ordonna il, selon raison, et à son fils et aux senateurs qui l'ac-

compaignoient, de prouveoir aultrement à leur *faict.*'—*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 235. And, 'Si ie feusse nay d'une complexion plus desreglée, ie crains qu'il feust allé piteusement de mon *faict.*'—*Ibid.* p. 239. Palsgrave has 'Feate of Armes —*faict darmes* z, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 219. Udall has rather a different form of the same word: 'For it is no godly poyncte for to cast a man headlong into the ryuer, that by deliueryng of him thou mayest seme to be a man of great *feactes:* but it is a godly thing to plucke out him that by chaunce is fallen in.'—*Paraphrases*, tom. i. fo. xiv. ed. 1551. The expression used by Erasmus in the original, 'ut vir magnus appareas,' has an almost exact parallel in Froissart's description of the Normans at Sluys as, 'gens de *fait* et de mer.' It does not appear that any other English writer has followed Elyot's example in adopting the French form.

Fanglenesse, newe, *novelty.*—II. 22. The derivation of this word is uncertain, but as the word 'fangle' is mentioned among other articles of personal ornament in Greene's *Mamillia*, it is most probable that it was formed from this substantive. It may be observed, that the epithet 'new' is almost invariably prefixed. Thus Chaucer in *Quene Anelyda* says:

'This fals Arcite, of his *newfanglenesse*,
For she to hym so louly was and trewe,
Toke lesse deynté for her stidfastnesse,
* * * * * * *
And falsede fair Anelida the quene.
Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 201.

And again in the *Prologue to the Legende of Goode Women:*

'And thoo that hadde doon unkyndenesse,
As dooth the tydif, for *newfangelnesse*,
Besoghte mercy of hire trespassynge,
And humblely songe hire repentynge.'
Ibid, p. 280.

In the translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon 1 Tim. iv., we find a somewhat different phrase: 'And thus it standeth the in hande to doo so muche the rather, because thou art called to be a teacher of the gospel, being not yet of full growen age, whiche is not wonte easylye to swerue in to *newe fangles*, but thou hast bene brought up (as it were) euen from thy youth in the faith of the gospell and in good learning so as thy continuaunce ought to make thee more practised and strong.'—Tom. ii. fo. clxxxii, ed. 1552, where the original has 'non jam ætate provectâ quæ solet ad *res novas* ægrè deflecti.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. ii. p. 240, ed. 1541. Hall, in his account of Jack Cade's rebellion, says: 'And because the Kentishmen be impacient in wronges, disdayning of to much oppression, and euer desirous of new chaung, and *new fangelnes*, the ouerture of this matter was put furthe fyrste in Kent.'—*Chron.* fo. clix. ed. 1548. Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, uses both, substantive and adjective: 'Also for manners and life, quick wits commonly be, in desire, *newfangled;* in purpose, unconstant; light to promise anything, ready to forget every thing, both benefit and injury.' Again: 'Hard wits be hard to receive, but sure to keep; painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without *newfangleness.*'—*Works*, vol. iii. pp. 98, 101, ed. 1864. Spenser, in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, speaking of the Ape, disguised as a courtier, says:

'So well they shifted, that the Ape anon
Himselfe had cloathed like a gentleman,
* * * * * * *
Then gan the courtiers gaze on everie side,
And stare on him with big lookes basen wide,
Wondring what mister wight he was, and whence:
For he was clad in strange accoustrements,
Fashion'd with queint devises, never seene
In Court before, yet there all fashions beene;
Yet he them in *newfanglenesse* did pas.'
Poet. Works, vol. v. pp. 20, 21, ed. 1866.

Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Arcadia*, describing the effects of oligarchical government, says: 'Hence grew a verie dissolution of all estates, while the great men (by the nature of ambition neuer satisfied) grew factious among themselves . . . . at length, vertue itselfe almost forgotten, when it had no hopefull end wherunto to be directed; old men long nusled in corruption, scorning them that would seeke reformation; yong men very faultfinding, but very faulty; and so to *newfanglenesse*, both

of manners, apparell and each thing els, by the custome of selfe-guilty euill, glad to change, though oft for a worse.' —P. 121, ed. 1605. Carew says that Cornish gentlemen 'delight not in brauerie of apparrell, yet the women would be verie loth to come behinde the fashion in *newfangl*ednes of the maner, if not in costlynes of the matter, which perhaps might ouer-empty their husbands purses.'—*Survey of Cornwall*, p. 64, ed. 1602. Stubbes says: 'Hereby it appeareth that no people in the worlde are so curious in *new fangles* as they of England be.'—P. 10. ed. 1595. Shakespeare uses the compound adjective twice, thus in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Biron says:

> 'Why should I joy in an abortive birth?
> At Christmas I no more desire a rose
> Than wish a snow in May's *new-fangled* earth;
> But like of each thing that in season grows.'

Again, in *As you like it*, Rosalind says to Orlando, 'I will be more jealous of thee than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen; more clamorous than a parrot against rain; more *newfangled* than an ape; more giddy in my desires than a monkey.' Palsgrave has: 'Newfangled, not constante and stedy of purpose - m. et f. *muable s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 319, whilst Cotgrave renders, *Fantastique*, 'Fantasticall, humorous, *new-fangled*, giddie, skittish, inventive, conceited.' The substantive 'fangle' appears very rarely without the qualifying epithet, but from the following passage it would seem that, *pace* Dr. Johnson, the word is of foreign rather than of native origin. Wood, in his account of Henry Foulis, says: 'He had also in him a most generous and public spirit, a carelesness of the world and things thereof, (as most bookish men have) a most becoming honesty in his dealings, a just observance of collegiate discipline, and a hatred to *fangles*, and the French fooleries of his time.'—*Athen. Oxon.* vol. iii. col. 881, ed. 1817. Gayton, 'one of those authors of the seventeenth century, who,' according to Chalmers, 'contributed somewhat to the amusement of the republic of letters without adding much to its credit,' in his *Festivous Notes upon Don Quixote*, has the following lines:

> 'What *fangle* now, thy thronged guests to winne,
> To get more roome, faith goe to Inne and Inne.'
>
> P. 230, ed. 1654.

Todd and Latham quote also a passage from Greene's *Mamillia* in which the same word is said to occur, but as no copy of this work is to be found in the library of the British Museum, the Editor has not been able to verify it, and therefore does not think right to quote it. Shakespeare uses the uncompounded adjective in *Cymbeline:*

> 'What fairies haunt this ground? a book? O rare one!
> Be not, as is our *fangled* world, a garment
> Nobler than that it covers———'
>
> *Works*, vol. vii. p. 719, Dyce's ed.

Fardelle, *a bundle.*—I. 146, 180. The old form of the French word *fardeau*, which Cotgrave translates, 'a *fardle*, burthen, trusse, pack, bundle.' Palsgrave has 'Fardell—*fardeau x*, m. *fais*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 218. The original word occurs in *Le Roman du Renart*, written in the thirteenth century, as follows:

> 'Lors se sont andui esveillié,
> Si ont moult bien apareillié
> Comme marchéanz lor *fardel*,
> Et Primaut a pris un hardel,
> Et si l'a à son col pendu.'
>
> Tom. i. p. 139, ed. 1826.

Elyot, in his *Dictionary* translates *sarcina*, 'a trusse or packe or *fardell*, sometime it is taken for an unprofitable burden.' Udall, in his translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon St. Luke xi., says: 'Woe shalbe unto you Lawiers also . . . . ye laye upon the shoulders of the simple people a whole *fardel*, unpossible to be borne.'—Tom. i. fo. cccix. ed. 1551; where the original has: 'erit igitur et vobis legisperitis væ . . . . *sarcinam* importabilem imponitis humeris simplicium.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 387, ed. 1541. So Brende translates 'Cumque plus raperent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus *sarcinis*, quas in comparatione melio-

rum avaritia contemserat,' *Q. Curt.* lib. iii. cap. 11; 'Whiche riches whiles the souldiers violently spoiled, they strowed the waies full of packes and *fardels*, whiche they would not touche, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater valew.'—Fo. 27 b, ed. 1553. Shakespeare uses this word several times, thus in *The Winter's Tale* Autolycus says: "'The *fardel* there? what's i' the *fardel*? Wherefore that box?'" to which the shepherd replies: "'Sir," there lies such secrets in this *fardel* and box, which none must know but the king.'"—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 487. Dyce's ed. Again in *Hamlet*:

> 'Who would *fardels* bear,
> To grunt and sweat under a weary life.'
> *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 149.

Peacham, in his *Garden of Eloquence*, has the same words in juxtaposition as Elyot, for he defines 'Frequentatio' thus: 'When many arguments being scattered here and there, one from another, are gathered together, as it were, into one trusse and *fardell*, and layde before the eyes of the hearer.'—Signat. T. iii. b. ed. 1577. Various derivations have been suggested for this word, but it seems most natural to connect it with the participle 'fartus' of the verb 'farcire,' *to stuff*, a view which is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the word 'fartellum' is met with in the fourteenth century. The following extract from the accounts of Henri de Dreins, Ballivi Baroniarum Montis Albani et Medullionis, 1335, is printed in the *Histoire de Dauphiné*: 'Item, pro duabus *fartellis* portandis in quibus erant organa et raubæ Domini . . . . LXX. flor.'—Tom. ii. p. 305, ed. 1721. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Fardelle, or trusse, *Fardellus*.' P. 150.

Fastidious, *irksome, distasteful, wearisome.*—I. 50, 235. From the Latin 'fastidium;' which the author in his *Dictionary* translates, 'hatred, proprely where one abhorreth the sight or presence of anything;' in Cooper's edition the same word is rendered 'Lothsomnesse, abhorring the sight or presence of a thing, disdainfulnesse, contempt,' and the phrase, 'domesticarum rerum fastidium' (Cic. *de Fin.* lib. i. cap. 3) translated 'werinesse,' and 'fastidium levare' (Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* lib. ix. cap. 3) 'to diminish wearinesse or lothsomnesse of a thing,' and 'fastidiosus literarum Latinarum' (Cic. *de Clar. Orat.* cap. 70) 'that disdeineth, nothing esteemeth, or maketh no account of Latine learning.' Cicero has also the phrase, 'cibi satietas et fastidium' (*de Invent.* lib. i. cap. 17) in the sense of lothing. The word *fastidieux* does not appear to have been in use in France before the sixteenth century, at least Littré has given no quotations earlier than the following in the *Œconomies Royales* of the Duc de Sully: 'Il me dit en m'embrassant, "Je vous jure, M. de Rosny, que je n'ay jamais rien trouvé de trop long ny de *fastidieux* (car il use souvent du mesme mot) en vostre entretien."'—Tom. iv. p. 445. Coll. des Mém. ed. Petitot, 1820.

Fatigate, verb, *to fatigue.*—II. 275; part., *fatigued.*—I. 38, 55, 239; II. 109, 110, 132. This very uncommon word is borrowed from the Latin 'fatigare, fatigatus.' Hall, like our author, uses both forms. Thus he says: 'I assure you, that he which should write the negligent losses, and the pollitique gaines of euery citee, fortresse, and turrett, whiche were gotten and loste in these daies, should *fatigate* and wery the reader.'—*Chron.* fo. cxxv. b. ed. 1548. And speaking of Jack Cade's rebellion: 'This hard and sore conflict endured on the bridge til ix of the clocke in the morninge in doutfull chaunce and fortunes balaunce . . . . so that both partes beyng faynte, wery and *fatigate*, agreed to desist from fight and to leue battail til the next day upon condicion.' *Ibid.* fo. clx. b., and see Shakespeare, vol. vi. p. 170.

Fautour, *a favourer, supporter.* II. 419 and note. In addition to the passages before mentioned, the following may be cited. Hall speaking of Jack Cade's insurrection, says, 'He also put to execucion in Southwarke diuers persons, some for infryngyng his rules and preceptes, bycause he wolde be sene

indifferent, other he tormented of his olde acquayntance, lest they shoulde blase and declare his base byrthe and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his usurped surname of Mortymer, for the which he thought and doubted not both to haue frendes and *fautors*, both in London, Kent, and Essex.'—*Chron.* fo. clx. ed. 1548. Holinshed, in his account of the proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland in 1439, says: 'It liked the wiser sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be seuered) to flie to policie and leaue strength, not daring openlie to call the Earle Dowglasse by that name of capteine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and *fautor* of those people.'—*Hist. of Scotland*, p. 269, ed. 1587. Joye, in his *Exposicion of Daniel*, says: 'Trewly, Matathias toke not to him his weapens to the entent that his neuei Hircanus shuld be a *fautor* of the Saduceis false doctrine, nor yet that his childers childern shuld constitute their kingdom with mutuall murther, slaying so cruelly the citesens.'—Fol. 212, ed. 1545. Foxe, in his defence of Lord Cobham against Alanus Copus, uses this word: 'M. Cope, thinking to haue me at a narow straight, and to holde me fast, biddeth me tell him howe it coulde be otherwise but the Lorde Cobham must needes haue *fautours*. And who should those *fautors* be (sayth he) but syr Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 585, ed. 1583.

Feare, *to frighten, scare.*—I. 247. This verb was frequently used as here in an active sense. In the Promptorium we find, 'Feryn, or make a-ferde. *Terreo, perterreo.*'—P. 156. So Palsgrave has, 'I feare awaye, I skarre away, as we do beestes or byrdes. *Je dechasse*, prim. conj. Feare away these crowes, or they wyll marre your corne: *dechassez ces cornailles, ou elles gasteront vostre bled.* I feare one, I make hym a frayde, *Je baille paour, jay baillé paour, bailler paour.* I make hym afrayde: *je luy baille paour.* I shall feare him, he was never so feared in his lyfe: *je luy bailleray paour, il ne fust jamays si paouré en sa vie.* I scarre awaye, or feare awaye, as a man doth crowes or suche lyke. *Je escarmouche.*'—*L'Escl.*, pp. 547, 699. Tyndall in the preface to his *Obedience of a Christian Man* published in 1528 says, 'First, to *fear* the people withal, they excommunicated all that believed in him, and put them out of the temple.'—*Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 133, ed. 1848, Par. Soc. So North in his translation of Plutarch's Lives says: 'The next morninge, thinkinge to *feare* him, bicause he had neuer seene elephant before, Pyrrus commaunded his men, that when they sawe Fabricius and him talkinge together, they shoulde bringe one of his greatest elephantes and set him harde by them behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine signe by Pyrrus geuen, sodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was ouer Fabricius heade and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. Fabricius softely geuing backe, nothing afrayed, laughed and sayd to Pyrrus smiling: Neither did your golde (oh king) yesterday moue me, nor your elephant to-day *feare* me.'—P. 439, ed. 1579. The passive voice = to be frightened was also used; thus Foxe, in his history of Wickliffe, says: 'A wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell through out al England: wherupon diuers of the suffraganes being *feared* by the strange and wonderfull demonstration, doubting what it shuld meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpose.'—*Actes and Mon.*, vol. i. p. 436, ed. 1583. Carew in his account of an attack by the Spaniards upon the town of Mouse-hole in Cornwall in 1595, says: 'The inhabitants being *feared* with the Spaniards landing and burning, fled from their dwellings, and verie meanely weaponed, met with Sir Francis Godolphin on a greene, on the west side of Pensance.'—*Survey of Cornwall*, fo. 156 b, ed. 1602. Shakespeare constantly uses this word in the same sense as Elyot, as in the following passage in *Measure for Measure*:

'We must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to *fear* the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape, till custom make it
Their perch, and not their terror'

And in *The Taming of the Shrew:*

'Have I not in a pitched battle heard
Loud 'larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets clang?
And do you tell me of a woman's tongue;
That gives not half so great a blow to th'ear
As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire?
Tush, tush! *fear* boys with bugs.'

Again in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

'Thou canst not *fear* us, Pompey, with thy sails;
We'll speak with thee at sea: at land, thou know'st
How much we do o'er-count thee.'

Featly, *neatly*, *nicely*, *cleverly*.—I. 116. This word now quite obsolete seems to be formed from the old Romance adverb *fetement* or *faitement* in the same way as we have seen 'asprely' from *asprement*. Palsgrave has the substantive 'Featysshnesse, propernesse—*feactise s*, f.' and 'Propernesse—*faictisse*, *factise s*. f.' Also 'Feate, or proper of makyng, —m. *faicty s*, f. *faictye s*.' and 'Fetly, *Bien a poynt*, as, *Aduisez que ses souliers luy soyent fais bien a poynt*,' and 'Nycely, fetly, *coyntement*.'—*L'Esclair.*, pp. 219, 258, 312, 835, 839. Cotgrave gives the adjective *Faictis*, m. *isse*, f., which he translates 'Made according to, framed after the likenesse, forged unto the resemblance of another; also neat, *feat*, comely, handsome, proper, well made, well featured, well set together.' He has also the adverb *Faictissement*, 'Neatly, handsomely, *featly*, trimly, fitly, gayly, exactly, quaintly, with much comelinesse.' The adjective occurs in *Li Roumans dou Chastelain de Couci* composed in the thirteenth century

'Devant les rens se vont monstrant;
Ens el bras destre avoit lachiée
La manche ridée et deliée,
Bien ouvrée d'orfrois *faitis*.'

Also:

'Dont dist: Biau Sire, or demandés
Ce que vous plaist, vous l'averés;
Mès un cuevrechief *faitic* ay
Listé d'or que je vous donray,
Et coissinet et bel et bon,
De grosses pierres sont li bouton.'
Pp. 44, 170, ed. 1829, Crapelet.

And in another poem also of the thirteenth century we find the same word.

'Ele s'en savoit finement
Entremettre de commander,
Et de demandes demander,
Qu'ele iert bien parlant et *faitice*,
De maniere estoit bele et rice.'
Barbazan, *Fabl. et Contes*, tom. i. p. 101, ed. 1808.

We find the adverb which seems to be formed from the adjective above mentioned, spelt indifferently 'fetement' and 'faitement.' Thus in the poem called *Renart de Dammartin:*

'Sire, vous n'amez pas, ce m'est avis, mon vivre,
Qui à chiens par parole si *fetement* me livre;
Mès ainz que mi costé soient de char délivre,
Serez-vous mainte foiz, je croi, tenuz por yvre.'
Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec. de Contes*, &c. tom. ii. p. 24, ed. 1839.

And in *Roman du Renart*, edited by M. Méon,

'Si *faitement* con je vos di,
Sont entre eus parent et ami.'
Tom. i. p. 7, ed. 1826.

Now in his glossary M. Méon explains the word as follows, 'Avec art, parfaitement, artistement, avec justesse, adroitement.' The last synonym answering exactly to the English usage of 'featly.' The word occurs again in the poem called *Partonopeus:*

'Or entendés, segnor trestuit,
Con *faitement* il le sosduit.'
Tom. i. p. 149, ed. Crapelet, 1834.

Having regard to M. Méon's lucid explanation, which has the additional merit of bringing the French and English adverbs into complete harmony, Du Cange's conjecture that in the passages quoted, 'faitement = de quelle manière, de telle manière,' cannot be considered satisfactory from any point of view. Chaucer has two or three different forms of the same word; thus, in *The Prologue* to the Canterbury Tales, he tells us:

'A marchaunt was ther with a forked berd,
In motteleye, and high on horse he sat,
Uppon his heed a Flaundrisch bever hat;
His botus clapsud faire and *fetously*.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 9, ed. 1866.

The adjective is used in *The Court of Love*:

'Then Flatery bespake and seid, iwis:
"Se, so she goth on patens faire and *fete*,
Hit doth right wele."'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 38.

Two different forms of the adverb occur within a few lines of each other in *The Romaunt of the Rose*.

'She hadde a gay mirrour,
And with a riche gold tresour
Hir heed was tressed queyntely;
Hir sleves sewid *fetously*.
And for to kepe hir hondis faire
Of gloves white she had a paire.
And she hadde on a cote of grene
Of cloth of Gaunt; withouten wene,
Wel semyde by hir apparayle
She was not wont to gret travayle.
For whan she kempte was *fetisly*
And wel arayed and richely,
Thanne hadde she don al hir journé.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 18.

In the *Promptorium* we find 'Fetyce or praty. *Parvunculus, elegantulus*.' And Elyot himself in his *Dictionary* renders the Latin *scitus*, 'wyse or wyttie, also propre or *feate*.' In Cooper's edition of the same work the phrase 'scitus puer' (Ter. *And.* iii. sc. 2, 6) is translated 'a preatie *feat* boy.' Concinnus is 'Proper, *feate*, well-fashioned, minion, handsome, well-compact.' And Cicero's phrase, 'Concinnæ et venustæ sententiæ' (*De Clar. Orat.* cap. 95), '*Feate* and pleasaunt sentences.' Concinnitas is 'Propernesse, *featnesse*, aptnesse;' And 'verborum concinnitas' (Cic. *Orator.* cap. 44) '*Featnesse* of words.' The adverb concinnè is translated 'Properly, honestly, trimly, *featly*, galantly;' and the phrase, 'rogare cœpit blandè et concinnè' (Cic. pro Q. Rosc. Com. cap. 16) 'To aske *feately* and wyth faire wordes.' Baret, in his *Alvearie*, gives 'Prettily, *featly*,' as the equivalent of Cicero's 'bellè et festivè dicere' (*De Orat.* lib. iii. cap. 26) which is almost the exact parallel of Elyot's expression in the text. Shakespeare uses both adjective and adverb; thus, in *The Tempest*, Ariel sings:

'Foot it *featly* here and there;
And, sweet sprites, the burden bear.'

And in the *Winter's Tale* Polixenes says of Mopsa:

'She dances *featly*.'

Foxe, in his account of the petition presented by the University of Cambridge to Cardinal Pole's Commissioners in 1557 respecting Bucer and Phagius, says, 'Note here, good reader, what a *feat* conueiance this was, to suborne the Uniuersitie under a colourable pretence to desire this thinge of them by waye of peticion. As who should say, if they had not done so, the other would neuer haue gone about it of themselues.' —*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1959, ed. 1583. Harrison, in his *Descript. of England*, describing the breed of spaniels afterwards known as King Charles's, says they are specially fitted for ladies' pets. 'For coursenesse with finenesse hath no fellowship, but *featnesse* with neatnesse hath neighbourhead inough.'—P. 230. North in his translation of Plutarch, says, 'And where I haue tolde before that in their *feate* and quicke aunswers commonly there was some prety grace, it maye be well seene and knowen by these that followe.' . . . . Besides all this, they dyd studie to singe well, and to make goodly ditties and songes. Then they spake most properly and *feately*.'—P. 58, ed. 1579. And as North professes to have translated from the French it may be observed that the latter version of the above has 'responses agues et subtiles' and '*rondement* et proprement parler.'—Amyot, *Les Vies des Hom. Ill.* tom. i. fo. 36 b, ed. 1565.

Fecis, *dregs*.—I. 147. This is evidently merely the plural of the Latin word Fæx, fæcis, which the author in his *Dictionary* renders 'lyes, dregges, or groundes of any kynde of lycour.' The French have also the word *feces*, which, however, does not seem to have been in use prior to the 16th century. Ambroise Parè, the celebrated surgeon of that age, says, 'Galien donne exemple

assez familier du vin nouueau, auquel on peut trouuer quatre corps differens : car il y a la fleur qui est du dessus, la lye qui est au fond, la verdure ou aquosité, et la bonne liqueur, douce et amiable . . . la lye represente l'humeur melancholique, qui est tousiours au dessous à cause de sa pesanteur, et est comme la *fece* et lye du sang.'—*Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 41, ed. 1840.

Foltre, *to falter, stumble, give way.*—I. 178. This word, which, spelt as above, is very uncommon, seems to represent the French *fault*, which is common to both the verbs *falloir* and *faillir*. Palsgrave has 'I faulte, I mysse, *Je faulx* and *je defaulx*. It is no marvayle thoughe I faulte yet, I am but a begynner : *si je faulx encore ce nest pas de maruaille, je ne suis qung aprentys*.' And 'I mysse my marke, or of my marke, *Je faulx a mon esme*.'—*L'Esclair*. pp. 546, 638. Udall, in his translation of Erasmus on Heb. xii., has the same form as Elyot, 'Folowe, you stout wrastelers and lustye runners, bestyre youre werye handes, plucke up your weake and *foltryng* knees, and runne streygth to the marke that is set before you.'—Tom. ii. fo. 24, ed. 1549. The original being 'Imitemini fortes athletas et strenuos cursores, manus lassescentes excitate, genua soluta *labantiaque* surrigite,' &c.—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. ii. p. 379, ed. 1541. M. Littré shows the connexion between the substantive *faute* and a verb which appears as *faltar* in Spanish and *faltare* in Italian, but which is wanting in French, and it is evident that the English 'falter' is closely allied to these two.

Forbear, *to avoid, shun.*—II. 235 and note.

Force, *to care for*, and hence impersonally *to matter, signify.*—I. 168; II. 143, 252, 400 and note. The verb in this sense is quite obsolete. Coverdale, the translator of the Bible, in his *First Book of Death*, uses it; 'Like as he that goeth a far journey hath uncertain lodging, travail, and labour, and desireth to return home to his own country, to his father and mother, wife, children, and friends, among whom he is surest and at most quiet; by means whereof he *forceth* the less for any rough careful path or way homeward: even so we are all strangers and pilgrims upon earth.'—*Remains*, p. 66, ed. 1846, Par. Soc. This meaning of the word is put beyond doubt by Foxe, who, in distinguishing between false apostles and true, says, 'that true Apostles *care not for* the solemnities of men, neither their salutations nor feastings, nor any other benefite of theirs;' but the marginal note on this passage is, 'that true prophets *doe not force upon* the solemn salutations of men as false prophets doe.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 321, ed. 1583. Again he says, 'What doeth it *force* in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man should labor and study with all theyr endeuor to followe the life and confession of Peter.'—*Ibid.* p. 425. And in his defence of Lord Cobham against Alanus Copus, he says, 'In alleaging and wryting of Chronicles is to be considered to what place and effect they serue. If yee would shew out of them the order and course of times, what yeres were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their Christenmasse, &c., in such vulgare and popular affairs the narration of the Chronicler serueth to good purpose, and may haue his credite, wherein the matter *forceth* not much, whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to beleue them.'—*Ibid.* p. 577. In Elyot's *Dictionary* we find, 'Susque deque fero, et susque deque habeo, I *force* not, I recke not, I care not.'

Fraunches, *freedom, liberty.*—II. 296 and note. From the French *franchise*.

Fucate, *feigned*; lit. *stained, painted.* —II. 221 and note. From the Latin 'fucatus,' which the author, in his *Dictionary*, translates, 'coloured or paynted, as some women be.'

Fume, lit. *vapour*, and hence, metaphorically, anything of a transient, unsubstantial nature.—I. 98; II. 5 and note.

G.

Galyarde, *lively, frolicksome, brave, gallant.*—II. 18. This is the French *gaillard;* which Cotgrave translates, 'Lusty, lively, frolick, buxome, cheerful, blithe, jocund, pleasant, gamesome, brave, gallant, valiant, well-disposed, in good time; also rash or somewhat indiscreet by too much jollity.' Bouchet, a writer of the 16th century, says, 'Pensez-vous deshonorer les François, quand vous les nommez Gallicus miles? Veu qu'on dit que et *gaillard* et *gaillardise* viennent à *Gallicâ audaciâ* et que ceux sont appellez *gaillards*, qui courageusement entreprennent quelque chose, tant auantureuse soit elle?'—*Sérées*, tom. iii. p. 398, ed. 1635. Pierre de Fénin, who died in 1506, speaking of the great fêtes given by Philip of Burgundy at Paris in 1424, says 'Là y eut de mout notable seignourie . . . et si y estoit la royne de France, mère au roy Charles, la régente, seur au duc Phelipe, laquelle estoit pour le temps tenue pour la plus *gaillarde* de toutes autres dames.'—*Mémoires*, p. 225, ed. 1837. The notion of liveliness in the sense of licentiousness was also implied in the word, as we see from the following passage: 'Lisez hardiment (dames et damoyselles) il n'y a rien qui ne soit honneste: mais si d'auenture il y en a quelquesunes d'entre vous, qui soient trop tendrettes, et qui ayent peur de tomber en quelques passages trop *gaillards*, ie leur conseille qu'elles se les fassent eschansonner par leurs freres, ou par leurs cousins, afin qu'elles mangent peu de ce qui est trop appetissant.'—Des Periers, *Les Contes ou Nouv. Rec.* tom. i. p. 11, ed. 1735. The idea of folly was sometimes implied; thus Henri Estienne, in his *Traité Preparatif à l'Apol. pour Herod.*, says, 'De faict ie confesse que pour dire honnestement Il tient du fol, on dit, Il ha le cerueau *gaillard*, ou Il ha le cerueau un peu *gaillard*, au lieu que aucuns disent, Il n'ha pas le cerueau bien faict.'—P. 20, ed. 1566. Montaigne says, 'Au lieu d'en retrencher aulcune chose, au contraire, l'on solicitast les capitaines d'advertir les soldats de faire leur salves belles et *gaillardes*, en l'honneur des assistants, et n'espargner leur pouldre.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 171, ed. 1854. The word is used by Chaucer in connexion with singing and *dancing*, which makes it probable that Halliwell's statement that the dance known by this name was 'introduced into England about the year 1541,' should be qualified by assigning a date at least two centuries earlier. Thus in *The Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, the description given of the miller is that:

> 'He was a jangler, and a *golyardeys*,
> And that was most of synne and harlotries.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 18.

Again we are told of the Parish Clerk in *The Miller's Tale* that

> 'In al the toun nas brewhous ne taverne
> That he ne visitede with his solas,
> Ther as that any *gaylard* tapster was.'
> *Ubi supra*, p. 103.

And Roger, in *The Cokes Tale*, says—

> 'A prentys dwellede whilom in oure citee,
> And of a craft of vitaillers was he;
> *Gaylard* he was, as goldfynch in the schawe,
> Broun as a bery, and a propre felawe,
> With lokkes blak and kempt ful fetously;
> *Dauncen* he cowde so wel and prately,
> That he was cleped Perkyn Revellour.'
> *Ubi supra*, p. 136.

Dr. John Clerk, writing to Wolsey from Rome in 1524, says, 'The Popis Holynes shewyd me, that he did ever forsee that in conclusion it was veray likely that this entreprise shold quayle, and that therfor, whils our armye was *galiard* in apparance, he thought it best to fall in communycation with the Frenche king for treux or peax; for he doubtyd evyr lest it shold not contynue.'—*State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 357. The Privy Council, in their instructions to Dr. Wotton, the English ambassador in Germany, in 1544, say, 'His Hignes desyreth youe . . . after His Majestes moost harty commendations, to saye, that albeit His Majestye hath alredy a goodly bande of horsemen well trymmed and mounted of his own subgectes, besydes those that M. de Bures

and Landenbergh is appointed to bring with him, yet because he wilbe strong of horsemen and cum *galyardly* and lyke Himself to the felde to encontre his ennemye, He is mynded to haue for his better furniture over and above the sayde horsemen 1,000 good horsemen more.'—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 617. With regard to the dance called by this name Shakespeare, in *Henry V.*, speaks of a 'nimble *galliard.*' Bacon, in his Essay *On Discourse*, says, 'If there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on, as musicians used to do with those that dance too long *galliards.*'—P. 321, ed. 1857. And in his *Natural History* he says, 'The triplas, and changing of times, have an agreement with the changes of motions; as when *galliard* time, and measure time, are in the medley of one dance.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 73, ed. 1826. Carew tells us that 'Of all maner vermine, Cornish houses are most pestred with rats, a brood very hurtfull for deuouring of meat, clothes, and writings by day; and alike cumbersome through their crying and ratling, while they daunce their *gallop gallyards* in the roofe at night.'—*Surv. Corn.* fo. 22, ed. 1602.

Garded, *trimmed* or as we now say *faced with cloth, lace, &c.*—II. 18. Minsheu is no doubt right in deriving this word from the French *garder*=conservare, 'quia conservat vestem, because it *gards* and keepes the garment from tearing.' Elyot, in his own *Dictionary*, translates the Latin Limbus 'a purfyll of a womans garment, or a *garde* of a mans garment.' And with regard to Segmentum he says, 'Some doo take it for the purfyll of a womannes gowne. It maye as welle be taken for a *garde* or border aboute any garmente.'—In the 'Additions' he renders Effilatum 'That whiche is sowed or stitched on a garment, as a *garde* or purfle.' This shows that 'gards' in their simplest form answered almost exactly to the regimental 'facings' of our military uniforms. But of course when Elyot wrote they were capable of great elaboration. Thus Hall tells us that when the King went to meet Ann of Cleves in 1539-40.—'His persone was apparelled in a coate of purple veluet, somewhat made lyke a frocke, all ouer enbrodered with flatte golde of Dammaske, with small lace myxed betwene of the same golde, and other laces of the same so goyng trauerse wyse, that the grounde lytle appered; about whyche garment was a ryche *garde*, very curiously enbrodered, the sleues and brest were cutte, lyned with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of diamondes, rubyes, and Orient perle.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxxxix. ed. 1548. North shows us that it answered precisely to the French *border*, for in his translation of Amyot he says, 'Cicero dreamed. . . . that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly *garded* gownes of purple.'—*Plutarch*, p. 934, ed. 1579, where the French has 'que tous les enfans semblablement estoient là attendans auec leurs belles robbes *bordees* de pourpre.'—Amyot, *Les Vies*, tom. ii. fo. 607 b, ed. 1565. Stow in his account of the departure of the English army for France in 1544, says, 'Those of the Forewarde under the Duke of Norffolke were apparrelled in blew coates *garded* with redde, and had caps and hosen after the same sute, party blew and partie redde.'—*Annales*, p. 587, ed. 1615. And this had been the fashion a century and a half earlier, for the same author tells us that 'on S. Matthewes day (1396) Edward Earle of Rutland, the Earles of Kent, Huntington, Nottingham, Somerset, and Salisbury, with the Lords Spencer and Scrope, in a sute of red gownes of silke *garded*, and bordered with white silke, and embrodered with letters of gold, propounded the appeale (*i. e.* against the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, &c.) to the King at Nottingham.'—*Ibid.* p. 316. Shakespeare frequently uses the term, of which the following from the Prologue to *King Henry VIII.* may be cited as perhaps the best illustration:

—'Only they
That come to hear a merry bawdy play,

A noise of targets, or to see a fellow
In a long motley coat *guarded* with yellow,
Will be deceiv'd'——
Works, vol. v. p. 483.

Although, as we have seen, the *fashion* of bordering or facing dresses with richer materials prevailed long before the sixteenth century, it is probable that the *phrase* 'to guard' was not in vogue till that period. At least it appears for the first time in the Statute book in 1 Henry VIII. cap. 14, which enacts that 'no manne undre the degree of a Knyght were any *garded* or pynshed sherte or pynched partelet of lynnen clothe uppon payne of forfeyture of the same sherte or partelett and for usyng of the same to forfeyte x shillyngs.' The expression was undoubtedly an adaptation from the French, in proof of which it may be mentioned that one of the meanings assigned by Cotgrave to *Garderobe* is 'a cloth or cloake worne or cast over a garment to keep it from dust, raine, &c.

Garnerde, *a granary*.—I. 158. In Withals *Dictionarie for yonge beginners*, published in 1568, this word is spelt as above, 'A *garnarde* to keepe corne in, *garnarium*.'—Fo. 38.

Gesseron, *a coat of mail*.—I. 179. This represents the word *jaseran*, which was used by the old Romance writers for *cotte de maille*. Thus in *Le Roman de Gerard de Rossillon* probably of the twelfth century, we find the word mentioned several times :

'Ausbers, blancs, *jaserans*, elme a cristal.'

Again :

'L'ausbercs fo *jazerans*, l'elms de cartiers.'

And in a later French version of the same poem :

'Hauberc ot *jazaran* dès le capel.'
Pp. 32, 137, 345, ed. Fran. Michel, 1856.

And in the *Chronique de Bert. du Guesclin* by Cuvelier, a trouvère of the fourteenth century :

'Lui Xe sans plus, sans vestir *jazerant*.'
P. 71, ed. 1839. Coll. de Doc. Inéd.

And in the *Roman de Horn et Rimenhild* :

'Ocire le quida par mi sun *jacerant*.'
P. 237, ed. Fran. Michel, 1845.

In *La Chanson de Roland* :

'Trestut le cors e l'osberc *jazerenc*.'
P. 51, ed. Fran. Michel, 1869.

And in the *Roman de Gérard de Vienne* :

'El dos li vestent un hauberc *iazerant*.'
Der Rom. von Fierabras, p. xxxiii. ed. 1829.

Again :

'Cil Eneas ot le boin *iazerant*.' *Ubi supra*.

And in Agolant, also edited by Bekker :

'Car encor ai entier mon *iazerant*,
Et mon escu et mon hiaume luisant.'
Ibid. p. lxii.

Cotgrave translates *Jaseran* 'A flagon chaine, also a bracelet or neckelace of that chaine fashion ; also a coate, or shirt, of great and close-woven maile.' Halliwell quotes from a MS. of *Morte Arthure* :

'And a fyne *gesserawnte* of gentile mayles.'

Dict. Archaic, &c. Words. It seems most likely that the word was imported from Palestine at the time of the Crusades.

Gestes, *exploits*.—I. 40 ; II. 386 and note.

Giues, *chains* or *fetters*.—I. 277. Various derivations have been suggested for this word, all more or less improbable and far-fetched. Thus Dr. Johnson thought it came from the Welsh *gevyn*. Richardson, adopting Thomson's view, says, 'The German *gefesser*, from *fesser* a fetter. In A.-S. *ge-feterian*.' It would have seemed more natural to propose this as the origin of fetter rather than gyve. Minsheu thought it came 'ex Belg. *Ghevangs*, instrumenta captivitatis:' whilst it was reserved for Skinner to make the wildest shot of all, when he declared, 'Mallem igitur à F. G. *ceps*, Lat. *cippi*.' It seems strange that none of these authorities should have bethought them of the French word *gets* or *giez*, signifying the couples or hobbles by which the legs of falcons were secured. 'Les *gets*, c'est à dire,

le lien des iambes, faits de cuir de chien, sur lequel on en met un autre auec les sonnettes.'—René François, *Essay des Merv. de Nat.*, p. 51, ed. 1657. In a poem of Giraud de Borneil, a troubadour of the twelfth century, we find the following line :

'E de bons *getz* apreisonatz.'
Choix de Poés., tom. iii. p. 310 ;

which Raynouard interprets, 'Retenu prisonnier par bons *jets*.'—*Lex. Rom.*, tom. iii. p. 465. Alain Chartier, one of the most celebrated writers of the fifteenth century, in his *Livre des Quatre Dames*, describing falconry says :

'Ilz les atachent
Aux perches, où leurs *getz* se laschent,
Afin qu'après par faim pourchassent
Mieux la proie, qu'à prendre chassent,
Sans y baster.'

And again :

'Si suis liee
De *giez* d'amours, et alliee.'
Œuvres, pp. 636, 652, ed. 1617.

In the *Histoire de Gerard Comte de Nevers*, published for the first time in 1520, 'Gerard laissa les *giez* si laissa l'espervier aller.'—Part ii. p. 26, ed. 1729. In the *Histoire de Jehan de Saintré*, a romance first printed in 1517, a knight takes in his hand 'son espée de gect,' and we are told by the editor that 'l'épée de gect étoit une épée qui s'attachoit au poignet avec une couroye, parce que *gect* ou *giés* signifie liens, ou attaches.'—Tom. i. p. 64, ed. 1724. In the *Roman de Gerard de Vienne* :

'Dist Olivier, "Volentiers et de greiz
Par tel covans voz serait delivreiz."
Laise les *ges*, si lait l'oisel aler.'
Der Rom. von Fierabras, p. xiii. ed. 1829.

In *Roi Guillaume* we have another form :

'Biau sire, par tel covenant,
Fait la dame, vos doins congié
De courre après le cerf con *gié*.
Vos courés ; jou ne courrai pas.'
Giles, *Script. Rer. Gest. Will. I.* p. 251, ed. 1845.

Considering how popular the sport of hawking was in the middle ages, it is easy to understand how a word constantly used in connexion with it would, by a very simple process, be transferred to describe in common parlance the fetters of prisoners. This supposition is rendered still more probable by the fact that the word denoted the shackles which secured the *feet* of prisoners; just as we have seen from the authority quoted above that the *giet* or *giez* meant *le lien des jambes* in the case of falcons. Thus Elyot in his *Dictionary* translates Pedica, 'Any thing wherewith the *foote* is tyed, as a fettar, *a payre of gyues*, or stockes.' In Withal's *Dictionarie* above mentioned we have this distinction made even still clearer, for he gives : 'Manicles to bynd the handes of prisoners, in plurali *Manicæ:*' and 'Fetters, shacles or *giues* for the feete, *Compedes* in plurali vel *boiæ*.'—Fo. 57. And thus Udall in his translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon Acts xvi., says, 'And sodainely came a great yearthquake, insomuch that al the whole pryson was shaken, euen the foundacion, and all the doores of the pryson wer open with the same, and all the prisoners *gyues* and other lyke bondes were loosed.'—Tom. i. fo. ccccclxxviii. ed. 1551. Where the original has 'simulque patefacta sunt omnia ostia carceris, et omnium *vincula* soluta sunt.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.*, tom. i. p. 721, ed. 1541. So also Tyndall says, 'He that hath his feete in fetters, *giues*, or stockes, must first be loosed or he can go, walke, or runne.'—*Workes*, p. 63, ed. 1573. In the Promptorium we find, '*Gyvys* or feterys of presone (fettirs of prison), *Compes*.'—P. 197. Huloet, in his *Abcedarium*, published in 1552, has '*giue* or *gieue* or fetter or manacle. *Nervus, pedica.*' In a poem called *Octouian Imperator*, published by Weber we have :

'Anoon hy was y-take well faste
And brought yn *gyues*.'
Met. Rom., tom. iii. p. 166, ed. 1810.

Grutch, *to repine, murmur.*—I. 27; II. 38. This word, of which 'grudge' is the more modern representative, is derived from the French *gruger*, which Cotgrave translates 'to grudge, repine,

mutter.' Palsgrave has 'I groudge, I repyne or murmure agaynst a mater, *je gruge*, prim. conj.' And 'I grutche, I repyne agaynst a thyng. *Je grommelle*, prim. conj. Grutche nat: *ne grommelle poynt.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 575, 576. By the old Romance writers it was written *groucher*, *grucier*, *gruscer*. Thus in the *Roman de Horn* we have:

'E tost le comperreit, tiel en purreit *grocier*.'

And also:

'Ke nul ne *grusce* mie.'

Pp. 217, 239, ed. 1845.

In the Promptorium we find 'Grutchon (Gruchyn) *Murmuro*. Grotchynge *Murmuracio*, *murmur*. Grutchyd *Murmuratus*. Grutchare (gruchar) *Murmurator*, *murmuratrix*.' P. 217. Elyot himself, in his *Dictionary*, has 'Adrumo, to *grudge* or make rumor.' Sir John Maundevile says, 'Thanne passe men be the welle that Moyses made with his hond in the Desertes, whan the people *gruccheđ*, for thei fownden no thing to drynke.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 69, ed. 1727. Chaucer often uses this form of the word, as in *The Clerke's Tale*:

'I say this, be ye redy with goode herte
To al my lust, and that I frely may
As me best liste do yow laughe or smerte,
And never ye to *gruch* it, night ne day.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 289.

And in *The Persones Tale*: 'After backbyting cometh *gruccching* or murmuracioun, and som tyme it springith of inpacience agayns God, and somtyme agains man.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 305. And in *The Court of Love*—

'And thogh ye waxen pale, and grene and dede,
Ye most it use a while, withouten drede,
And it accept and *grucchen* in no wise.'

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 33.

Hall says, 'But the death of this froward person (*i.e.* Will. de la Pole) and ungracious patron brought not the Realme quyete, nor deliuered it from all inward *grudge* and intestine diuision.'—*Chron.* fo. clviii. b. ed. 1548. Isabel, Countess of Warwick, by her will, bearing date 1st Dec. 1435, directed, 'that her body should be interred in the Abbey of Tewksbury and her great Templys (*i.e.* jewels worn on the temples) with the baleys (*i.e.* pale rubies) sold to the utmost and delivered to the Monks of that house, so that they *grucht* not with her burial there, and what else she had appointed to be done about the same.'—Dugdale's *Ant. Warwickshire*, vol. i. p. 413, ed. 1730. Brende, in his translation of Q. Curtius, says, 'I seke not to wynne fauour amonges the men of warre that stande here about me, but desire you should rather heare their mindes expressed in playne woordes, then to heare their grief and their *grudge* uttered in muttering and in murmour.'—Fo. 187, ed. 1553. ('Sed ut vocem loquentium potiùs quàm ut *gemitum murmurantium* audires.'—Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 3.) Again, 'Postero die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum,' (lib. x. cap. 8,) is rendered, 'The next daye the Macedons *grudged* and thought it a matter unworthy, that Perdiccas after this maner should be brought in daunger of death.'—*Ibid.* fo. 222. Grafton, in his account of the rebellion in 1496, says, 'But the Cornish men inhabiting in the least part of the realme, and the same part also barreyn and wythout all pleasantnesse, complayned and *grudged* greatly, affirming that they were not hable to pay such a great somme as was of them demaunded.'—*Chron.* p. 914, ed. 1569.

H.

Habile, *strong*, *active*, *able*.—II. 134. The French *habile*, which Cotgrave renders 'Able, strong, lustie, powerfull, hardie, quick, nimble, active, ready, cunning, expert; sufficient; fit for, handsome in, apt unto, anything he undertakes or is put unto.' Palsgrave has 'Able or actyffe—m. *habyl* z, f. *habille s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 305.—Froissart, in his account of the siege of Mortaigne in Flanders, in 1340, says, 'Si passèrent aucuns compagnons

volonteux aux armes, et firent tant qu'ils passèrent outre la dite rivière, ainsi que proposé l'avoient, bien quatre cents tous *habiles* et légers, et en grand volonté de bien faire la besogne'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 118, ed. Pan. Lit. Clement Marot, in his version of the Psalms in 1540, has

'Je qui souloye estre *habile*,
Suis debile,
Cassé de corps, pieds, et mains.'
Œuvres, tom. iii. p. 304, ed. 1731, 4°.

Habilitie, *ability, power.*—II. 91, 132. The French *habileté*, which is thus translated by Cotgrave: 'Ablenesse, abilitie, strength, lustinesse, quicknesse, lightnesse, activity, nimblenesse, aptnesse, readinesse, handsomenesse, dexteritie, cunning, sufficiencie.' Palsgrave gives 'Hablenesse—*habilité, capacité z*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 228. Udall, in his translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrase* on Luke iii., says, 'Olde age is the lighter esteemed and passed on by reason that the power and *habilitie* of the witte is much decaied,' Tom. i. fo. ccxlvi. ed. 1551; where the original has 'Senectus minus habeat ponderis ob *vires* ingenii defectas.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 316, ed. 1541. Grafton, speaking of the ambassadors sent to Flanders by Henry VII. in 1491, says, 'They declared that no Prince could be more unprouided or more destitute of men and armure, nor no more lacking all things appertayning to warre then was Maximilian. . . . Neuerthelesse his minde and wyll was good, if his power and *habilitie* had beene correspondent.'—*Chron.* p. 892, ed. 1569. Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, describing the arrival of the king's messengers at the Cardinal's house in 1530, says, 'He gaue each of them foure old sovereignes of fine gold, desyring them to take it in gree, saying, that if he had bin of greater *hability*, he would have given them a better rewarde.'—Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 624, ed. 1853. An Admonition ordered in 1563 'to be read in all churches of the city and suburbs by the Pastors and Ministers, to keep the good order made by the Lord Mayor for avoiding danger of infection' concludes as follows: 'And for that also by the godly order now set forth by the said Lord Mayor, those that be not of *hability* are sufficiently provided for in this case.'—Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 123, ed. 1821. Chaucer, in *The Court of Love*, has—

'And eke remember thyne *habilité*
May not compare with hir, this well thowe wote.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 36, ed. 1866.

Spenser uses this form in *The Faerie Queene*:

'The lusty Aladine, though meaner borne
And of lesse livelood and *hability*,
Yet full of valour, the which did adorn
His meanesse much.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 132, ed. 1866.

Habundaunce, *abundance.*—II. 73, 138. It seems to have been usual to prefix the aspirate to this, as well as to the parent word, the French *abondance*. Thus in *Flore et Blanceflor*, a poem of the thirteenth century we have—

'Home fesis a ta saulance
Apres li donas *habondance*
Del fruit que auoies planté.'
P. 32, ed. Bekker 1844.

The same form occurs in a poem of Charles, Duke of Orleans, who died in 1465—

'Je te feray avoir de eulx accointance;
Là trouverons de tous biens *habondance*.'

And in a ballad of the same period,

'Prince, s'on dit, avoir vaillance
Pour mentir à grant *habondance*
Et pour faulseté maintenir,
Vous verrez icelluy venir
A grant honneur, n'en doubtez mie.'
Poésies de Ch. duc d'Orl. pp. 2, 429, ed. 1842.

In the sixteenth century Marot wrote—

'Amour respond, de traictz grosse *habondance*
Luy ay tiré: mais je te faiz grevance,
Car ton cueur a, dont elle faict pavoys
Contre le coup.'
Œuvres, tom. iv. p. 279, ed. 1731, 4to.

Palsgrave at the same period has, 'Habundance, plentie—*habundance s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 228.

Chaucer, in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, uses the aspirated form like the French,

'For richesse stonte in suffisaunce,
And no thyng in *habundaunce.*'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 170, ed. 1866.

Hache, *a battle axe.*—I. 188. Simply the French word, which the author has borrowed like *butin* and many others. Palsgrave gives 'Hachette for a man of armes—*hasche darmes*, f., and 'Axe a toole—*hache s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 196, 229. It is also used by Peter of Langtoft:

'That was Guy of Werwik, as the boke sais,
Ther he slouh Colibrant with *hache* Daneis.'
Chron. p. 32, ed. Hearne, 1725.

Hakneyman, *one who lets out hacks for hire.*—I. 63. In his *Dictionary* Elyot has 'Mannus, an amblynge *hackeney.*' The word is of course derived from the French *hacquenée*, which Cotgrave translates 'An ambling horse, gelding, or mare.'—Palsgrave gives 'Hackeney horse—*hacquenee z*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 228. Lobineau, a Benedictine who published a voluminous *Histoire de Bretagne* in the 18th century, gives amongst his 'Preuves' a codicil to the will of Olivier de Clisson, dated 6 Feb. 1406, in which occurs the following clause: 'Item, dedit R. in Christo P. D. Johanni D. G. Episcopo Briocensi suum gradarium flavum, vulgariter *sa hacquenée fauve.*'—Tom. ii. col. 827, ed. 1707. In Elyot's *Dictionary*, 'gradarii equi' is translated 'amblynge horses.' In an inquisition post mortem taken at Nismes, 8 Feb., 1392, we find the following under the head of Recepta: 'A Johanne Arraudi, pro unâ *hacqueneyâ* morellâ, xxxii franc. val. xxxii. libr. Turon. A magistro Johanne de Bucy, pro uno roncino bay, xvi franc. val. xvi. libr. Turon.'—Ménard. *Hist. de la Ville de Nismes*, tom. iii. (Preuves) p. 169, ed. 1752. A warrant of Edward III. to Will de Weston, the king's squire, and John Legg, sergeant-at-arms, to conduct the two sons of Charles de Bloys to the Castle of Nottingham, commands the Sheriffs, Mayors, &c., to provide '*Hakeneios*, cariagia, et alia necessaria pro ductione filiorum prædictorum in hâc parte pro denariis nostris inde solvendis.'—Rymer, tom. vii. p. 27, ed. 1709. Froissart, in his account of Scotland in 1327, says, 'Certain est que, quand ils veulent entrer en Angleterre, ils sont tous à cheval les uns et les autres, excepté la ribaudaille qui les suit à pied; c'est à savoir, sont les chevalliers et écuyers bien montés sur bons gros roncins, et les autres communes gens du pays sur petites *hacquenées.*'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 25, ed. P. L. Lord Berners translates this: 'The knyghtis and squiers are well horsed, and the comon people and other, on litell *hakeneys* and geldyngis.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 18. From this it may inferred that *hacquenée* was derived from *haque*, which Du Cange explains to mean, 'semiexsectus, Gall. a moitié coupé.' It is less difficult to accept Littré's derivation from the German hack = cheval, than to comprehend how 'hackney' can be deduced from that *and* nag. Indeed he scarcely seems more happy in tracing the origin of this word than Minsheu, who can only suggest that it is 'dictus à pedibus alternatim elevatis ac sonitum reddentibus, Hacke, Hacke, Hacke.' In his account of the tournament between John Savage and Regnault de Roye at St. Ingelberts, in 1390, Froissart tells us that 'Les Anglois vinrent à Jean Sauvaige et lui dirent que il en avoit assez fait pour ce jour et que honorablement il s'en départoit. . . . Il obéit à cette parole, et mit lance et targe jus, et descendit du coursier, et monta sur un *roussin* pour voir courir les autres.' *Chron.* tom. iii. p. 49; which Lord Berners renders, 'He obeyed and ran no more, and alyghted of his horse, and lept on a *small hackeney* to se other rynne.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 472. It is curious that Cotgrave interprets *Roussin* in quite a different way: 'A curtall, or strong German horse,' and *Roussin de service*, 'a horse of armes or for the warre, a good strong horse fit to serve on.' Chaucer, in *The Prologe of the Chanounes Yeman*, speaks of—

'A man that clothed was in clothes blake,
And under that he had a whit surplice,
His *hakeney*, that was a pomely grice,

So swete, that it wonder was to se.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 46.

And in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, he describes a young man who

'In clothyng was he ful fetys,
And lovede to have welle hors of prys.
He wende to have reproved be
Of theft or moordre, if that he
Hadde in his stable ony *hakeney*.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 35.

In the old play entitled 'Hickscorner,' one of the characters (Imagination) says—

'Yes, once I stall (stole) a horse in the field,
And leapt on him for to have ridden my way;
At the last a baily me met and beheld,
And bad me stand; then was I in a fray;
He asked, whither with that horse I would gone;
And then I told him it was mine own;
He said I had stolen him, and I said nay;
"This is," said he, "my brother's *hackney*."
For, and I had not excused me, without fail,
By our lady he would have lad me straight to jail;
And then I told him the horse was like mine,
A brown bay, a long mane, and did halt behine;
Thus I told him, that such another horse I did lack.
And yet I never saw him, nor came on his back.'
Dodsley, *Old English Plays*, vol. i. p. 160, ed. 1874.

Bishop Hooper, in his *Declaration of the Ten Commandments*, says that 'those, that would be accounted Christians, paint God and his saints with such pictures as they imagine in their fantasies—Saint George, with a long spear upon a jolly *hackney*, that gave the dragon his death-wound, as the painters say, in the throat.'—*Early Writings*, p. 320, ed. Par. Soc. In Withal's *Dictionarie* we find the very word used by Elyot thus defined and translated: 'A *hackney man*, or he that letteth out horse to be hyred. *Veterinarius, vel locator equorum, qui pro mercede locat equum.*'—Fo. 17 b, ed. 1568. In the old play of *Soliman and Perseda* a servant called Piston says—

'Why, then, by this reck'ning, a *hackneyman*
Should have ten shillings for horsing a gentlewoman,
Where he hath but tenpence of a beggar.'
Dodsley, *Old English Plays*, vol. v. p. 281.

Handsell, *earnest-money*, i.e. generally a small sum, paid by the buyer to the seller on striking a bargain, as the outward and visible sign of the contract, and hence it was used for good luck. —II. 113. This is a pure Anglo-Saxon word. In Somner's Dictionary we find '*Hand-selen* = Mancipatio, a putting over into another's hand or possession. Hinc nostratium *handsell*.' It is evidently derived from the verb, '*Hand-syllan* = mancipare, to deliver possession, to make livery and seisin.' In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Hansale, *Strena*.' Now Elyot in his Dictionary renders strena, 'a newe yeres gyfte or present.' The Latin word, however, was used for any present or gift, for in a decree of the Council of Mexico, held in 1585,, we find the following provision against Simony: 'Hæc Synodus præcipit, ne quisquam Ecclesiasticus sive sæcularis, cujuscumque dignitatis conditionisve existat, pacta conventionesve faciat, aut pecunias promittat, aliave *strenarum* nomine, si Præbenda obtineatur, aut mercedis prætextu, pro sollicitudine, aut ad obtinendum favorem quorumcumque aulicorum, &c., qui præsentationes hujusmodi conferre debent . . . . nec aliter quovis modo de similibus paciscatur per se, nec per interpositam personam.' — Saenz de Aguirre, *Collect. Concil. Hispan.* tom. vi. p. 150, ed. 1755. And this name was applied to the gifts which were offered to cardinals on their election. For a Master of Ceremonies at the Papal Court in 1495, after giving a description of the proceedings observed upon the creation of Guillaume Briçonnet, Cardinal Bishop of St. Malo, in the presence of Charles VIII., goes on to tell us in his journal, 'Dedi eâdem die Reverendissimo D. Macloviensi (the Cardinal Bishop elect) informationem competentem de *strenis* consuetis persolvendis per cedulam hujusmodi tenoris,' and then follows a list of the various pontifical officials, with the gratuities due to them respectively. See Godefroy, *Hist. de Charles VIII.*, p. 713,

ed. 1684. It may be observed here that from this word 'strena' is derived the French *estraine* or *estreine*, mod. *etrenne*, which Cotgrave translates, 'a new-yeares gift or present; also a *Handsell*.' He also gives *estreiné* 'Handselled; that hath the *handsell* or first use of;' and *estrener* 'to handsell, or bestow a new years gift on.' Palsgrave gives, 'Handsel—*estrayne s.*, f.' and 'I *hansell* one, I gyve him money in a mornyng for suche wares as he selleth. *Je estrene*, prim. conj.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 229, 578. The English word occurs in a curious poem, 'On the Deposition of Rich. II.,' which Mr. Wright thinks was composed early in Sept. 1399.

'Some helde with the mo,
How it evere wente;
And somme dede rith so,
And wolld go no fforther;
Some parled as perte,
As provyd welle after,
And clappid more ffor the coyne
That the kyng owed hem.
Thanne ffor comfforte of the comyne
That her cost paied,
And were behote *hansell*,
If they helpe wolde,
To be servyd sekirly
Of the same silvere.'
Political Poems, vol. i. p. 416, the Rolls ed.

The word is also found in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman:*

'Geve Gloton with glad chere
Good ale to *hanselle*.'
Vol. i. p. 96, ed. 1842.

In Huloet's *Abcedarium* we find, '*Hansell*, or good lucke, *Strena*.' Phaer translated the lines of Virgil,

'Nec Turnum segnis retinet mora: sed rapit acer
Totam aciem in Teucros, et contra in litore sistit.
Signa canunt: primus turmas invasit agrestes
Æneas, *omen* pugnæ, stravitque Latinos.'
Æn. x. 308–311.

as follows:

'Ne Turnus sluggish sloth doth stay, but fierce with speed he bends
Gainst Troians all his power, and on the shore afront them tends.
They blow alarme, Æneas first the rusticke sort sets on
For happy *hansils* sake, and Latines laies the ground upon.'
Signat. P. vi., ed. 1584.

In the following passage the word is used in precisely the same sense as by Elyot. In the preface of his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Amyot had said, 'Eutropius met, que iusques à son temps, quand un nouueau Empereur venoit à estre receu au Senat, entre les cris *d'heureux presage* et les souhaits qu'on luy faisoit, on luy crioit: Que puissestu estre plus heureux qu'Auguste et meilleur que Traian.'—*Vies des hom. illust.* tom. i. ed. 1565. This is rendered by North, 'Eutropius reporteth that euen unto his time when a new Emperour came to be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of *good hanzell* and the wishes of good lucke that were made unto him, one was: Happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Traian.' Holland also uses the word several times as the equivalent of auspicium, primitiæ, in his translation of Ammianus Marcellinus, as *ex. gr.* 'Quo mærore perculsus, velut primo adventantium malorum *auspicio*, murmurans querulis vocibus sæpe audiebatur, nihil se plus adsequutum, quàm ut occupatior interiret.'—Lib. xv. cap. 8. ed. 1773. 'With which woful tidings being sore astonied, as it were the first *hansell* and beginning of evils comming toward him.'—*The Roman Historie*, p. 45, ed. 1609. And, 'Quibus vincendi *primitiis* lætus, per Treveros hiematurus apud Senonas oppidum tunc opportunum abscessit.'—Lib. xvi. cap. 3. 'He joyous of these good *hansels* and overtures to conquest and victorie, departed by Treviri, &c.'—*Ibid.* p. 54. Again, 'Ad hoc igitur dehonestamentum honorum omnium ludibriosè sublatus, et ancillari adulatione beneficii alloquutus auctores, opesque pollicitus amplas et dignitates ob principatûs *primitias*, processit in publicum multitudine stipatus armorum.'—Lib. xxvi. cap. 6. 'Being thus after a ridiculous manner lifted up to this degree in disgrace (as it were) and mockerie of all honours, and by way of servile flatterie having made a speech unto the authors of this benefit and advancement of his, yea, and promised unto them great riches and dignities for this *hansell* and

first fruits (as it were) of his empire, foorth hee went in procession into the streets.'—*Ibid.* p. 293. The phrase above mentioned by Palsgrave is well illustrated by M. Misson de Valbourg, who shows that the term was in use in precisely the same sense in the seventeenth century. 'Toutes sortes de gens font un cas particulier de l'argent *qu'ils appellent d'étrenne*, c'est-à-dire de l'argent qu'ils reçoivent de la premiere vente qu'ils font. Ils le baisent en le recevant, crachent dessus, et le mettent dans une poche à part.' *Mem. et Observations en Angleterre*, p. 193, ed. 1698. Mr. Ozell, who translated Misson's book, renders this, 'In general most tradespeople have a particular esteem for what they call *handsel*, that is to say, the first money they receive in a morning; they kiss it, spit upon it, and put it in a pocket by itself.'—*Mem. and Observ.* p. 130, ed. 1719. Holland translated the following passage of Livy, 'Nec satis constat cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus' (Lib. v. cap. 12), 'Neither as yet is it certaine knowne, why he first and above all others was counted a meet man to take *hansell*, or take sey of this new dignitie and promotion.'—P. 188, ed. 1600. Hooker shows us conclusively that the word was considered as the equivalent of 'earnest.' For in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he says, 'The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ . . . . therefore the apostles term it, sometime the seed of God, sometime the pledge of our heavenly inheritance, sometime the *handsel* or earnest of that which is to come.'—P. 202, ed. 1723. It is most probable that the word *auncel*, applied to a particular weight, was merely the Norman way of pronouncing the Anglo-Saxon word 'handsel' or 'hansell,' as sales by this weight are not mentioned out of England. The statute 25 Edw. III., cap. 9, passed in 1351, recites that 'great damage and deceit is done to the people, for that divers merchants use to buy and weigh wools and other merchandises by a weight which is called *Auncel* (per une pois qest appelle *Aunsell*), wherefore it is accorded and established that this weight called *Auncel* betwixt Buyers and Sellers shall be wholly put out, and that every person do sell and buy by the Balance (que chescun vend et achatte per Balances).' This weight, however, appears to have held its own for almost another century, notwithstanding the prohibition, for in 1430 the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chicheley, published a Constitution against it, in which he states that those who are injured by it 'do not observe that the said *Auncel* weight is so vulgarly call'd on account of some hidden falsities and frauds therein used.'—*Collect. of Eccles. Laws, &c.*, vol. ii. ed. 1720. The Rev. John Johnson, the author of the work last quoted, in a note upon the word, says, 'This seems plainly to be a French name, and by what follows it appears that the Constitutors thought the name to imply something of deceit; therefore our etymologists have not hit the mark; and I am not well enough skill'd in the French tongue to offer at a new etymology.' In Cowel's *Interpreter*, an alternative derivation is suggested for *Auncel*, 'from *Ansa*, *i.e.* the handle of a balance; being a kind of weight with scales hanging or hooks fastened to each end of a beam or staff, which a man lifting up upon his fore finger or hand, discerneth the quality or difference between the weight and the thing weigh'd.' This explanation, however, apart from its etymological defects, is open to the objection that it takes no account whatever of the fact, which is patent from the words of the statute above mentioned, that *Auncel* was *not* a balance.

Harborowe, *to harbour* or *lodge*, *i.e.* to track a stag to his *harbour* or covert in a forest.—I. 194. In Sherwood's *Engl.-French Dict.* we find the phrase 'To *harbour* a stagge, Aller à la veue.' This was a sporting term, and to dislodge a stag was to unharbour or rouse him. So that the two words are used quite correctly by Elyot in the text, to

express two operations of an exactly opposite character. Our greatest authority on this point is George Turberville, in his *Noble Arte of Venerie*, which, however, appears to be merely a translation of a French work on the same subject, called *La Vénerie*, by Jaques du Fouilloux, who wrote in the same century, a fact which, so far as the Editor is aware, has not been noticed by any previous writer. A comparison, however, of the two works in which precisely the same wood-cuts are employed, places the matter beyond doubt. Turberville, in his glossary of hunting terms, which he is careful to tell us 'are in many places much different from the French,' says, 'We *herbor* and unherbor a Harte, we lodge and *rowse* a Bucke.'—P. 239. The difference between the two operations is exemplified in the following song, supposed to be sung by a huntsman:

'And when my Hounde doth streyne upon good vent,
I must confesse the same dothe me content.
But when I haue, my couerts walkt aboute,
And *harbred* fast the Harte for commyng oute,
Then I returne to make a graue reporte
Whereas I finde th' assembly doth resorte.
And lowe I crouche before the Lordings all,
Out of my horne the fewmets lette I fall,
And other signes and tokens do I tell,
To make them hope the Harte may like them well.
Then they commaunde that I the wine should taste,
So biddes mine Arte. And so my throte I baste.
The dinner done, I go streightwayes agayne
Unto my markes, and shewe my Master playne,
Then put my Hounde upon the view to drawe
And *rowse* the Harte out of his layre by lawe.'

Ubi supra, p. 61.

In order that the reader may compare the corresponding French terms, the original is here subjoined.

'Tenant mon Chien ie prens fort grand plaisir,
Quand ie cognois que du Cerf a desir.
Et puis trouuant la fillette en l'enceinte,
Mon art permet la besongner sans fainte.
Apres qu'auray trois coups fait le deuoir,
Et *destourné* le Cerf à mon pouuoir,
A l'assemblee alors faut retourner,
Pour mon rapport froidement racompter.
Donnant salut aux Princes et Seigneurs,
Et les fumees monstrans aux cognoisseurs:
Lors de bon vin soudain on me presente,
Car c'est le droit de l'art qui le commande.
Apres disner m'enuois incontinant
A ma brisee, mon maistre entretenant.
Puis sur les voyes mon Chien se fait entendre,
Allant *lancer* le Cerf hors de sa chambre.'

La Vénerie, fo. 23 b, ed. 1844.

Turberville gives the following instructions for finding the quarry: 'If it chaunce that the huntesmen finde two or three places where the Deare hath entred, and as many where he hath comen out, then must he marke well which entrie seemeth to be freshest, and whether the places where he came forth agayne were not beaten the same night. For an Harte doth often times goe in and out of his *harbrough* in the night, especially if it be a craftie olde Deare he will use great subtleties, beating one place diuers times to and fro. Then if the huntesman can not finde all his goyngs out and commings in, nor can well tell which of them he were best to trust unto, he muste then take his compasse and ryngwalke the greater about the couert, so as he may therein enclose all his subtleties, entries and commings out. And when he seeth that all is compassed within his ryngwalke, excepting onely one comming in whereby he might be come from the springs or feedes, then must he let his houndes draw hardly, and, if it be possible, let him drawe euen to the hartes layre or *harbour*, for he maye well thinke that those pathes or trackes will bring him to it. And in this manner huntesmen should *harbour* their Deare, but not as many huntesmen do now adayes. For if they can not quickly come to the *harbour* of an Harte, they then will foyle the gappes, so to make him *harbour*, which is often times a cause that they finde nothing in their circuites or walks.' *Ubi supra*, p. 78, ed. 1575. Compare this with the original French: 'Que si d'auanture le Veneur trouuoit deux or trois entrees et autant de sorties, il doit bien regarder laquelle entree l'emporte allant de meilleur temps, et si les sorties ne sont point de la nuict: parce

qu'un Cerf sort et entre plusieurs fois la nuict dedans son *fort:* ou bien, si c'est un Cerf malicieux, il pourra faire de grandes ruses, allant et reuenant sur luy plusieurs fois: lors si le Veneur ne pouuoit venir á bout de toutes ces sorties et entrees, ne sçachant laquelle de toutes le pourroit emporter, il faut qu'à l'heure il prenne ses cernes et enceinctes plus grandes, et enfermer dedans toutes ses ruses, entrees, et sorties. Puis quand il verra que le tout demeure en son enceinte, excepté seulement une entree par laquelle il pourroit estre venu des tailles ou gaignages à l'heure faut qu'il mette son chien dessus, et le face, s'il est possible, faulcer iusques au *fort*: car il faut presumer que ces voyes l'emportent. Et en ceste maniere se doiuent *destourner* les Cerfs, non pas comme font les Veneurs du iourd'huy: car depuis qu'ils voyent qu'ils ne peuuent venir à bout d'un Cerf, ils se mettent à fouler les forts pour le *lancer*, qui est souuentesfois cause qu'ils ne trouuent rien en leurs enceinctes.'—*La Vénérie*, fo. 29 b, ed. 1844. In his *Dictionary* Elyot renders 'stabulari damas aut cervos,' 'falowe deere or redde dere to be lodged or *harborowed*,' and 'stabulatio' '*harborowynge* or lodgynge of dere.' The word itself is derived from the obsolete French verb *herberger*. Palsgrave has, 'Harborowe—*hostelaige, logis, herberge;*' and 'I *harborowe*, I lodge one in an inne. *Je herberge*, prim. conj. I intende to *harborowe* folkes no more: *je nay point d'intencion de herberger des gens dycy en auant.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 229, 579. M. Littré derives *herberger*, mod. *héberger*, from the old German word heriberga, a military encampment, from *heri*, an army, and *berge*, a lodging. 'Proprement logement des gens de guerre, puis par extension du sens logis en général et même *Auberge.*' Thus in Christine de Pisan, a writer of the fifteenth century, we read, 'Que l'ost puisse surprendre ses ennemis en prenant leur repast, ou de nuit en leurs *hebarges*, ou aucunement despourveus.' —P. 267, ed. Pan. Lit. We find the verb in *Le Rom. de la Rose:*

'Car li leus d'oisiaus *herbergier*
N'estoit ne dangereux ne chiches,
Onc mès ne fu nus leus si riches
D'arbres, ne d'oisillons chantans.'
Tom. i. p. 21, ed. 1814.

And this is rendered by Chaucer:

'The garden was not daungerous
To *herberwe* briddes many oon.
So riche a yeer was never noon
Of briddes songe, and braunches grene.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 16, ed. 1866.

Spenser, in *The Shepheard's Calender*, says,

'Leave me those hilles where *harbrough* nis to see,
Nor holy bush, nor brere, nor winding witche;
And to the dales resort, where shipheards ritch,
And fruictfull flocks, bene every where to see.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 46, ed. 1866.

In this last passage, 'harbrough' is manifestly used, as we should say, 'covert.' The Editor is informed that the term 'to harbour' is still employed in the same technical sense by the huntsmen on Exmoor.

Harneise, Harnes, *defensive armour for the body.*—II. 14, 78. The French *harnois*, which Cotgrave renders 'Armour, harnesse.' In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Harneys or rayment, *Paramentum*,' and 'Harneysyn or a-rayyn wythe harneys and wepyne (harneysyn or armyn) *Armo*.' We find the word in the thirteenth century:

'Quant li pelerins venu furent
A Male-Bouche où venir durent,
Tout lor *hernois* moult près d'eus mistrent,
Delez Male-Bouche s'assistrent.'
Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. ii. p. 388.

Chaucer translates this literally:

'Whan the pylgrymes comen were
To Wycked-tonge that dwelled there,
(Her *harneys* nygh hem was algate)
By Wycked-tonge adowne they sate.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 228.

Froissart, in the fifteenth century, says, 'Les Escots sont durs et hardis et fort travaillans en armes et en guerre.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 25, ed. P. L.; which Lord Berners translates, 'These Scottysshe men are right hardy, and sore

travelyng in *harneys* and in warres.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 18. Again, speaking of the English army in Scotland in 1327, the French chronicler says, 'Toutes les nuits les Anglois faisoient grands guets et forts, car ils se doutoient du réveillement des Escots . . . . et gissoient presque tous les seigneurs en leurs armures.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 32. Lord Berners renders this, 'Euery nyght the englisshe oste made good and sure watche, for they doubted makyng of skryes; and euer the most part of the oste laye in their *harneys*.' *Ubi supra*, p. 24. Again we read, 'Pareillement Pierre de Courtenay venu à Calais, il ne mit point en oubli ce que promis et créanté avoit; mais se pourvut de bonnes et fortes armures à son point; et jà en étoit-il tout pourvu, car *harnois* pour son corps bon et bel il avoit mis hors d'Angleterre et fait amener à Paris.'—*Ubi supra*, tom. iii. pp. 19, 20. The English version of the above is, 'In lyke manner Sir Peter Courtney, whanne he came to Calays, he forgate nat the promyse that he had made, but prouyded hym of good armure and of euery thyng elles: as for *harnesse* he had redy suche as he had caryed with hym out of Englande into Fraunce.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 445. From a MS. of the fifteenth century in the Royal Library at Paris, published by M. Marc de Vulson, we learn that for tournaments, 'le *harnois* de corps est comme une cuirasse, ou comme un *harnois* à pied qu'on appelle tonnelet: et aussi peut-on bien tournoyer en brigandines qui veut: mais en quelque façon de *harnois* de corps que on veüille tournoyer, est de necessité sur toute riens, que ledit *harnois* soit si large et si ample qu'on puisse vestir et mettre dessoubz un pourpoint ou corset . . . . Les *harnois* des iambes sont ainsi et de semblable façon, comme on les porte en la guerre sans autre difference.'—*Le Théâtre d'Honneur*, tom. i. pp. 56, 57, ed. 1648. In *The Knightes Tale* we are told that,

'Arcite is riden anon to the toun,
And on the morwe, or it were day light,
Ful privelý two *harneys* hath he dight,
Bothe sufficaunt and mete to darreyne
The batayl in the feeld betwix hem tweyne.
And on his hors, alone as he was born,
He caryed al this *harneys* him byforn.'

Chaucer, *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 51.

In *Godfrey of Bulloigne* we are told that the hero

'Arose, that day he laid aside
His hawberke strong he wontes to combat in,
And dond a brestplate faire, of proofe untride,
Such one as footmen use, light, easie, thin,
———And every hardie knight
His sample follow'd, and his brethren twaine,
The other princes put on *harnesse* light,
As footemen use———'

Vol. ii. pp. 30, 31, ed. 1817.

It was, no doubt, such armour as that last mentioned which is referred to by Hall, when speaking of the delivery of Rouen in 1448, he says, 'After the Frenche king had once by his Herault somoned the citie, the inhabitauntes not onely sought ways and inuented fraudes how to betray the same, but also put on *harnes* and rebelled against their capitaynes.'—*Chron. Hen. VI.* fo. cliv b, ed. 1548. M. du Bellay, describing the armour worn by the soldiers of Francis I., says, 'Toutesfois c'est chose certaine, qu'un homme armé legerement ne fera iamais l'effort que l'homme armé seurement, lequel ne peut estre endommagé de coups de main, au lieu que le Cheual leger est exposé aux coups en plusieurs endroits de sa personne. Et ce pour cause de son *Harnois* qui n'est si pesant, ne si seur que celuy de l'Homme d'armes doit estre, et non sans cause: car à la peine que les Cheuaux legers, et les autres armez legerement doyuent prendre, n'y auroit corps qui peust souffrir la pesanteur du *Harnois* complet, ne Cheual qui le peust porter: mais les Hommes d'armes qui sont ordonnez pour demeurer fermes, et non pour courir ça et là, pourront estre chargez d'un *Harnois* pesant.'—*Discipl. Milit.* fo. 50 b, ed. 1592. Sir John Wallop, writing home to the Privy Council from the English camp at Béthune, 31st July, 1543, and describing an *impromptu* tournament, which he had arranged between half a dozen Englishmen and the same

number of Frenchmen, says, 'Cawverley, my man, was preased to make the fairest courses of them all; yet by the yvill runnyng of a Frenchemans horse, that flede owt, strake hym under the armepitt throughe the body, and persed his *harnes* in the backe, so as he is sooer hurt and in grete danger, not hable to be brought backe to our camp, but carryed to Thurwanne, where he is well entreated. This morning haveing hard from thens, have some hope of his life; and the thing shall put hym most in danger is the gusset that is stryken into his body.'—*State Pap.* vol. ix. p. 459.

Hauiour, Hauour, *substance, property.*—I. 26, 230; II. 51, 409 and note. The following passages may be cited in addition to those given in the above note. The statute, 1 Hen. VII. cap. 2, entitled 'An acte that Denysons shall paye Custome and Subsidy,' recites that in consequence of divers grants of denization, made by Ed. IV. to divers merchant strangers, born out of this realm, the latter 'oft tymes suffre other straungers not denesyns deceitefully to ship and cary grete and notable substaunce of merchaundise in their names, by the which the seid goodes be freed of custome in likewise as they were goodys of a Denesyn, where of right they owe to pay custome as the goods of straungers by the whiche they be gretely avaunsed in richesse and *havour*.' We can easily trace the derivation of this word from the original Parliament Roll, on which the last clause runs as follows, 'per la quel ils sont graundement avanccz en riches et *avoir*.' Wolsey, writing to Sampson and Jerningham, the king's ambassadors in Germany, in 1523, says, 'Finally His Majeste, shewing the good newes of arrival of certein golde from his Isles, desireth that prisoners of *haveour* takyn in the Kinges armye may be reserved for redemyng of suche of the Duke of Burbons frendes as the Frenche king hathe takyn and attached.'—*State Pap.* vol. vi. p. 185. And Wriothesley and Vaughan, in a letter to the king, from St. Quentin, dated 10th Oct. 1538, say, 'He (*i.e.* Don Diego de Mendoza) receyved our message very thankfully, and promised us aunswere in the mornyng, which he sent unto us by a gentleman of his, by all lightlywoode of good *havour*.'—*Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 67. The substantive 'having' is constantly used by Shakespeare in the same sense, and is in fact only another version of the same word.

Haulte, *haughty*, lit. *high*, or as we say *high and mighty*.—II. 12, 40, 43. The French *hault*. Palsgrave has, 'Hyghe myghty—m. et f. *excelse s*; m. *hault s*, f. *haulte s*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 315. Udall, in his translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon St. Mark i., says, 'The spirite of the deuil and the worlde maketh and loueth suche myndes as are *haute*, puffed up wyth pryde, and suche as are fierce; but that heauenly spyryte loueth those whiche are lowlye, meke, and peasible.'—Tom. i. fo. cxviii. ed. 1551. The expression used by Erasmus being 'animos elatos.' And in the same version we find, 'The hearte of this virgin dyd not throughe these so high promises of the Aungell weaxe any whit the more *hault* to take highly upon hir.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. ccxxii.; Erasmus having written, 'Ex his tam magnificis angeli promissis, nihilo factus est *insolentior* virginis animus.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 290, ed. 1541. Lord Ormond, writing from Kilkenny, the 14th May, 1540, to the Lord Justice of Ireland, says, 'O Brene, I assure your Lordshipp, is *hault* and prowde, and nameth O Nele, O Connor, and the Tooles his Irishmen, whome he entendith to defende.'—*State Pap.* vol. iii. p. 207 note. And in a letter from Dacre to Wolsey, the 4th March, 1524, the former mentions 'the *hault* and unfitting mattiers and requestes couched in the seid Dukes (of Albany) instructiones, sent with his said secretary to your Grace.'—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 73. In the Life of Sir Peter Carew, printed in the *Archæologia*, his biographer, refers to the same incident mentioned by Sir John Wallop in a letter already quoted, and says, 'Sir George Carewe

and this gentleman (*i.e.* Sir Peter C.) weare of soe *haulte* myndes and great corages, that they requested the contrarye; and forthwith one Shelley and one Calveley, with other gentlemen, offered sixe for sixe to awensweare the chalenge the next morninge.'—Vol. xxviii. p. 106. Spenser uses this form in *The Faerie Queene*:

'Now sure, (then said Sir Calidore,) and right,
Me seemes, that him befell by his owne fault;
Who ever thinkes through confidence of might,
Or through support of count'nance proud and *hault*,
To wrong the weaker, oft falles in his owne assault.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 123.

Haunte, *to be conversant or familiar with*, hence *to study*.—I. 82; II. 340. It will be seen that the author in his *Dictionary* attaches this meaning to several very different Latin words. Thus he translates Celebro 'to celebrate or brynge in renoume, to make good reporte. Also to *haunte*, to honour or worship;' Colo 'to worshyp, to loue or fauour, to *haunte*, to inhabyte or dwelle, to leade;' and Frequento, 'to *haunte*, to goo togyther.' Hence it is clear that in applying the English word 'haunt' to the reading of history, the author must be understood to employ a verb equivalent to 'colo' rather than to 'frequento.' The word itself is, of course, merely the English form of the French *hanter*, the origin of which has been much controverted. But M. Littré, after passing in review the various derivations which have been suggested, inclines to the Latin 'habitare' as the most probable, 'le sens est bon, la forme aussi: car *habitare*, devenant *habtare*, a pris facilement une nasale, et dérivant de *habere*, a eu dans la latinité et a pu avoir dans le français le sens de avoir souvent.' Palsgrave has, 'I *haunte*, I resorte moche to a place or in to the company of any person. *Je hante*, prim. conj. He that *haunteth* honest mennes companye shall have honestye of it: *qui hante les gens de bien*, or *qui repayre es places ou hantent les gens de bien emportera tousjours l'honneur*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 582. We find it used in the thirteenth century in *Le Rom. de la Rose*:

'Car qui oiseus *hante* autrui table,
Lobierres est, et sert de fable.'
Tom. ii. p. 347, ed. 1814.

And Chaucer has translated this:

'For he that wole gone ydilly,
And usith it ay besily
Go *haunten* other mennes table,
He is a trechour ful of fable.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 201.

In *The Persones Tale* the word is applied much in the same way as it is in *The Governour*, 'That other marchaundise, that men *hauntyn* with fraude, and treccherie, and deceipt, with lesynges and fals othis, is cursed and dampnable.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 334. And so in *Troylus and Cryseyde:*

'For which me thenketh every manere wight
That *haunteth* armes oughte to bewayle
The deth of hym that was so noble a knyght.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 65.

Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, uses it in the same sense as Elyot, 'I do not mean by all this my talk, that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies should leese honest pleasure, and *haunt* no good pastime: I mean nothing less.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 138, ed. 1864.

Haye, *an enclosure for catching wild beasts*.—II. 182. The author in his *Dictionary* renders Casses, 'netts, which may be called *hays*,' and Cassiculus, 'a lyttell *haye*.' Cotgrave translates the French *toiles*, 'Toyles or a *hay* to inclose or intangle wilde beasts in.' In Baret's *Alvearie* we find, 'Nettes and *haies* wherewith woodes are inuironned for to take wild beasts, *toiles ou panneaux desquels on enuironne un bois pour prendre bestes sauuages*.' The French word *haie* meant primarily 'a fence or hedge,' as we see from the following passage in *Le Roman de la Rose:*

'Par ronces et par esglentiers
Dont en la *haie* avoit assés,
Sui maintenant oultre passés.'
Tom. i. p. 113.

Which Chaucer renders :

> Thanne attir fully delyverly,
> Thorough the breres anoon wente I,
> Wherof encombred was the *haye*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 92.

According to M. Littré, 'Chasse à la haie,' was so called, 'de chasse dans lequel, formant entre des haies une voie qui conduisait à des filets, on forçait le gibier à l'aide de batteurs à s'engager entre ces haies.' This method apparently resembled in some respects that still employed in Bengal and Ceylon for capturing elephants. See Sir J. E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 342. Here in England, however, the word appears to have been applied more generally to nets used for taking rabbits. Thus Sir Thos. Wyatt, in his *Satires*, says :

> 'None of ye all there is, that is so mad
> To seek grapes upon brambles or briers :
> Nor none, I trow, that hath his wit so bad
> To set his *haye* for conies over rivers ;
> Ne ye set not a drag-net for an hare.
> And yet, the thing that most is your desire,
> Ye do mis-seek, with more travail and care.'
>
> *Works*, p. 85, ed. 1816.

Dr. Calfhill, in an *Answere to the Treatise of the Crosse*, published in 1565, uses the word metaphorically in speaking of the Egyptian worship of Serapis : 'These and such other inventions they had to deceive the people. Such *hayes* they pitched to purchase their profit.'—P. 274, ed. 1846, Par. Soc. Hall, speaking of a rebellion in Normandy, which was quelled by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Willoughby, says, 'Therle folowed at the backe, the ragged route and mischeuous multitude, as a man that draue the deare before him into the buckestalle, or the sely coneis into the secrete *hay*.'—*Chron.* fo. cxxiv. b. ed. 1548.

Hoeues, *hoofs*.—I. 183. The singular, hoof, was usually written 'houfe,' and sometimes 'houe.' Thus in his *Dictionary* the author renders Ungula, 'a houfe of a hors or other beaste.' And Brende, in his translation of Quintus Curtius, says, 'It is certayne that there is a poyson in Macedon founde in a water called Stiges, of suche force that it consumeth yron, and will not be conteined in any thinge, sauing in the *houe* of an horse or mule.' —Fo. 226, ed. 1553. Dr. Raynalde, a celebrated *accoucheur* of the sixteenth century, mentions amongst other prescriptions : 'Fumigation made of the eyes of salte fyshes, or of the *houe* of a horse.'—*The Birth of Mankynde*, fo. lxxiv. b. ed. 1565.

Host, verb, *to lodge, to entertain*.—II. 134. This peculiar verb seems to be an abbreviated form of the phrase 'to be at host with.' Thus in Baret's *Alvearie* we find, 'To be at host with one ; to take his lodging in ones house. Diverti ad aliquem in hospitium. This is a reasonable and sufficient cause that you should *host* and lodge at my house. Hæc est vobis idonea causa divertendi apud me. Abraham doth *host* or lodge the angels. Abrahamus excipit Genios hospitio.' Udall, in his translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon Acts x. renders : 'Hic diversatur apud Simonem,' &c., 'He *hosteth* at a certayne mannes house in Joppa, whose name is Symon.' —Tom. i. fo. cccccIviii. ed. 1551. Again in that upon Acts xvi. he translates : 'Profecti sunt ad domum Lydiæ cujus hospitio fuerant usi,' 'They wente into the house of Lidia, where they had been first *hosted*.'—*Ibid.* fo. cccccIxxix. We find the word in the argument to canto 9, book iii. of *The Faerie Queene* :

> 'Malbecco will no straunge knights *host*,
> For peevish gealosy.
> Paridell giusts with Britomart :
> Both shew their auncestry.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 45.

And also in book iv. canto 8 :

> 'Such was that Hag, unmeet to *host* such guests,
> Whom greatest Princes court would welcome fayne ;
> But neede, that answers not to all requests,
> Bad them not looke for better entertayne.'
>
> *Ibid.* p. 202.

It is used by Shakespeare in *The Comedy of Errors*, where Antipholus says :

> 'Go, bear it (*i. e.* the money) to the Centaur where we *host*.'

And again in *All's Well that ends Well*, the old widow of Florence says :

> Come, pilgrim, I will bring you
> Where you shall *host :* of enjoin'd penitents
> There's four or five, to Great Saint Jaques bound,
> Already at my house.'

Foxe, in his account of the persecution of Thomas Rose, chaplain to Cromwell, says : 'Howbeit the sayd Tho. Rose at hys commyng home, hauing warning hereof by certayne godly persons, was conueyed away, and passed ouer to Flanders, and so to Germany unto Zuricke, where a tyme he remayned with M. Bullinger, and afterward went to Basill, and there *hosted* with M. Grineus, till letters came that M. Doct. Barnes shuld be B. of Norwiche, and things shuld be reformed, and he restored.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 2083, ed. 1583,

Humect, *to moisten.*—I. 97. Formed from the Latin verb 'humecto,' which is quite classical. The French have also the verb *humecter*, which does not seem to have been in vogue before the sixteenth century. Thus Montaigne says : 'J'entends bien qu'il y a quelque simple qui *humecte*, quelque aultre qui asseiche.' — *Essais*, tom. iii. p. 263, ed. 1854. Bacon uses the substantive : 'It hath been observed by the ancients, that plates of metal, and especially of brass, applied presently to a blow, will keep it down from swelling. The cause is repercussion, without *humectation* or entrance of any body.' —*Works*, vol. iv. p. 467, ed. 1826.

Husbande, *a husbandman, a farmer.* —I. 6, 247. The first of the above instances clearly shows that this word is synonymous with the more usual form. Palsgrave has : '*Husbandes* house in the countre or maner place—*metayrie s*, f.' — *L'Esclair.* p. 233. Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, uses the same form as Elyot :

> 'Like as a withered tree, through *husbands* toyle,
> Is often seene full freshly to have florisht,
> And fruitfull apples to have borne awhile,
> As fresh as when it first was planted in the soyle.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol iii. p. 140.

Again in *Mother Hubberd's Tale :*

> 'The honest man, that heard him thus complaine,
> Was griev'd as he had felt part of his paine;
> And well dispos'd him some reliefe to showe,
> Askt if in husbandrie he ought did knowe,
> To plough, to plant, to reap, to rake, to sowe,
> To hedge, to ditch, to thrash, to thetch, to mowe?
> Or to what labour else he was prepar'd,
> For *husbands* life is labourous and hard.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 10.

So in *The Shepheards Calender* :

> 'There grewe an aged Tree on the greene,
> A goodly Oake sometime had it bene,
> * * * * * * *
> Whilome had bene the king of the field,
> And mochell mast to the *husband* did yielde,
> And with his nuts larded many swine.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 21.

Bacon says, 'Chalk over-heateth the ground a little; and therefore is best upon cold clay grounds, or moist grounds : but I heard a great *husband* say that it was a common error, to think that chalk helpeth arable ground, but helpeth not grazing grounds.' Again : 'Some very good *husbands* do suspect, that the gathering up of flints in flinty ground, and laying them on heaps, which is much used, is no good husbandry, for that they would keep the ground warm.'—*Works*, vol. iv. pp. 275, 278, ed. 1826.

Hyed, *hastened, sped.*—I. 43. This is the perfect participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb 'to hye,' meaning to hasten. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Hastyn or hyyn, *Festino, accelero.* Hastyn, or hyyn yn goynge, *Propero.*' Also 'Hyynge, or hastynge, *Festinacio festinancia, properacio.*'—Pp. 229, 239. The old writers sometimes employed it with, and sometimes without the reflective pronoun. Palsgrave has : 'I hye, *Je haste* or *je despeche*, prim. conj. Go and *hye you* agayne, I pray you : *allez et despechez vous, je vous prie.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 584. In *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle* we find it without the pronoun :

> 'He *hyede* to the kyng vor ech lyme hym ok,
> And shewed hym al that cas ——'
>
> Vol. i. p. 240, ed. Hearne, 1724.

And so in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* :

> 'The frere herof herde,
> And *kiede* faste
> To a lord for a lettre.'

Again :

> '"Fare well," quath the frere,
> "For I mot hethen fonden,
> And *hyen* to an house-wiif
> That hath us byquethen
> Ten pound in hir testament."'
>
> Vol. ii. pp. 444, 475, ed. 1842.

Spenser uses both forms, thus in *The Shepheards Calender* :

> '*Hie* thee home, shepheard, the day is nigh wasted.'

And :

> 'Home when the doubtful Damme had *her hyde*,
> She mought see the dore stand open wyde.'

Again :

> 'And, for the deawie night now doth nye,
> I hold it best for us home to *hye*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. pp. 25, 44, ed. 1866.

And in *The Faerie Queene* :

> 'At last, when they had markt the chaunged skyes,
> They wist their houre was spent; then each to rest *him hyes*.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 87.

Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, says : 'I haue heard the inhabitants thereabouts to report that the Earle of Richmond (afterwards Henry the seuenth) while hee houered upon the coast, here by stealth refreshed himselfe; but being aduertised of streight watch, kept for his surprising at Plymmouth, he richly rewarded his hoste, *hyed* speedily a shipboord, and escaped happily to a better fortune.'—Fo. 99, ed. 1602. William Browne, who was born in the last decade of the sixteenth century, uses it as a reflective verb in *The Shepheards Pipe:*

> 'Woman, me fetch the brooch," quoth he,
> " swythee
> Into thy chamber for it goe; *hye thee*."'

And again :

> Forth his journey this Jonathas held,
> And as he his looke about him cast,
> Another tree from afarre he beheld,
> To which he hasted, and *him hied* fast.'
>
> *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 22, 30, ed. 1772.

And so does Richard Crashaw :

> 'While he sweetly 'gan to show
> His swelling glories, Auster spied him,
> Cruel Auster thither *hied him*.'
>
> *Poems*, p. 69, ed. 1785

Robert Greene, in his *Mamillia*, says : 'Dinner being ended, Pharicles hauing the spurres in his side, alledging urgent cause of his so hasty departure, tooke his leaue of the Marquesse, and the rest of the company, and giuing great thanks to Signor Fernese for his good cheare *hyed him* home in haste to his chamber.'—Signat. H. 3, b. ed. 1593.

Hyght, *was called, named.*—II. 367. This thoroughly Anglo-Saxon word is properly the imperfect tense of the verb *hatan* = appellare. Palsgrave would seem to have considered it the present. The second example, however, which he gives is inconsistent with the latter view. He says : 'I *hyght*, I am called or named. *Je suis appellé*, and *je me fays appeller*. The best horse for the tylte that ever I sawe, *hyght* Lyarde Urbin: *le meilleur cheual pour les lisses que je vis jamays se fist appeller*, or *se nommoyt Liart Urbyn*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 584. William of Malmesbury shows us what the present tense was in his story about the sheriff of Worcester, who was cursed so epigrammatically in the time of William the Conqueror : 'Ursus erat vicecomes Wigorniæ a rege constitutus, qui in ipsis pene faucibus monachorum castellum construxit, adeo ut fossatum cimiterii partem decideret. Querela ad archiepiscopum, qui tutor esset episcopatûs, delata est. Ille cum vidisset Ursum, his verbis adorsus est : "*Hattest* thu Urs, haue thu Godes kurs." Eleganter in his verbis sed dure nominum euphoniæ alludens : "*Vocaris*," inquit, "Ursus, habeas Dei maledictionem." '—*Gest. Pontif. Angl.* p. 253, the Rolls ed. We find the imperfect tense in *Peter of Langtoft's Chronicle*, written in the fourteenth century :

> 'Offa, kyng of Lyndsay, a faire douhter had ;
> Brittrik hir wedded and quene home hir lad.
> When he had regned foure yere one ryued upon his right,
> A duke of Danmark, Kebright he *hight*.'
>
> P. 10, ed. Hearne, 1725.

It is constantly used by Chaucer; thus in *The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, he says:

'This reeve sat upon a wel good stot,
That was a pomely gray, and *highte* Scot.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 20.

In the following instance it may be the present tense:

'"Late now," quod she, "thy trumpe goon,
Thou Eolus, that is so blake;
And out thyn other trumpe take
That *highte* Laude, and blowe yt soo
That thrugh the worlde her fame goo."'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 260.

In *The Romaunt of the Rose* we have certainly the imperfect:

'I sawe come with a glade chere
To me, a lusty bachelere,
Of good stature, and of good highte,
And Bialacoil forsothe he *highte*.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 91.

We are enabled to assign the proper tense in this last passage, by comparing it with the corresponding one in the original French, which is as follows:

'Ge vi vers moi tout droit venant
Ung varlet bel et avenant,
En qui il n'ot riens que blasmer:
Bel-Acueil *se faisoit clamer*.'
Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. i. p. 112, ed. 1814.

And so in the following instances:

'Whilom, as olde stories tellen us,
Ther was a duk that *highte* Theseus.'

Again:

And so byfil, that in the cas thei founde,
Thurgh girt with many a grevous blody wounde,
Two yonge knightes liggyng by and by,
Both in oon armes clad full richely;
Of whiche two, Arcite *hight* that oon,
And that other knight *hight* Palamon.'
Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 27, 32.

This word did not become obsolete till after the reign of Elizabeth, for Spenser uses it almost as often as Chaucer. The following examples, however, will suffice.

'Me seemed, by my side a royall Mayd
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:
So fayre a creature yet saw never sunny day
* * * * * * *
Ne living man like wordes did ever heare,
As she to me delivered all that night,
And at her parting said, she Queene of Faries *hight*.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 4.

Again:

'Old father Mole (Mole *hight* that mountain gray
That walls the northside of Armulla dale)
He had a daughter fresh as floure of May,
Which gave that name unto that pleasant vale;
Mulla, the daughter of old Mole, so *hight*
The Nimph which of that water course has charge.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 92.

A song, assigned by Mr. Wright to the year 1352, commences as follows:

'Men may rede in Romance right
Of a grete clerk that Merlin *hight*.'
Polit. Poems, vol. i. p. 75, the Rolls ed.

It was also used in prose. Harrison, speaking of different breeds of dogs, says: 'The first kind of these are also commonlie called hariers . . . . . the second *hight* a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie; the third a bloudhound . . . . . the fourth *hight* a gasehound, who hunteth by the eie.' —*Descript. of England*, p. 230, ed. 1587. Sir John Maundevile almost invariably uses the form 'is cleped' for the present, and 'hight' for the past tense. Thus: 'The town is called Jaff; for one of the sones of Noe, that *highte* Japhet, founded it; and now it *is clept* Joppe.' Again: 'Sum tyme ther was a kyng in that contrey, and men maryed as in other contreyes: and so befelle, that the kyng had werre with hem of Sithie; the whiche kyng *highte* Colopeus, that was slayn in bataylle.—*Voiage, &c.*, pp. 36, 186, ed. 1727. It is used occasionally by Shakespeare, as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*:

'This grisly beast, which by name Lion *hight*,
The trusty Thisbe, coming first by night,
Did scare away, or rather did affright.'
Works, vol. ii. p. 316, Dyce's ed.

Again in *Pericles*:

'And in this kind hath our Cleon
One daughter, and a wench full grown

Even ripe for marriage-rite ; this maid
Hight Philoten ; and it is said
For certain in our story, she
Would ever with Marina be.'
Ibid. vol. viii. p. 44.

I.

Iape, *a joke, a jest, mockery.*—II. 440 and note.

Ieopardie, Ieopardye, *jeopardy.* Lit. a game in which the players are equally matched, and of which the result is consequently dubious ; hence any event in which the chances are equal and the result uncertain, dubious ; and so applied to any matter involving an uncertain issue, as we say a matter of life *or* death.—I. 181 ; II. 267, 273. The history of this word is involved in some obscurity, and none of the dictionaries have given a satisfactory explanation of it. Minsheu, Skinner, Junius, and Dr. Johnson supposed that it originated in the phrase *j'ai perdu* or *jeu perdu*, overlooking the fact that the element of *doubt* which is always involved in the meaning would be entirely eliminated by such an hypothesis. But the earliest form in which the word occurs in English, viz. *juparty* gives at once a clue to the derivation, which is undoubtedly the French expression *jeu parti*. Now this latter is the lineal descendant of the Latin phrase 'jocus partitus,' which in the middle ages seems to have denoted any game played by two persons, but especially the games of chess and tables. With respect to these the words 'jocus' and 'ludus' were used indifferently, for according to a legal authority, 'Ludus et jocus in jure non differunt, quia unum ponitur pro reliquo.'—*Tractatus de Ludo*, tom. iv. fo. 200 b, ed. 1549. From the gaming table the phrase seems to have passed into the language of the law, for Bracton employs it in the *De Legibus Angliæ* in the sense, according to Blount, of 'an alternative,' but this interpretation does not by any means represent the full force of the original expression. In treating of an Assize of novel disseisin and of the powers of a bailiff Bracton says : 'Et sciendum quod non potest ballivus quicquid potest dominus suus. Non potest animo cognoscere disseysinam quo minus procedat assisa, sed per assisam veritas declarabitur. Item nec potest transigere nec pacisci nec *jocum partitum* facere nec aliud quo magis dominus suus seysinam amittat in toto vel in parte, nisi hoc sit per judicium et assisam.'—Lib. iv. tract. i. cap. 32. Again, under the head of Defaults, he says : 'Fiat mentio semper in essonio quod visus testatus sit, et si forte testatus non fuerit, et tenens ad diem suum venerit, et docere possit quod visum non habuerit, habebit alium diem, nisi ipse petens docuerit contrarium, sub periculo *joci partiti*.'—Lib. v. tract. 3, cap. 11, ed. 1569. It may be mentioned incidentally as a curious fact, and one which reflects no little discredit on English lawyers in view of the close connection which has been shown to subsist between the Anglo-Norman and Roman law, that no translation of this important work, nor even an edition with explanatory notes, appears ever to have been published ; and so we are left without any assistance in elucidating the meaning of this phrase. [The Editor was not aware that a new edition of Bracton with a translation by Sir Travers Twiss was in course of publication under the direction of the Master of the Rolls until these sheets were passing through the press, but although the omission above alluded to is thus at length supplied, the portion of Bracton already published does not comprise the passages referred to in the present note, which therefore derives no benefit from the most recent exposition of the *De Legibus*, and must remain unmodified.] In the *Summa Magna* of Hengham a slightly different form of the same expression is used : 'Si apparentibus partibus quereletur et respondeatur, sive loquela per nontenuram vel per quemcunque *bipertijocum* cavilletur lis illa, dummodo detur dies ad proximum Comitatum partibus ad petitionem petentis per breve quod dicitur *Pone*, potest transferri negotium, sive placitum illud fuerit, coram justiciariis in Banco vel Itineranti-

bus in ipso Comitatu.'—P. 9, ed. 1737. In the Romance language *jocus partitus* became *joch partiti*, and in a work on Spanish bibliography we find mention made of a book called 'Libre dels *jochs partitis* del schachs en nombre de 100 ordenat e compost per Francesch Vicent,' which appears to have been published at Valencia in 1495. See Mendez, *Typographia Española*, p. 83, ed. 1796. The phrase is found very frequently in the early French Romances. Thus it occurs in *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, a poem written by one of the knights who accompanied Godfrey de Bouillon to the Holy Land, and who is better known as Hue de Tabarie, a corruption of Tiberias, of which province he received the lordship from Baldwin the brother of Godfrey—

'Hues, mout sui lié quant vous tien
Che dist li Rois, par Mahoumet.
Et une cose vous promet,
Que il vous convenrra morir,
Ou à grant raenchon venir.
Li Prinches Hues respondi,
Puisque m'avez le *giu parti*,
Je prenderai dont le raiembre,
Se j'ai de quoi jel'puisse rendre.'

Barbazan, *Fab. et Contes*, tom. i. p. 61, ed. 1808.

It is probable that the *jocs partitz* of the troubadours and the *jeux partis* of the trouvères, which were dialogues in verse, were so called from their resemblance to the alternate moves of the players. For according to M. Champollion-Figeac: 'Tous les poëtes provençaux et trouvères célèbrent à l'envi le jeu de table.'—*Poésies de Ch. d'Orl.* p. 424, note (16) ed. 1842. What the nature of these jeux partis was we learn from M. Levesque de la Ravalière, who informs us that 'Les Tensons des Provençaux, qui sont une chanson en dialogue entre deux Interlocuteurs, ont servi de modèle à nos poëtes pour leurs *Jeux-partis*, dans lesquels l'un des Interlocuteurs, ayant proposé une question sur quelque sujet de galanterie, l'autre choisit la maxime qu'il veut deffendre . . . La dispute, après avoir été agitée pour et contre, *demeure toujours indécise;* chaque Interlocuteur nomme pour son Juge quelqu'autre poëte, à la décision de qui il s'en rapporte.'—*Poésies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. i. p. 228, ed. 1742. One of the dialogues here referred to commences as follows:

'L'autre nuit en mon dormant,
Fui en grant doutance,
D'un *Jeu parti* en chantant
Et en grant balance.'

Ibid. tom. ii. p. 99.

In *Li Covenans Vivien*, a poem of the twelfth century, published by M. Jonckbloet, we have the following passage:

'Ce dit Girarz, li preuz, de Commarchis:
Niés Vivien ce n'est pas *jeus petiz*,
Que tant i a Sarrazins et Persis,
Contre un des noz en ont lxx,
Li nostre efforz sera vers els petiz:
Quar en alons, se vos vient à plesir.'

Guillaume d'Orange, tom. i. p. 173, ed. 1854

Philippe Mouskes, a Belgian writer of the thirteenth century, employs this expression in his *Chronicle*—

'Boucars d'Avesnes s'en parti,
Quar il n'ot pas le *giu parti*.'

Tom. ii. p. 329, ed. Reiffenberg, 1838.

This is explained by the editor to mean: 'Bouchard n'avait pas eu la réplique.' In another poem assigned to the same century, which takes the form of a dialogue between le Comte de Bretagne and Bernard, the former is made to say:

'Bernart, quant nous somes d'un gré,
Cest *gieu parti* en envoions
Au conte d'Anjou, car bien sai
Qu'il entendra bien les raisons:
Et de jugier droit le prions.'

Le Romancero François, p. 162, ed. 1833.

In a tenson of Hugues de la Bachélerie the lines—

'N Ugo, gen fazetz *jocs partitz*,
Si trobassetz bon chanzidor,'

are explained by M. Raynouard to mean —'Seigneur Hugues, gentiment vous faites *jeux-partis*, si vous trouviez bon interlocuteur.'—*Lex. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 436, ed. 1842. Another troubadour, Amadieu des Escas, tells a young man how to behave to his mistress—

'E si voletz bastir
Solatz de *jocx partitz*,
No'ls fassatz descauzitz
Mas plazens e cortes.'

In other words, according to M. Raynouard—

'Et si vous voulez bâtir
Soulas de *jeux-partis*,
Ne les faites injurieux
Mais plaisants et courtois.'

Poésies des Troubadours, tom. ii. p. 265.

In a poem of the twelfth century we read—

'Ce poise moi, dit Garins li senés,
Moins en serons et cremus et doutés.
Un *gieu* vous *pars* dont vos ne vous gardez,
Se Diex ce done, qui en crois fu penés,
Que li Paien soient débareté,
Se je conquiers avoir, jà ni penrez.'

And again—

'Un *gieu* vous *pars*, voiant tous vos amins
Je ne vueil rien en ce que j'ai conquis;
Prenez la terre que vous véez ici,
Je la ferai quiter à Biatris,
Et je tenrai la terre au duc Hervis.
Ou s'il vous plaist et vous doie abelir
Que vous teniez à la terre Hervis,
Faites quitter la terre à Aélis.'

Li Rom. de Garin, tom. i. p. 102, tom. ii. p. 70, ed. 1833–35.

And Alexandre de Bernay in the following century writes as follows—

'As compagnons se mellent et li renc sunt frémi;
Li xii pers de Grese ne sunt mis en oubli,
As esporons trancans lor ont i *ju parti*
De coi li désarmé se tienent pour trai.'

Li Rom. d'Alexandre, p. 242, ed. 1846.

In the following passage the phrase must, no doubt, be interpreted in the sense of proposing an alternative—aut Cæsar aut nullus: 'Orrez les justices et jugemens que je vy faire à Cesaire, tandis que le Roy y sejourna. Tout premier d'un Cheualier, qui fut prins au bordel, auquel on *partit un jeu*; ou que la ribaulde, auecques laquelle il auoit esté trouué, le meneroit parmy l'ost en sa chemise, une corde liée à ses genitoires, laquelle corde la ribaulde tiendroit d'un bout: ou s'il ne vouloit telle chose souffrir, qu'il perdroit son cheual, ses armures et harnois, et qu'il seroit dechassé et fourbany de l'ost du Roy. Le Chevalier esleut, qu'il ayma mieulx perdre son cheual et armeures, et s'en partir de l'ost.'—Joinville, *Hist. S. Louys*, p. 95, ed. 1668. In his notes upon this passage Du Cange quotes in illustration of the phrase the following lines from 'Le Roman de Meraugis de Portesguez'—

'Un *giu* vous *part*, que volés faire,
Se volés miex tançer que taire.'

Froissart employs the phrase in a somewhat different sense. 'Disoient ainsi Messire Arcebault Douglas et le Comte de Douglas son cousin: Et ne peut nullement demeurer que nous ne ayons besogne; car les Anglois chevauchent ou chevaucheront à cette remontée. Si soyons sur notre garde et les combattons si nous les véons à *jeu parti*.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 17, ed. P. L. This Lord Berners merely renders: 'Let us be redy, and lette us fyght with them if we see tyme conuenyent.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 506. As *jocus partitus* and *jeu parti* implied that the chances were equal and the event doubtful, so on the other hand the phrases *jocus* or *ludus male partitus* and *jeu mal parti* seem to have been employed to indicate a condition of things in which the chances being all in favour of one side, the issue was by no means doubtful. Thus we read in the Chronicle of the Monastery of Ardres, in the Pas de Calais, of a lawsuit which was pending for many years with another monastic establishment at Charroux, and was carried on appeal to Rome, but finally terminated in a somewhat one-sided arrangement at the suggestion of the Pope. In recording this compromise the chronicler drily remarks, 'Hic *ludus malè* videtur *partitus*, quia in uno pependitur risus, et in alio planctus et ejulatus.'—D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 850, ed. 1723. So Joinville, in describing a battle in Palestine in 1253, says, 'Quant les Alemans virent que il chassoient a folie, il sen revindrent ariere. Quant les Sarrazins virent ce, il leur coururent sus a pié, et leur donnoient de sus les roches grans cops de leur maces, et leur arrachoient les couvertures de leur chevaus. Quant nos serjans virent le meschief, qui estoient avec nous, il se commencierent a effreer; et je leur dis que se il sen aloient que je les feroit geter hors des gages le roy a touzjours

mès. Et il me distrent: Sire, le *jeu* nous est *mal parti*; car vous estes a cheual, si vous enfuirés; et nous sommes a pié, si nous occiront les Sarrazins.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 277. Again in *Perceforest*, a romance printed in the sixteenth century, we have the following description of a battle: 'Lors trayrent leurs espees et commencerent a ferir les ungs sur les autres de tous leurs pouoirs. Adonc commença ung chappellys *mal party* si cruel que cestoit pitie a veoir. Mais les quatre compaignons se deffendirent si cheualereusement que chascun les en doit louer. Et de tant estoit le *ieu mal party* enuers eulx que il leur conuenit receuoir plus de coups quilz ne pouoient rendre.'—Tom. i. fo. 34, ed. 1531. Froissart evidently intends to convey this meaning when he says: 'Quand les Compagnies entendirent ces nouvelles, si ne furent mie bien assurés, car *ils n'étoient pas à jeu parti* contre les François.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 517. Lord Berners hardly preserves the force of the original in translating this 'Whan these companyons herde these tidynges, they were than nat well assured, for they were nat able to *make party* agaynst the frenchemen.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 321. Coming now to Chaucer, we find the original French phrase composed of two words combined by him in one, and we may even discover in one or two passages more or less distinct traces of the still earlier legal application referred to above. Thus in the *Prologe of the Chanounes Yeman*:

> 'Whan he, thurgh his madnes and folye,
> Hath lost his owne good in *jeupardie*,
> Than he exciteth other men therto,
> To leese her good, as he himself hath do.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 51, ed. 1866.

In *Troylus and Cryseyde* the latter exclaims:

> 'A Lord! what me is tyd a sory chaunce,
> For myn estate lith now in a *jupartye*,
> And ek myn emes lyf is in balaunce.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 172.

In *The Boke of the Duchesse* the expression is used most appropriately in connexion with the game of chess:

> 'Ful craftier to pleye she was
> Than Athalus, that made the game
> First of the chesse, so was hys name.
> But God wolde I had oones or twyes
> Ykoude, and knowe the *jeupardyes*,
> That kowde the Greke Pythagoras,
> I shulde han pleyde the bet at ches,
> And kept my fers the bet therby.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 175.

Sir Thomas More has two different forms of the same word in juxtaposition: 'He canne bee no saintuarye manne that neither hath wisedom to desire it, nor malice to deserue it, whose lyfe or libertye can by no lawfull processe stande in *ieopardie* . . . While I am here which as yet intende not to come forthe and *iubarde* myselfe after other of my frendes, which woulde God wer rather here in suertie with me then I were there in *iubardy* with them. Whye Madame, (quod a nother Lorde) know you anything why thei should be in *iubardye*? Nay verely sur, quod shee, nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be.'—*Works*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49, ed. 1557. Spenser employs the word with a scarcely perceptible recognition of its original derivation:

> 'But by the way there is a great quicksand,
> And a whirlepoole of hidden *jeopardy*;
> Therefore, Sir Palmer, keepe an even hand,
> For twixt them both the narrow way doth ly.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 220, ed. 1866.

Again, in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*:

> 'And would ye not poore fellowship expell,
> Myselfe would offer you t' accompanie
> In this adventures chauncefull *jeopardie*;
> For to wexe olde at home in idlenesse
> Is disadventrous, and quite fortunelesse;
> Abroad, where change is, good may gotten bee.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 5.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that *jeu party* as a legal term is found in the old French maritime law. M. Jal, in his *Glossaire Nautique*, explains it as follows: 'Est lorsque l'une des personnes ayant part à un vaisseau, demande en jugement que le tout demeure à celuy qui fera la condition de l'autre meilleure, et ne voulant plus demeurer en société avec un autre, le met en action pour faire *Jeu party*, c'est à dire, Donnez moy tant de ma part,

ou je vous donneray tant de la vôtre, ou bien on fera estimer les parts.' And this writer further observes: 'On voit que le *Jeu parti* était une licitation à fin de rachat des actions d'autrui, ou à fin de vente complète de la part que l'on possédait dans un navire. *Jeu parti* signifiait: Jeu partagé ou Jeu égal, Jeu dont les chances étaient pour l'un comme pour l'autre des associés qui voulaient liciter.'—P. 1590, ed. 1848.

Iestes, *exploits.* — I. 252. See Gestes.

Illecebrous, *attractive, enticing.*—I. 40, 70, 136; II. 129. So far as the Editor has been able to ascertain, this very uncommon word has not been used by any other English writer. It is apparently formed from the Latin 'illecebrosus,' which curiously enough is not given in Elyot's own *Dictionary*. The Latin word is used by Plautus alone of classical writers: 'Quia istoc *illecebrosius* fieri nihil potest, nox, mulier, vinum, homini adolescentulo.'—*Bacchid.* i. 1, 55. Again. 'Hui! *illecebrose!* capite sistebas cadum.'—*Mil. Glor.* iii. 2, 36. Prudentius has '*Illecebrosus* enim sapor est et pestifer horum.'—*Con. Sym.* lib. ii. 144. And Ammianus Marcellinus, another writer of the same age, also employs it in his History. 'Crescente flatu cupiditatis immensæ exsules sollicitabat et milites, pro temporis captu ausorum *illecebrosas* pollicendo mercedes.'—Lib. xxviii. cap. 3. Also, 'Qui *illecebrosis* regem insidiis ambiens, et modo serenæ mentis Valentis indices litteras tradens, modo ipse sese ejus conviviis ingerens, ad ultimum compositâ fraude ad prandium verecundius invitavit.'—Lib. xxx. cap. 1.

Illect, *to entice, attract, allure.*—I. 41. This verb appears to be formed from 'illectus,' the participle of 'illicio,' which is quite classical. The same form is used by Fish in *The Supplication of Beggars*: 'These be they (*i.e.* the monks) that haue made an 100,000 idle whores in your realme, which would haue gotten their liuing honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches *illected* them to uncleane lust and idlenes.'—Foxe, *Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1015, ed. 1583. The reader will observe that this word is used precisely in the same sense as the analogous form 'Allect.'

Imbataile, *to draw up an army in order of battle.*—I. 253. This verb, which is more often spelt Embatayle, (see I. 45, 87), is not found in this compound form in French, and is not very common *in this sense* in English. Holland translates Livy, lib. iii. cap. 60, 'Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrorem, *instructîque acie* ultro hostem lacessit,' 'Which when the Consull perceived, he paid them againe with the like measure of feare, as they before had from them received; and with his armie readie *embattailed*, biddeth them battaile.'—*Roman Hist.* p. 129, ed. 1600. It occurs in Gower:

> 'He came, where he this hoste behelde,
> And that was in a large felde,
> Where the baners ben displaied.
> He hath anone his men arraide,
> And whan that he was *enbatailed*,
> He goth, and hath the felde assailed,
> And slough, and toke all that he fonde.'
>
> *Con. Am.* fo. xxxvii b. ed. 1554.

It is used several times by Shakespeare, as in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

> 'They say we shall *embattle*
> By the second hour i' the morn.'
>
> *Works*, vol. vii. p. 572, ed. Dyce.

And in *King John* Hubert speaks of a tailor—

> 'Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
> Standing on slippers,—which his nimble haste
> Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,—
> Told of a many thousand warlike French
> That were *embattailèd* and rank'd in Kent.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 55.

In *King Henry V.* the messenger exclaims—

> 'The English are *embattled*, you French peers.' *Ibid.* p. 478.

Imbatilmente, *a battlement of a wall.*—II. 14. This compound form of the substantive appears to be very unusual, although the verb is more commonly found in connection with this architectural work than in the sense mentioned above. Thus Chaucer, in *The Romaunt of the Rose* has—

'And whan I had a while goon,
I saugh a gardyn right anoon,
Full long and brood, and everydelle
Enclosed was, and walled welle,
With highe walles *enbatailled*,
Portraied without, and wel entailled
With many riche portraitures.'

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 5.

The corresponding passage in the French shows us very clearly that the preposition prefixed is an English accretion upon the original word, of which similar instances have been already noticed:

'Quant j'oi ung poi avant alê,
Si vi ung vergier grant et lé,
Tot clos d'ung haut mur *bataillié*,
Portrait defors et entaillié
A maintes riches escritures.'

Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. i. p. 8, ed. 1814.

In another part, however, of the same poem Chaucer adopts the French form:

'Lest ony tyme it were assayled,
Ful wel aboute it was *batayled;*
And rounde enviroun eke were sette
Ful many a riche and faire tourette.'

Ubi supra, p. 127.

The corresponding passage being:

'Les tornelles sunt lés à lés,
Qui richement sunt *bataillies*,
Et sunt de pierres bien taillies.'

Ubi supra, p. 155.

Cotgrave translates *Creneler* '*to imbattle*; to make into or fashion like battlements.' And *Creneure*, 'a jagging, nicking, notching, indenting; or an *imbattling* or making into square notches.' Skelton, Hen. VIII.'s poet laureate, in his *Crowne of Lawrell*, says:

'Into a felde she brought me wyde and large,
Enwalled about with the stony flint,
Strongly *enbateld*, muche costious of charge,
To walke on this wal she bed I should nat stint.'

Works, signat. B. iii. ed. 1568.

Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* speaks of:

'Old Cybele, arayd with pompous pride,
Wearing a Diademe *embattild* wide
With hundred turrets, like a Turribant.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 246.

In the middle ages, owing to the disturbed state of the times, 'every house of any importance was fortified, and it was necessary to obtain from the crown a licence to crenellate or fortify, before any house, at least any manor-house, or gentleman's house, could be built.' Turner, *Dom. Arch. in Eng.* vol. ii. p. 10, ed. 1853. A specimen of such a licence by Ed. II. is given in the work last quoted, and we see that the Latin verb 'batillare' is used in this technical sense: 'Concedimus Galfrido de Mortone, civi nostro Dublin, quod ædificare possit et construere unam turrim ad finem magni pontis Dublin, versus villam, bene kernellatam et *batillatam*, &c.' *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 409, note h. This prerogative of the crown to grant licences to the subject to crenellate or embattle, was evidently due to the Norman lawyers, who were already familiar with a practice which had long existed in Europe. Thus we have a licence of the Duke of Burgundy in 1184, granting to one Guy, 'dominus Tilicastri,' 'Ut castrum Tilicastri absque burgo firmaret hoc modo, ipsum vero castrum tali promisi claudi aggere, quali burgus clausus erat: muro quoque permisi idem castrum claudi, cujus altitudo à ripâ interiori sit unius lanceæ, absque *batailliis* et muro antepectorali, ita quòd ulterius non liceat extendi.'—Perard, *Hist. de Bourgogne*, p. 259, ed. 1664. It is evident that 'batallare,' which occurs so frequently in the English licences, is a corruption of 'batailliare,' the verb regularly formed from the above substantive, for in a code of Norman laws, printed by Ludewig, we have the following clause: 'Habere debet eciam omnium eorum custodias, qui baronias comitatus vel mercatum vel serjanteriam liberam feodatam quæ nullam inter fratres divisionem debent sustinere vel domum vel turrem *batailliatam* de duce tenent per homagium.'—*Rel. MSS.* tom. vii. p. 230, ed. 1726.

Imbosed, lit. *embossed*, but here *covered with flakes of foam or froth*.—II. 56 and note, 333. The word is here used metaphorically with special reference to the peculiar sense in which it was employed by sportsmen in hunting the stag. Some confusion has, however, arisen with regard to its origin which Skinner imagined to be the

French *embosquer*, Ital. *imboscare*, and hence Richardson and others have been led to suppose that there are two different words in English, one derived from *embosquer* and the other from *embosser*. This confusion has, no doubt, been caused in great measure by a misapprehension on the part of writers who have used the word in later times in what they conceived was its original sense as applied to the chase, but without properly appreciating its peculiar meaning. Elyot, as we see, translates 'os turbidum' 'mouth imbosed.' Now in order to understand this very unusual expression we must refer for an explanation to the early authorities on hunting. And accordingly Turbervile, under the head of 'Generall terms of the Hart and his properties,' informs us that 'when he is foamy at the mouth we saye that he is *embost*.'—*Booke of Hunting*, p. 242, ed. 1575. In a still earlier treatise on the same subject, viz., *The Boke of St. Albans*, printed in 1486, the author, in speaking of 'thynges which causyth the houndes to endure,' says—

'The thyrde cause is of the harte whan he is nyghe dede,
Then he *castyth out of his mouth froth and blood rede*,
The houndes knowe that he shall be take soone thenne,
And euer the ferder they goo the gladder they renne.'

Now it is not difficult to understand that the foam and froth which would cling in large bubbles about the mouth of a hunted stag might bear a fancied resemblance to 'bosses' of metal-work, and hence the animal itself, which presented such an appearance, might be said to be 'embossed.' Something like the reverse of this simile may be found in the Latin phrase 'pustulatum argentum' used by Suetonius. From being applied originally no doubt to *appearance*, the word would soon be employed to indicate the *condition* of a stag when hard pressed and overcome with exhaustion and fatigue. The modern phrase 'to be blown' indicates in much the same way a degree of exhaustion produced by the difficulty of respiration. In another part of the work just quoted Turbervile says: 'An harte dreadethe the Northerne windes and the Southerne windes much more than he dothe the Easterly or Westerly windes, in such sorte that if at his breakyng out of a couert, when he seeketh to breake from the houndes endwaies ouer the champaigne, he feele either a North winde or a South winde blow, he will neuer runne into it, but turnes his backe and takes it in his tayle, and this he dothe for diuers respects. The first is bycause the North winde is colde and sharpe, and drieth exceedingly, and the South winde is hote and corrupte bycause it commeth under the circle of the sunne, the whiche ouercommeth him and settes him up quickly by the vehement sweltrie heate thereof. And if he should runne into any of those two windes it would quickly enter his throte *when he is embost and beginneth to be spent*, and would drie his throte and his tongue sore, and would alter and chafe him much with the vehement heate thereof.'—*Ubi supra*, pp. 117, 118. Now if we compare this with the corresponding passage in Du Fouilloux's work, we shall see at once that Turbervile's translation is by no means a literal one, and that the words in italics were not in the original, but were added by the translator, from which circumstance we may infer that the application of the word in this sense was unknown to French sportsmen. 'Plus, faut entendre qu'il y a deux manieres de vents, que nous appellons Galerne et Hautain, autrement nommez vents de Nort et de Midy, lesquels le Cerf craint grandement: car quand il sort des forests et qu'il se fortpaist par les campaignes, si l'un d'iceux vents regne, il ne fuit iamais la teste tournee dedans, mais fait au contraire : car il luy tourne le cul et fuit à val : ce qu'il fait pour beaucoup de raisons ; dont la premiere est, que le vent de Galerne est arre et froid, dessechant grandement ; et celuy de Hautain est chaut et corrompu, pource qu'il passe soubs la region du soleil, lequel le putrefie et corrompt à cause de sa chaleur. Et si d'auanture le Cerf fuyoit

la gueule dedans l'un d'iceux vents, il l'alteroit et luy dessecheroit grandement la gueule et la langue.'—*La Vénerie*, fo. 44 b. ed. 1844. The following passage from an old play called *Midas*, written by Lilly, and printed in 1592, may be also cited in corroboration of Turbervile's definition. Four characters, Licio, Petulus, Minutius and a Huntsman, are introduced, between whom the following conversation takes place: 'M. Indeed, hunting were a pleasant sport, but the dogges make such barking, that one cannot hear the hounds crie. H. Ile make thee crie, if I catch thee in the forest, thou shalt be leasht. M. What's that? L. Doest thou not understand their language? M. Not I. P. Tis the best Calamance in the world, as easilie deciphered as the characters in a nutmeg. M. I pray thee speake some. P. I will. H. But speake in order or Ile pay you. L. To it, Petulus. P. There was a boy leasht on the single, because when he was *imbost* he tooke soyle. L. What's that? P. Why a boy was beaten on the taile with a leathern thong, bicause, when he *fomde at the mouth with running*, he went into the water.'—Act iv. sc. 3. In another comedy of the period, called *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, two of the dramatis personæ, called Warner and Hammon, enter as hunters, and the latter says:

'Cosen, beate euery brake, the game's not far.
This way with winged feete he fled from death,
Whilst the pursuing hounds, senting his steps,
Find out his high way to destruction.
Besides, the miller's boy told me euen now
He saw him take soile, and he hallowed him,
Affirming him so *embost* that long he could not hold.'

Signat. C. 4. ed. 1600.

In this last passage the word undoubtedly means exhausted, and it is evidently used in the same sense by Chapman, who translated the following lines:

Αργεῖοι ἰόμωροι ἐλεγχέες οὔ νυ σέβεσθε;
Τίφθ' οὕτως ἔστητε τεθηπότες ἠΰτε νεβροὶ
Αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον, πολέος πεδίοιο θέουσαι
Ἕστᾶσ' οὐδ' ἄρα τίς σφι μετὰ φρεσὶ γίγνεται ἀλκή. *Il.* iv. 242–245.

'Base Argiues, blush ye not to stand, as made for Buts to darts?
Why are ye thus discomfited, like hinds that have no harts?
Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly *embost*,
Stand still, and in their beastly breasts is all their courage lost.'

The Iliads, p. 55, ed. 1611.

We are now in a position more clearly to understand Chaucer's meaning when he says in *The Boke of the Duchesse*:

'And alle men speke of huntynge,
How they would slee the hert with strengthe,
And how the hert had upon lengthe
So much *embosed*, Y not now what.'

Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 166.

Mr. Morris, in the Glossary to the Aldine edition, suggests that this implies 'taking shelter in a wood,' but the poet's meaning becomes far more intelligible as soon as we discover that he intended to represent the stag overcome by exhaustion. The same idea was doubtless present to the mind of Spenser when he employed the word in the following passage:

'Mainely they all attonce upon him laid,
And sore beset on euery side arownd,
That nigh he breathlesse grew, yet nought dismaid,
* * * * * *
Made them recoile, and fly from dredd decay,
That none of all the six before him durst assay.
Like dastard curres that having at a bay
The salvage beast *embost* in wearie chace,
Dare not adventure on the stubborne pray,
Ne byte before, but rome from place to place
To get a snatch when turned is his face.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 245.

And also in his picture of Fury:

'In her right hand a firebrand shee did tosse
About her head, still roming here and there;
As a dismayed Deare in chace *embost*,
Forgetfull of his safety, hath his right way lost.'

Ibid. vol. iii. p. 93.

In the following passage the poet used it metaphorically—

'Which when he knew, and felt our feeble harts
Embost with bale, and bitter byting griefe,
Which love had launched with his deadly darts,
With wounding words, and termes of foule repriefe,
He pluckt from us all hope of dew reliefe,
That earst us held in love of lingring life.'

Ibid. vol. ii. p. 8.

Drayton also evidently intended to convey the impression of the stag being exhausted when he employed this word in his description of the chase—

'When, th' approaching foes still following, he perceives
That hee his speed must trust, his usuall walke he leaues,
And o'er the champaine flies, which when th' assembly find,
Each followes, as his horse were footed with the wind.
But beeing then *imbost*, the noble stately Deere,
When he hath gotten ground (the kennell cast arere),
Doth beat the brooks and ponds for sweet refreshing soyle,
That seruing not, then proues if he his sent can foyle.'

Polyolbion, p. 216, ed. 1613.

Shakespeare was, no doubt, very familiar with this technical use of the word, as is shown by his own employment of it in *Antony and Cleopatra*, when the latter is represented as exclaiming—

'Help me, my women! O he is more mad
Than Telamon for his shield; the boar of Thessaly
Was never so *emboss'd*.'

Works, vol. vii. p. 575, ed. Dyce.

In *Timon of Athens*, however, the word, which was strictly applicable to animals only, is by a bold change of metaphor transferred to the foam of the sea—

'Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
Upon the beached verge of the salt flood;
Which once a day with his *embossed* froth
The turbulent surge shall cover.'

Act. v. sc. 2.

Malone in his note on this passage derives 'embossed' from the Spanish word *emboçar*, which he says means 'to cast out of the mouth.' Unfortunately it means the very reverse of what Malone supposed, viz., 'to get into the mouth;' but it is possible that he has confused this with another word of very similar sound, viz. *embozar*, the meaning of which is, 'to cover all the face but the eyes.' And in that case the derivation would not be really very far-fetched. Nares, on the other hand, thinks 'it is not likely we should have a hunting term from Spain.' But why not? There was a good deal of intercourse between England and Spain in the sixteenth century, and Charles V., when he visited this country in 1522 with a large retinue, constantly hunted with the king. In Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* a long list of hunting terms is given with their Spanish equivalents. In *All's Well that Ends Well* it is evident that Shakespeare uses the word in the same sense as Chaucer and Spenser—'We have almost *embossed* him, you shall see his fall to-night.'—Act. iii. sc. 6. Here the meaning clearly is 'We have almost wearied him out.' That this was the meaning of the word as a hunting term is put beyond doubt by Gervase Markham, who says: 'It is the nature of a Deare when he is once *imbost or wearie*, to seeke where he may find another Deare, and to beate him up and lay himselfe downe in his place. To know when a stagge is wearie you shall see him *imbost*,—*that is, foaming and slauering about the mouth with a thicke white froth*.'—*Countrey Content*. p. 31, ed. 1615. In another treatise on hunting we have what appears to be the substantive formed from this verb: 'Always when you come to a soil (according to the old rule, He that will his chase find, let him first try up the river and down the wind) be sure if your hounds challenge but a yard above his going in, that he is gone up the river: for though he should keep the very middle of the stream, yet will that, with the help of the wind, lodge part of the stream and *imbosh* that comes from him on the bank, it may be a quarter of a mile lower, which hath deceived many.'—Cox, *Gentleman's Recreat.* p. 73, ed. 1697.

Imbrayde, *to upbraid*.—II. 140, 231 and note, 275; see Embraide.

Impassible, *incapable of suffering*.—II. 373 and note.

Impeche, *to hinder*.—II. 431 and note; see Empeche.

Impechement, *an impediment, hindrance, obstacle*.—I. 169. The French *empeschement*, which Cotgrave translates 'An *impeachment*; a let, stop, hinderance, impediment, obstacle,' In Palsgrave we find, 'Let or lettyng—

empeschement s, m.; *obstacle s*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 238. In Commines we read 'Nul serviteur ni parent du duc Jean Galéas de Milan ne donnoit *empeschement* au seigneur Ludovic à prendre la duché pour luy, que la femme dudit duc, qui estoit jeune et sage, et fille du duc Alphonse de Calabre, que par devant ay nommé, fils aisné du roy Ferrand de Naples.'—*Mém.* p. 192, ed. P. L. C. de Seissel translated *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου.*—Thuc. lib. i. cap. 118. 'A quoy les Lacedemoniens iacoit quilz lapperceussent assez ne leur donnerent pas grant *empeschement*, ains vesquirent la plus part du temps en paix et en repos.'—*L'Hyst. de Thuc.* fo. xxii b, ed. 1527. And this in turn is rendered by Nicolls, who professed to translate 'oute of Frenche' as follows: 'Wherin the Lacedemonyens, although they perceyued it well ynough, gaue them no great *empeschement*, but lyued the more parte of the tyme in peace and reste.' —Fol. xxxviii b, ed. 1550. Udall also employs a form of the word closely resembling the original in translating from Erasmus: 'Some pointes finally there bee, that maie be unknowen without anie perill of saluacion, and without any greuous *empechemente* or hynderaunce of a christen mannes perfeccion, as in dede (for an exaumple) al that euer we knowe in diuine matiers, is but a litle porcion in respect and comparison of that that we know not.'—Tom. i. fo. ccxiv b, ed. 1551. Erasmus having written 'Sunt denique quæ citra periculum salutis, citra grave *dispendium* pietatis, nesciri possunt: quemadmodum in rebus divinis quæ scimus, minima portio est ad ea quæ nescimus.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 282, ed. 1541. Holland, still later, translated 'Utque omnes, *nullo impediente*, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat.'—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxi. cap. 2. 'And to the end he might, without any *impeachment*, allure all men to favour him, he made semblance that he adhered to the Christian religion, from which a pretie while before closely he was revolted.'—*The Rom. Hist.* p. 167, ed. 1609. The poet Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, published in 1596, uses the word in this sense: 'If it be not paineful to you, tell us what things during your late continuance there, you observed to bee most offensive, and greatest *impeachment* to the good rule and government thereof.'—P. 3, ed. 1809. And so it is used by Shakespeare in *King Henry V.*:

> 'Turn thee back,
> And tell thy king,—I do not seek him now;
> But could be willing to march on to Calais
> Without *impeachment*; for, to say the sooth,—
> Though 'tis no wisdom to confess so much
> Unto an enemy of craft and vantage,—
> My people are with sickness much enfeebled.' Act iii. sc. 5.

The Latin word 'impechementum' occurs in the same sense in old documents; thus in an indenture, dated 12th Sept., 1407, by which Rees ap Griffith and others agreed to surrender the castle of Aberystwith to the Prince of Wales, unless relieved by All Saints day, we find the following clause: 'Concedit insuper idem Illustrissimus Princeps, ex gratiâ suâ speciali, eisdem Rees et nominatis sociis suis infra dictum Castrum existentibus, à datâ Præsentium usque ad dictum festum Omnium Sanctorum, quòd ipse, ipsi, et eorum quilibet, absque *impechiamento*, impedimento, arrestatione quâvis, liberè vehere, mittere, et disponere poterunt omnia eorum bona mobilia à tempore datæ Præsentium infra Castrum existentia tàm per mare quàm per terram.'—Rymer, *Fœd.* tom. viii. p. 498. On the 17th July, 1426, an order of the king in Council was issued to put a stop to the excesses which were committed by the English upon the merchants of Flanders in which the following clause occurs: 'In casu quo prædicti captores naves et bona, sic capta, suâ sponte, restituere voluerint, id facere valeant; posito quòd exnunc in aliquos portus prædictorum applicata fuerint, nec debent in hoc casu gubernatores locorum seu portuum eos prohibere vel *impedire*.' The sheriffs of the maritime countries were afterwards ordered to

publish a proclamation embodying the provisions of this order, when the clause above mentioned appeared as follows: 'Toutz voies, se les Purveurs vouloient restituer, de leur bon gree, les ditz Niefs et Biens, faire le purront, pose orez q'ils feussent desca arrivez en aucuns Portz, et en ceo cas les Governeurs, Justicers, ou Officers des ditz Lieux ny purront mettre *empechement*.' — *Ibid.* tom. x. p. 367. The following year, viz. in March, 1428, the Bishop of Bangor, Nicholas Rysheton, and Sir Thomas Pitworth, lieutenant of Calais, were sent as Commissioners to Flanders. In the instructions given to them on that occasion we find the following: 'Item, Ordinetur quòd Mercatores, Marinarii, Peregrini, ac alii subditi dicti Domini Regis Angliæ (cujuscumque præeminentiæ, statûs, aut conditionis fuerint) possint liberè ingredi et intrare villas firmas et muratas dictæ Patriæ Flandriæ, absque licentiâ, demandâ, impedimento, seu *impechemento* quocumque, et ibi stare et morari pro mercandisis et aliis factis suis quibuscumque.' —*Ubi supra*, 390. The word impeachment as a legal term in deeds, ex. gr., a 'lessee without *impeachment* of waste,' is sometimes said to be used in the same sense. And in Blount's *Law Dictionary*, published in 1717, it is said to be derived 'from the French *Empeschement*, *i.e.* Impediment,' and 'signifies a *restraint* from committing waste upon lands or tenements.' But the very same authority also gives 'Impetitio, accusation or *Impeachment*. As *sine impetitione vasti;* the party shall not be questioned or accused for any waste.' And there can be little doubt that the latter is the true origin of the legal phrase. For 'impetere' was used in the middle ages as the equivalent of 'in jus vocare, accusare,' &c., and Spelman shows us that 'impetitus' was similarly used for accusatus, or criminatus. As, ex. gr., in the Laws of Hen. I.: 'Judices sane non debent esse, nisi quos *impetitus* elegerit.'—Lambard, *Arch.* p. 178, ed. 1644. The word 'impetitio' was also used in a sense exactly analogous to that of our own legal term referred to above. Thus Christian Schlegel, a German writer on numismatics, has printed a charter of 1278, from which it appears that the Abbot and Convent of Wechterswinckel sold to the monks of Weimar 'tres ortos sitos in Inferiori Wimar cum omni jure et proprietate, quâ nos prædictos ortos videbamur possidere, et ab omni *impeticione* nocivâ prædictam ecclesiam volumus werendare (*i.e.* defendere), hoc attendentes, quod cultores prædictorum ortorum, sive possessores nihil juris habent in jam dictis ortis, nec eos habere protestamur, nisi hoc solum, quod vulgariter dicimus Landsedele.'—*De Nummis Goth.* p. 193, note (*a*), ed. 1717. Again, a decree of Philippe le Hardi in 1282, giving judgment in a suit between the citizens of Brive near Limoges against the Church of St. Julian, pronounces that 'eandem Ecclesiam per Judicium nostræ Curiæ absolvimus super prædictis omnibus, ab *impetitione* hominum prædictorum super prædictis petitionibus, eisdem hominibus perpetuum silencium imponendo.'—*Ordonn. des Rois*, tom. vii. p. 417, ed. 1745. Rodolph of Gatersleuen, in 1317, gave to the Church of St. Mary in Magdeburg 'proprietatem duorum mansorum in campis villæ Escherstede sitorum.... a dictis, videlicet domino præposito et suo conventu, proprietatis titulo perpetuo possidendam, valens eosdem ab *impetitione* quorumlibet warrandare, et heredes mei dilecti, scilicet Henningus, Hinricus, Rodolphus et Hogerus filii mei, debent eos similiter defensare.'—Ludewig. *Rel. MSS.* tom. ii. p. 462. These instances go far to show that the meaning of the word 'impeachment' as used in English legal documents is really 'impetitio' and *not* 'impedimentum.' And if so Dr. Johnson's statement that the word 'impeachment' meaning 'hindrance' was no longer in use in his day must, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary of his editors Mr. Todd and Dr. Latham, be admitted to be strictly accurate.

Importable, *insupportable, intolerable.*—I. 14; II. 140. The word 'importabilis' was unknown to the classics,

but it is met with in the patristic writings. Thus Tertullian says: 'Invehitur et in doctores ipsos legis, quòd onerarent alios *importabilibus* oneribus, quæ ipsi ne digito quidem aggredi auderent. Cæterum excusandos potius censuisset, si *importabilia* portare non possent.'—*Aaversŝ. Marcion.* Lib. iv. cap. 27. It seems also to have been used by monastic writers in later times, for Matthew Paris quotes a circular letter addressed in 1231 to the bishops and chapters, with regard to the Roman Clerks then employed in England, in which the following passage occurs: 'Unde licet grave sit nobis contra stimulum calcitrare, tamen, quia qui nimis emungit elicit sanguinem, nos severitatem eorum animadvertentes, qui ab initio tanquam advenæ Romam sunt ingressi, nunc autem nos non tantum judicare, sed etiam condempnare intendunt, alligantes onera *importabilia* quæ nec in se nec in suos digito movere volunt, de communi consilio magis elegimus, licet tarde, resistere, quam eorum oppressionibus intolerabilibus amplius subjacere, seu majori subici servituti.'—*Chron. Maj.* vol. iii. p. 209, the Rolls ed. The statute 1 Rich. III. cap. 9, 'touching the merchants of Italy,' asserts that 'mesmes les marchauntes de Italie et autres marchauntes estraungez sont hostes, et preignont as eux poeple dautres nacions a sojourne oveque eux, et de jour en autre achatont vendont et fount plusours privez et secretz contractes et bergeines ovesque mesme le poeple, a lour graund encreace et profit, et a *lenportable* damage de les ditz subgiettes du Roy,' or as it appears in the English translation 'to the *Importable* hurte of youre said Subgiettes.' In the preamble of 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, 'An Act concerning payment of Annates to the See of Rome,' it is alleged that 'The seid exaccions of Annates or first fruyttes be so intollerable and *importable* to this realme' that it was considered by Parliament the bounden duty of the king to do all in his power 'to obvyate represse and redresse the said abusions.' Le Meung, in *Le Roman de la Rose*, speaking of the Scribes and Pharisees, says:

'Il lient as gens décevables
Griés faiz qui ne sunt *pas portables*
Et sor lor espaules lor posent,
Mais o lor doi movoir nes osent.'
Tom. ii. p. 361, ed. 1814.

And this Chaucer renders as follows:

'And they wolde bynde on folk al-wey;
That ben to be giled able,
Burdons that ben *importable*;
On folkes shuldris thinges they couchen,
That they nyl with her fyngris touchen.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 210.

Again in *The Monkes Tale*—

'God, for his manace, him so sore smoot
With invisible wounde ay incurable,
That in his guttes carf it so and bot,
That his peynes were *importable*.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 220.

Sir Thomas More, in his *Hist. of Rich. III.* says: 'When the Quene and these Lordes were comme together in presence, the Lorde Cardinall shewed unto her that it was thought unto the protectour and unto the whole counsayle that her kepyng of the kinges brother in that place was the thing whiche highlye souned, not onelye to the greate rumoure of the people and theyr obloqnye, but also to the *importable* griefe and displeasure of the kinges royall maiestie.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 48. Hall, speaking of the embassy from Guienne, in 1452, says that 'The Lordes of Gascoyne... returned into their countrey... exhorting euery man to be firme and stable to the kyng of England and his heyrs, under whose libertie and fredom thei had prospered and reioysed aboue iii c yeres, rather then now to fal into the French captiuitie, whose taxes were unreasonable, and whose dayly exaccions were to them *importable*.'—*Chron.* fo. clxiv b, ed. 1548. Spenser uses this word in *The Faerie Queene*—

'So both attonce him charge on either syde
With hideous strokes and *importable* powre,
That forced him his ground to traverse wyde,
And wisely watch to ward that deadly stowre.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 160, ed. 1866.

Incende, *to inflame, excite, stir up, provoke.*—I. 253; II. 49. This word, which is now quite obsolete, is formed from the Latin verb 'incendo,' which is frequently used in the same sense. Thus—

'Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarbam,
Incenditque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.'
Virg. *Æn.* iv. 197.

And Cicero says: 'Cedamus igitur, et ut boni cives simus, bellum Italiæ terrâ marique inferamus, et odia improborum rursus in nos, quæ jam exstincta erant, *incendamus*, et Lucceii consilia ac Theophani persequamur.'—*Epist. ad Att.* lib. ix. 1. Again 'Genus enim scriptorum tuorum . . . vicit opinionem meam, meque ita vel cepit, vel *incendit*, ut cuperem quàm celerrimè res nostras monumentis commendari tuis.'—*Epist. ad Div.* lib. v. 12. So Sallust employs it in the same way: 'Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora *incendebant*.'—*Cat.* cap. 13. Again Terence in his comedy of *Hecyra*, makes Phidippus say: 'Quamobrem *incendor* irâ, esse ausam facere hæc te injussu meo.'—Act. iv. sc. i. 47. Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Castel of Health*, uses the word again, but in its literal sense, viz. to inflame: 'Naturall heate, by withdrawinge of moysture, is to moche *incended*, and not fyndynge humoure to warke in, tourneth his vyolence to the radycall or substanciall moysture of the body, and exhaustynge that humour, bringeth the body into a consumption.'—Fo. 54, ed. 1541. It is used by John Marston the dramatist, in the *Scourge of Villanie*, printed in 1599—

'Capro reads, sweares, scrubs, and sweares againe,
Now by my soule an admirable straine,
Strokes up his haire, cries passing passing good,
Oh, there's a line *incends* his lustfull blood.'
Miscell. Pieces, p. 201, ed. 1764.

Burton also employs it in the primitive sense: 'Why students and louers are so often melancholy and mad, the Philosophers of Conimbra assignes this reason, because by a vehement and continuall meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the Braine, and with the heat brought with them they *incend* it beyond measure: and the cells of the inner senses dissolue their temperature, which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought.'—*Anat. of Melan.* p. 207, ed. 1632.

Indamage, Indomage, *to injure.*—I. 147, 248; II. 75, 95, 217; see Endomage.

Induction, *an inducement*, also *an introduction* or *preface*.—I. 238; II. 394. The author seems to have used this word in these two passages in the different senses indicated above. The context at all events leads to the conclusion that he did not employ it in the only way in which we recognise it at the present day, viz., as a term of Logic. Cicero himself gives to the parent word 'inductio' two or three quite distinct meanings besides that last mentioned. Thus he speaks of 'personarum ficta inductio.'—*De Orat.* lib. iii. cap. 53; and also of 'quædam inductio animi atque voluntas.'—*Ep. ad Q. Frat.* lib. i. 1. We may also compare the way in which the same word has been employed by early French writers. A translation of Livy by Bercheure, a learned Benedictine, who died in 1362, was printed at Paris in 1514. In this the passage 'Sæpe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romæ fanum Dianæ populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent.' (Lib. i. cap. 45), is rendered 'Si fist tant que par ses *monitions* le peuple rommain et le peuple latin furent daccord de faire a romme ung temple de diane.'—Tom. i. fo. 17 b. But the same passage is given by M. Littré from a MS. copy of the same work as 'Tant fist par ses *inductions*,' &c. Again Amyot in the sixteenth century translated *οὐ σκληραῖς οὐδὲ ἀντιτύποις ἀγωγαῖς, ἀλλὰ τυπικαῖς, καὶ τὸ ἐνδόσιμον καὶ πειθήνιον ἅπάσης ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐχούσαις ἀνυσιμώτερον.*—Plut. *de Virtute Morali*, cap. 4. 'Non par dures ny violentes contrainctes, mais par molles et doulces *inductions* et persuasions, qui ont plus d'efficace que toutes les forces du monde.'—*Les Œuvres Mor.* tom. i. fo. 32, ed. 1572. And this in turn was rendered by Holland in the following century 'Not by way of rough, churlish, violent and irregular courses, but by faire and formall meanes, which are able to do more by gentle *inducements* and perswasions than all the necessary con-

straints and inforcements in the world.' P. 55, ed. 1657. So again Amyot translates Plutarch's phrase Δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς.—*Aqua an ignis utilior*, cap. 8. 'Ce que lon pourra manifestement cognoistre par ceste *induction*.'—*Ubi supra*, tom. ii. fo. 528 b; or as Holland has it, 'which a man may evidently know by this *induction*.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 811. Thus we see that ἀγωγὴ and ἐπάγωγη are both translated by the same word 'induction.' On the other hand, Buck, in his *History of Rich. III.*, uses this word in the sense of 'introduction': 'Rich. II., in the charter for the legitimation of the Beauforts, would have men of desert (and avow'd by their fathers) capable of advancement and honours. The tenor of which charter and confirmation of it by Parliament I shall exhibit, as it is taken out of the archives and Tower records, opening the way by a short advertisement. That in this Act of Parliament there is an *induction* to the charter made by Dr. Edmond Stafford, brother to the Earl of Stafford, and Bp. of Exeter.'—Kennet, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. p. 536. Again he says: 'Neither were the times and opportunity yet ripe or propitious, to fashion such an alteration as was projected and must be produced, tho there was pregnant hope of an *induction* to a change of government stirr'd by the king's covetousness and some acts of tyranny, grievance, and rebellions in the North and West parts.'—*Ibid.* p. 553. Once more 'In the heat of these disgraces he (*i.e.* the Earl of Warwick) forsook the king, and soon after takes up arms against him; an *induction* to those succeeding evils which pursu'd that inconsiderate marriage.'—*Ibid.* p. 563. We have 'The *Induction* to *The Taming of the Shrew*' and also 'The *Induction* to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.*,' where we should now say the Introduction or Prologue to these plays respectively.

Infame, verb act., *to defame, speak ill of*, verb pass., *to be reputed infamous*—II. 86. This word is derived from the Latin 'infamare,' which the author in his *Dictionary* translates 'to infame or yll report.' Cicero uses it: 'Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis; ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum *infamet* injuriam.'—*Epist. ad Div.* lib. ix. 12. And Nepos says of Alcibiades, 'Hunc, *infamatum* a plerisque, tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt.'—*Alcib.* cap. 11. The English form is used by Robinson in his translation of More's *Utopia*: 'Finally, whosoever for anye offense be *infamed*, by their eares hange rynges of gold, upon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde, and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to haue gold and siluer among them in reproche and infamie.' And again: 'All the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whome they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be *infamed* and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie.'—Fo. 70 b and 72, ed. 1556. Holinshed in his *Hist. of England* says, 'Maximianus or Maximus . . . . was the sonne of one Leonine, and coosen germane to Constantine the Great, a valiant personage, and hardie of stomach, but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the Christians, he was *infamed* by writers: but the chiefe cause why he was euill reported, was for that he slue his souereigne lord the emperour Gratianus.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 66, ed. 1587. Again, speaking of the complaint of the English nobility in 1244, he says that they 'came to the king, and exhibited to him their complaint, namelie, for that the popes procurator bestowed diuers rich prebends and other rooms in churches upon strangers knowne to be *infamed* for usurie, simonie, and other heinous vices.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 232. It is used still later by Bacon: 'Livia is *infamed* for the poisoning of her husband.'—*Essays*, p. 186, ed. 1857. And in *A Report*

of the Spanish Grievances, he says: 'This very last voyage to Virginia, intended for trade and plantation, where the Spaniard hath no people nor possession, is already become *infamed* for piracy.'—*Works*, vol. v. p. 214, ed. 1826.

Infarced, *crammed, stuffed.*—I. 27, 94; II. 55. This very peculiar word, now quite obsolete, may be best explained by Holland's translation of the following passage in Pliny: 'Quid? Non et in Africâ, Hispaniâque ex terrâ parietes, quos appellant formaceos, quoniam in formâ circumdatis utrinque duabus tabulis *inferciuntur* verius, quàm instruuntur, ævis durant, incorrupti imbribus, ventis, ignibus, omnique cæmento firmiores?'—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxv. cap. 48: 'What shall we say? See we not in Africke and Spaine both certain walls of earth, which they cal Formacei, of the forme and frame that is made of planks and boords of each side, between which a man may say they are rather *infarced* and stuffed up, than otherwise, laid and reared orderly; but I assure you the earth thus *infarced* continueth a world of yeres and perisheth not, checking the violence of raine, winde, and fire, no mortar and cement so stiffe and strong.'—*Pliny*, vol. ii. p. 555, ed. 1634. Elyot uses it again in his *Castel of Health*, 'Where the bodye is *infarced* eyther with coler, yelow or black, or with fleume or with watry humours, and is properly callid in greke *Cacochymia*, in latyne *viciosus succus*, in englishe it may be called corrupt iuyce.'—Fo. 51, b, ed. 1541.

Inforce, *to compel*; see Enforce.—I. 32, 35; II. 215. This is obviously only another way of spelling the word Enforce, such variations, as the reader will have already noticed, being very common. Bacon adopts this form of spelling in his *History of King Henry VII.*: 'They (*i.e.* Empson and Dudley) would also ruffle with jurors and *inforce* them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, imprison them, and fine them.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 219, ed. 1858. And so does Buck in his *Life and Reign of Rich. III.*: 'My purpose only being to take so much light from the story of Hen. VII. as shall but properly conduce to the true shadowing and proportioning of K. Richard's being necessarily *inforc'd* to inculcate such matters as may seem of no present conclusion.'—Kennet, *Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 540, ed. 1706. At a still later period Hooker, in his *Eccles. Polity*, said: 'For what reason is there, which should but induce, and therefore much less *inforce* us to think that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charging them withal not to sow their fields with meslin.'—*Works*, p. 93, ed. 1723.

Inforce oneself, *to strive, to endeavour.*—I. 173; II. 169. The author in his *Dictionary* renders the Latin verb Niti 'to be styffe, or to resyste agaynste a burdeyn, to indeuour, to leane on a thynge, to be sustayned, to *inforce hymselfe*, or take pein, to trauayle.' The English phrase is merely a literal translation of the French reflective verb *s'efforcer*, which Cotgrave renders 'To indeavour, labour, *inforce himselfe*; to strive with might and main, to use his utmost strength, apply all his vigour, imploy his whole power.' In one o the earliest specimens of French poetr we have this phrase:

> 'Li rossignes lores *s'efforce*
> De chanter et de faire noise.
> *Le Rom. de la Rose*, tom. i. p. 6, ed. 1814

And this is translated by Chaucer:

> 'Than doth the nyghtyngale hir migh
> To make noyse, and syngen blythe.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. v p.

C. de Seissel translated *ἠγωνίζετο οὖν εἷς ἕκαστος αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι.*—*Thuc.* lib. viii. cap. 89, 'Parquoy ung chascun deulx *se parforcoit* dacquerir le plus quil pouoit de credit enuers le peuple, pour estre le principal en auctorite.'—*L'Hyst. de Thucyd.* liv. viii. chap. 12. And this version was in turn put into English by Nicolls as follows: 'Wherefore euerye one of theym *inforced hymself*, the moste that he

myght, to acquire and get credytt with the people, for to be pryncipall in auctorytie.'—Fo. ccxviii. ed. 1550.

Infourmynge, *teaching, instructing*; see Enforme. — I. 33. The French verb *informer*, which Cotgrave translates: 'To *informe*, instruct, give notice of,' is obsolete in this sense, but it is so used by writers prior to the sixteenth century. As for instance, by Jehan de Meung—

> 'Drois est que son engin *enforme*
> De meurs et d'ars et de sciences.'
> *Le Rom. de la Rose.* tom. ii. p. 193.

Again—

> 'Et d'*enformer* les escoliers
> Par garderobes, par soliers,
> Par despenses et par estables,
> Se n'avés leus plus délitables.'
> *Ibid.* p. 446.

Hooker uses the English word in the same sense: 'Lest therefore any man should marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws is derived from the Father of lights, to teach men a reason why just and reasonable laws are of so great force, of so great use in the world; and to *inform* their minds with some method of reducing the laws, whereof there is present controversy, unto their first original causes.'—*Works*, p. 32, ed. 1723.

Infude, *to infuse.*—II. 351 and note, 363.

Ingenerate, *ingendered, implanted.* —I. 214; II. 55, 364. This uncommon word is formed from the participle of the Latin verb 'ingenero,' which is constantly used by Cicero, as *ex. gr.* in the following instances: 'Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, et ad orationis et ad vitæ societatem: *ingenerat*que imprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos qui procreati sunt.'—*De Off.* lib. i. cap. 4. 'Quumque alia, quibus cohærent homines, e mortali genere sumpserint, quæ fragilia essent et caduca; animum tamen esse *ingeneratum* a deo: ex quo vere vel agnatio nobis cum cœlestibus, vel genus, vel stirps appellari potest.'—*De Legg.* lib. i. cap. 8. Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* uses the same form as Elyot—

> 'Her berth was of the wombe of Morning dew,
> And her conception of the joyous Prime;
> And all her whole creation did her shew
> Pure and unspotted from all loathly crime
> That is *ingenerate* in fleshly slime.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 2.

So does Bacon, who says of Richard III.: 'His cruelties and parricides in the opinion of all men weighed down his virtues and merits; and in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities *ingenerate* in his judgment or nature.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 28, ed. 1858.

Ingourgitation, lit. *greedy swallowing*; hence *gluttony.*—I. 97; II. 337 and note. In Elyot's *Dictionary* 'ingurgitare' is translated 'to deuoure gluttonously.' Bishop Hall has also made use of this word in his sermon *Of Contentation.* 'Too much abstinence turns vice: and too much *ingurgitation* is one of the seven; and, at once, destroys both nature and grace.'—*Works*, vol. viii. p. 19, ed. 1808.

Inhabile, verb, *to enable, to qualify.*—I. 26. According to the strict rules of etymology this word ought to have a meaning the very reverse of that which has been given to it above. For the French *inhabile*, according to Cotgrave, signifies 'Unable, unsufficient, unfit, unmeet for, &c.' And the verb *inhabiliter*, 'to disable, to make unable.' Yet the context of the passage in the text clearly shows that Elyot's usage of the word requires a positive and not a negative signification. Moreover this must have been the primitive form which the word 'enable' would assume, and it is somewhat remarkable that none of the Dictionaries take notice of this fact, or attempt to give any account of the derivation of the verb 'to enable,' and in none of them is there any reference to the passage in the text. A very similar form is used by Robert Cowley in writing to Crom-

well in 1537 on the state of Ireland: 'The cuntrey all aboute Kenles, in Myth, is moche waste by the Reylies, and all that cuntrey lakkith a good capitayne; for the Plunkettes, that were wont to be a great band, are of noo power, and full of hate betwene them selffes; and oon Geralde Flemyng is nowe the hardiest capitayn in all that quarter, and moste noyeth the Reillyes: that therfore he be *inhablid*, as capitain in that marches, who hath allredy a good bannde of men.'—*State Pap.* vol. ii. p. 450. So Gascoigne the poet, in his *Epistle to the reuerend Deuines*, says: 'Since the ouersight of my youth had brought me far behinde hand and indebted unto the worlde, I thought good in the meane time to paie as much as I had, untill it might please God better to *inable* me.'—*Works*, ed. 1587. Even as late as the eighteenth century the word was spelt 'inable' and not 'enable,' for Dr. Samuel Clarke, in his Boyle Lectures on *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* preached in 1705, says: 'The Doctrine they were brought to confirm, was of so good and holy a tendency, that it was impossible he should be *inabled* to work them by the power and assistance of evil spirits.' And again: 'Supposing (which is very unreasonable to suppose) that the natural powers of the highest angels were no greater than the natural powers of men; yet since thereby an angel would be *inabled* to do all that invisibly, which a man can do visibly, he would even in this supposition be naturally able to do numberless things, which we should esteem the greatest of miracles.' —*Works*, vol. ii. pp. 696, 697, ed. 1738.

Inpreignable, *impregnable.*—I. 299. Palsgrave gives 'Inprennable nat able to be taken—m. et f. *inprennable s.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 316. The word does not appear to have been in vogue before the fifteenth century. Thus Froissart says: 'Geoffrey Tête-Noire, qui tenoit Ventadour et qui étoit encore souverain de tous les autres, ne se faisoit que gaber et truffer, et ne daignoit entendre à nul traité du comte d'Ermignac, ni d'autrui aussi, car il sentoit son chastel fort et *imprenable*, et pourvu pour sept ou pour huit ans de bonnes garnisons.' —*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 647, ed. P. L. This Lord Berners translates: 'Geffray Teate Noyre who helde Vandachore, who was soueraynе aboue all other, but he dyde but mocke and dissemble the mater, for he disdayned to fall to any treatie of the erle of Armynakes, or of any other; for he thought his castell *imprignable*, and well prouyded for seuyn or eyght yeres.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 316. M. de Rosny, writing in 1605 to M. de Ville-roy, says: 'Quant a la question du landgrave de Hessen à M. de Caumartin, il n'est point estrange qu'il luy ait faite, car ce sont bruits qu'ils ont fait courir pour faire croire que sa place est si forte que le Roy, la tenant *imprenable* par la force, veut se servir de la trahison.'—Duc de Sully, *Œcon. Roy.* tom. vi. p. 212, ed. Petitot, 1820. Wolsey, writing to Clerk, Pace, and Hannibal, in 1524, adopts the French form: 'the doubte lest that the Frenche king, not being preced, may respire, gader treasour and frendes, and fortefie places nowe weyke, whiche afterwards percace maye be *imprenable.*'—*State Pap.* vol. vi. p. 226. And so does Paget, writing to the king from Boulogne the 18th March, 1543, 'Our townes here be strong in dede, and the Empereur not able, we say, to lye long at siege. And if we be lett alone until the next yere, we trust to make our townes *imprennable.*'—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 336. The poet Du Bellay in a panegyric addressed to Charles IX. says—

'Vous auez prins Calais, deux cens ans *imprenable*,
Monstrant qu'à la vertu rien n'est inexpugnable.'

Les Œuvres Franc. *Rec. de Poesie*, fo. 66, ed. 1569.

Inquiet, *to disquiet, to disturb, harass.* —I. 259. From the Latin 'inquieto,' which in Elyot's own Dictionary is translated 'to unquyete or trouble.' This verb is used by Tacitus, 'Contra Vitelliani, quanquam numero fatoque dispares, *inquietare* victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore fœdare,

suprema victis solatia amplectebantur.' —*Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 84. And also by Suetonius, 'Non temere Urbe oppidove ullo egressus, aut quoquam ingressus est, nisi vesperâ aut noctu, ne quem officii causâ *inquietaret*.' — *Oct.* 53. Joye, one of the promoters of the Reformation, uses the same form as Elyot. 'We must wysely decerne the kyngdoms of the worlde from that eternall kyngdom of God which is Crysts chirche. For albeit these batails and persecucions skater, *inquiet*, and trouble the chirches of good men in these heuey mutacions of empyres and kyngdoms, yet haue the godly euer this present consolation, that the chirche of Cryst is an euerlasting kyngdom.'—*Exposicion of Daniel*, fo. 68, ed. 1545. Whilst Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, says, 'Saynt Ambrose asketh this questyon, as thus, what payne is more greuouse than is the wounde of a mannes conscyence inwardly, it troubleth, it vexeth, it prycketh, it tereth, and also it crucyfyeth the mynde, and it stereth upsodowne the memory, it confoundeth the reason, it croketh the wyll and *enquyeteth* the soule.'—*Seuen Penytencyall Psalmes*, signat. aa. vii. ed. 1509.

Inquietation, *disquieting, disturbance, annoyance.*—II. 83. No other instances of the use of this word by English writers are given in any of the dictionaries. The Latin 'inquietatio,' from which it is derived, is also exceedingly uncommon, and though Laurentius Valla proposed to read it in Livy xxii. 17, this has long been rejected in favour of the more classical phrase 'irrita quassatio.'

Insignement, *teaching, showing*; see Enseignement.—II. 146. In Richardson's *Dictionary* this is given as a separate word, in apparent unconsciousness of the fact that it is merely like *butin, hache*, &c., a French word introduced.

Insolubles. A term applied to a certain method of argument in vogue with the Schoolmen.—II. 230. This technical meaning is not noticed by any of the Dictionaries. In a poem of the thirteenth century, called *La Bataille des VII Arts*, published for the first time by M. Jubinal, the word is thus used:

> 'La Logique est ore aus enfanz :
> Logique est de moult mal ator ;
> * * * * * *
> Ele se desfent de sofismes :
> Sovent les fet chéoir envers
> Et il li relancent lor vers,
> Si que toz li airs en est nubles.
> Ele se deffent *d'issolubles*,
> *D'issolubles* et de fallée.'
>
> P. 43, ed. 1838.

Udall, in his translation of the *Apophthegmes* of Erasmus, says: 'Unto Euclides beyng verie studious of contencious conclusions, and cauillacions of subtile reasonyng, he saied: Euclides, ye maie percase matche with Sophistes, but with men ye can not haue to dooe. Signifiyng that Sophistrie dooeth no helpe, use, ne seruice to doings in publique affaires, or bearing offices in a common weale. Whiche publique offices, who so is a suiter to haue, it behoueth the same not to plaie Hicke Skorner with *insolubles*, and with idle knackes of Sophisticacions, but rather to frame and facion himself to the maners and condicions of menne, and to bee of soche sorte as other men be.'—Fo. 11. Again: 'To one by sophisticall *insolubles* concludyng and prouing that Diogenes had hornes, feling and handling his forehead and his temples. In feith (quod Diogenes) but I se ne fele none. He thought better to laugh soch a peuish trifling argument to scorne, then to foyle it.'—Fo. 69, ed. 1564.

Instinction, *inspiration, instinct.*—I. 122 ; II. 210. This word seems to be used in the first of the above passages in the sense of inspiration. And Baret, in his *Alvearie*, gives: 'An inspiration, an *instinction* or persuasion, an inward motion or stirring. Instinctus, Cic. παροξυσμὸς, ἐνθουσιασμὸς, Instigatio, inspiratio divina, afflatus vel instinctus diuinus.'—Ed. 1580. The word 'instinct' does not seem to have been used either in France or England before the revival of classical learning. Montaigne

defines it as follows: 'S'il y a quelque loy vrayement naturelle, c'est à dire quelque *instinct* qui se veoye universellement et perpetuellement empreint aux bestes et en nous . . . l'affection que l'engendrant porte à son engeance tient le second lieu en ce reng.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 172, ed. 1854.

Instructrice, *instructress, a female teacher.*—II. 203. This form of the word would seem to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, at least no other instances are to be found in the Dictionaries.

Intelligence, *understanding*, in the sense of *agreement*, or *correspondence*. —II. 259, 373. Sir Thomas Elyot tell us that this is *now* used 'for an elegant word' in treaties, &c. And probably this usage of it was introduced from France. In this sense Montaigne employs it: 'Quand Lelius, en presence des consuls romains, lesquels, aprez la condemnation de Tiberius Gracchus, poursuyvoient touts ceulx qui avoient esté de son *intelligence*, veint à s'enquerir de Caius Blossius,' &c.—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 268. See also the passage quoted *ante*, p. 485. Bacon manifestly uses the word in the same sense when he says: 'Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill *intelligence* that we many times see between great personages.'—*Essays*, p. 437, ed. 1857. Again, speaking of the Cornish insurrection in his *Hist. of Hen. VII.*, he says: 'Thence they (*i.e.* the rebels) marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley (with whom their leaders had before some secret *intelligence*), a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet, and popular and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them with great gladness and cries of joy accepted as their general.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 177. ed. 1858.

Irous, *angry, wrathful.*—I. 50. This is formed from the French word *ireux*, which is no longer in use. Palsgrave gives, '*Irouse* angerfull; m. *ireux*, f. *ireuse s.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 316. It occurs several times in Chaucer; thus, in *The Sompnoures Tale*:

'And therfor pray I God bothe day and night,
An *irous* man God send him litil might.
It is greet harm, and also great pite,
To set an *irous* man in high degre.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 269.

Again, in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'And secoundly, he that is *irous* and wroth, he may not wel deme; and he that may not wel deme, may nought wel counseile. The thridde is this, that he that is *irous* and wroth, as saith Senec, may not speke but blameful thinges, and with his vicious wordes he stireth other folk to anger and to ire.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 152. Again, in *The Persones Tale*: 'Speke we now of such cursyng as cometh of *irous* hert.'—*Ibid.* p. 317.

Irrecuperable, *irreparable.*—I. 301. This is simply the French *irrecuperable*, which Cotgrave renders 'unrecoverable, unrepairable, wholly lost, fully gone.' Grafton, in his history of the reign of Henry VII., says: 'The king of Englande, grauely consideryng that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner *irrecuperable*, beyng nowe adioyned to the crowne of Fraunce by mariage . . . appointed for commissioners the Bishop of Excester, and Gyles Lorde Dawbeney, to passe the seas to Calice, to commen with the Lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed upon and concluded.'—*Chron.* p. 894, ed. 1569. It is used by Foxe in his story of John Philpot: 'It is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him, for he is *irrecuperable*.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1826, ed. 1583. And also by Strype, who prints a letter from Archbishop Parker to the secretary, 'Requesting him to be an instant means, to have special respects of the country there, to the Queens Majesty and her Council: assuring his Honour that he feared the danger, if it were not speedily looked to, would be *irrecuperable*.' — *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 291, ed. 1821.

K.

Kann, Can, *to know, to understand.* —I. 61, 72, 75; II. 11, 181. This is

the Anglo-Saxon verb 'connan' or 'cunnan,' which Somner explains by the equivalent expressions 'Callere, scire, noscere, to know, to perceive, to ken.' In the *Promptorium* we find 'Conyn or hauyn conynge, *Scio*,' whence 'Conynge or wytty, *Sciens*,' and 'Cunnynge or science, *Sciencia*.'—P. 90. We find precisely the same form of the word used by Langland in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*:

'I *kan* no Frensshe, in feith,
But of the fertheste ende of Northfolk.'

And again:

'I *kan* noght parfitly my pater-noster,
As the preest it syngeth;
But I *kan* rymes of Robyn Hood,
And Randolf, erl of Chestre.'
Vol. i. pp. 91, 101, ed. 1842.

So Chaucer in *The Man of Lawes Prologe*:

——— 'But natheles certeyn
I *can* right now non other tale seyn,
That Chaucer, they he *can* but lewedly
On metres and on rymyng certeynly,
Hath seyd hem in such Englisch as he *can*
Of olde tyme, as knoweth many man.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 171.

Sir Thomas More, in his *Supplicacion of Soules*, says: 'This beggers proctour woulde faine shew himself a man of great experience, and one that had great knowledge of the maner and order used in the kinges parlimentes; but than he speaketh so sauorlie hereof, that it well appereth of hys wyse wordes he neyther *canneth* anye skill therof, nor neuer came in the house.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 301, ed. 1557. The Earl of Surrey in his Poems uses it in the same way as Elyot:

'I know, and *can* by rote the tale that I would tell;
But oft the words come forth awry of him that loveth well.'
Works, vol. i. p. 25, ed. 1815.

Sir John Maundevile says: 'Thei *conen* no langage but only hire owne, that no man knowethe but thei: and therefore mowe thei not gon out.'—*Voiage &c.*, p. 322, ed. 1727. Foxe, in his 'Life of Cromwell,' tells us that 'Nothyng was so hard which with witte and industrie he could not compasse: neither was his capacitie so good, but his memorie was as great in reteining whatsoeuer he had atteined. Which well appeared in *cannyng* the text of the whole New Testament of Erasmus translation without booke, in his iourney going and comming from Rome.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1178, ed. 1583. And he quotes the following article out of the *Summe of the Scripture*: 'We thinke when we beleue that God is God and *can* our creed, that we haue the fayth that a christian man is bound to haue, but so doth the deuill beleue.'—*Ibid.* p. 1254. Spenser uses both forms in *The Shepheards Calendar:*

'Seemeth thy flocke thy counsel *can*,
So lustlesse bene they, so weake, so wan.'

And again,

'Of muses, Hobbinoll, I *conne* no skill,
For they bene daughters of the highest Jove,
And holden scorne of homely shepheards quill.
Poet. Works, vol. i. pp. 20, 47, ed. 1866.

And so does Shakespeare in *The Phœnix and Turtle:*

'Let the priest in surplice white,
That defunctive music *can*,
Be the death-divining swan,
Lest the requiem lack his right.'
Works, vol. viii. p. 468, Dyce's ed.

As to the last of the above references to the text, the phrase is best explained by the following illustrations given by Palsgrave: 'I *can*, I knowe, I wotte. *Je scay, tu scais*, &c. I *can* no skill. *Je ne me congnoys* or *je ne mentens*. I *can* nat skyll of physike: *je ne me congnoys poynt en medicine*. I *can* nat skyll of joynars craft: *je ne mentens poynt en menuyserie*.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 474, 475. And 'I kenne, I knowe, *jecongnoys*. I kenne hym well ynoughe by the laste tyme: *je le congnoys bien assés par laultrefoys*.'—*Ibid.* p. 596.

Kerue, Keruer, Keruynge, *to carve as a sculptor, a sculptor, sculpture.*—I. 43, 48, 139, 140, 183. This is the English form of the Anglo-Saxon word 'ceorfan.' In the *Promptorium* we find: 'Kervyn or gravyn, *Sculpo*,' and 'Kervynge or gravynge, *Sculptura*.'—

P. 273. Palsgrave has 'I kerve as a kerver dothe an ymage. *Je taille*, prim. conj., and *je menuise*, prim. conj. This chayer is well kerved: *ceste chaire cest bien taillée*, or *bien menuysée*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 598. This form of the word is constantly used by Chaucer, as in *The Knightes Tale:*

> In all the lond ther nas no craftys man,
> That geometry or arsmetrike can,
> Ne portreyour, ne *kerver* of ymages,
> That Theseus ne yaf hem mete and wages
> The theatre for to maken and devyse.
> * * * * * * *
> But yit had I forgeten to devyse
> The nobil *kervyng*, and the purtretures,
> The schap, the contynaunce of the figures,
> That weren in these oratories thre.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 59.

Again in *The House of Fame:*

> 'Hyt nedeth noght yow more to tellen,
> To make yow to longe duellen,
> Of these yates florisshinges,
> Ne of compasses, ne of *kervynges*,
> Ne how they hat in masoneries,
> As corbetz ful of imageries.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 249.

Tyndall, in his exposition upon 1 John iv. says: 'Blind reason sayth God is a *kerued* post and will be serued with a candle. But Scripture sayth God is loue and wil be serued with loue.'—*Workes*, p. 417, ed. 1573.

Knotte, *a flower bed.*—II. 443 and note, 445.

Knowlege, verb, *to acknowledge.*—II. 140, 362. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Knowlechyn or ben a-knowe, be constreynynge, *Fateor.* Knowlechyn or ben a-knowe wylfully, *Confiteor*,' and 'Knowlechynge or beynge a-knowe, *Fassio, confessio*.'—P. 280. Palsgrave gives, 'I *knowledge* hym my faulte, or I knowledge my faute to hym. *Je lui recongnoys ma faulte* and *je confesse*, prim. conj. If thou knowledge this faulte to him, I knowe well he wyll forgyve the: *se tu luy en recongnoys ta faulte*, or *se tu luy confesses ta faulte, je scay bien quil te pardonnera* or *quil te la pardonnera*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 600. The verb used in this sense is very common with the early writers. Thus Wiclif in his translation of 1 John chap. i., has 'If we *knowlechen* oure synnes, he is feithful and iust that he forgyve to us oure synnes and clense us fro al wickidnesse.'—*The New Test.* p. 232, ed. Baber, 1810. And Sir John Maundevile says, 'And for suche auctoritees, thei seyn that only to God schalle a man *knouleche* his defautes, zeldynge him self gylty, and cryenge him mercy, and behotynge to him to amende him self.'—*Voiage &c.* p. 145, ed. 1727. Chaucer, in *The Tale of Melibeus*, says, 'For we considere and *knowleche* wel that we have offended and greved my lord Melibe out of resoun and out of mesure.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 190. Bishop Fisher, referring to the parable of the Prodigal Son, says, 'He made couenaunt with hym selfe shortly to departe from thens, to go agayne to his fader, *knowlegynge* his faut and myslyuynge, askynge forgyuenes, and more ouer pray his fader to take hym onely as his seruaunt.'—*Seuen Penytencyall Psalmes*, (*Dom. exaud. post.*) ed. 1509. Sir Thos. More, speaking of Dr. Barnes's book, says, 'When the bokes that he cyteth and alledgeth in his boke wer brought furth before him, and his ignorauncе shewed him, himselfe did in diuers thinges confesse hys ouersighte, and clerely *knowledged* that he hadde myssetaken and wronge understanden the places.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 343, ed. 1557. We find the word in use in the same sense nearly a century after Elyot wrote, for Bacon, in his *Advertisement touching an Holy War*, says, 'The prophet Hosea, in the person of God, saith of the Jews: "They have reigned, but not by me; they have set a signory over themselves, but I knew nothing of it." Which place proveth plainly, that there are governments which God doth not avow. For though they be ordained by his secret providence, yet they are not *knowledged* by his revealed will.'—*Works*, vol. vii. p. 31, ed. 1859.

L.

Laude, subst. *praise.*—I. 58. From the Latin word 'laus,' whence also was derived the French *los*. Cotgrave translates the latter, 'Laud, praise, commendation.' It is used by Gower:

'The nynthe sterre faire and wele
By name is hote Alaezele,
Which taketh his propre kinde thus,
Bothe of Mercurie and of Venus.
His stone is the grene Emeraude,
To whom is geuen many a *laude*.'
Conf. Am. fo. cxlix. ed. 1554.

And also by Chaucer, in *The Prioresses Tale*:

'O Lord, oure Lord, thy name how merveylous
Is in this large world i-sprad (quod sche),
For nought oonly thy *laude* precious
Parformed is by men of heih degré,
But by mouthes of children thy bounté
Parformed is.
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 122.

And in *The House of Fame*:

'These ben that wolden honour
Have, and do noskynnes labour,
Ne doo no good, and yet han *lawde*.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 263

Tyndall, in *The Obedience of a Christian man*, says: 'Wilt thou be without feare of the power? So do well, and thou shalt haue *laude* of the same (that is to say, of the ruler).'—*Works*, p. 111, ed. 1573. Shakespeare, in *Second Part of Hen. IV.*, makes the king say, on hearing that the apartment to which he is carried is called the Jerusalem Chamber:

'*Laud* be to God! even there my life must end.
It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in Jerusalem.'

We also meet with the word in *The New Atlantis*: 'We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of *laud* and thanks to God for his marvellous works.'—Bacon, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 166, ed. 1857.

Laud, verb, *to praise*.—I. 23. This verb appears to be somewhat rarer than the substantive. Palsgrave gives it as the equivalent of *louer*: 'I *lawde*, I prayse one. *Je loue*, prim. conj. He *laudeth* me somtyme beyonde the nocke: *il me loue aulcunes foys oultre mesure*.' —*L'Esclair.* p. 604. Chaucer, in *The Testament of Love*, says: 'If thou *laudest* and ioyest any wight, for he is stuffed with soche maner richesse, thou art in that beleeue beguiled, for thou wenest thilke ioy to be selinesse or els ease, and he that hath loste soche haps to been unseilie.'—*Works*, fo. 280 b, ed. 1602. It is used by Shakespeare in *First Part of Hen. IV.*, where Falstaff says: 'Well, God be thanked for these rebels—they offend none but the virtuous: I *laud* them, I praise them.' Act iii. sc. 3. And also by Joye, in his *Exposicion of Daniel*: 'Sayth not Cryste: Whatsoeuer is hyghely estemed, *lauded*, and praysed for decent and holy before men is abominable before God.'—Fo. 216, ed. 1545.

Layser, *leisure*.—I. 99, 252. It is interesting to trace in this word the intermediate stage from the original form of the French *loisir*. In the poetry of the Troubadours we find it spelt *lezer*. Thus a poem of Bernard de Ventadour commences as follows:

'Tuit sels que m pregan qu'ieu chan,
Volgra'n saubesson lo ver,
S'ieu n'ai aize ni *lezer*.'

Which M. Raynouard translates: 'Tous ceux qui me prient que je chante, je voudrais qu'ils en sussent le vrai, si j'en ai aise et *loisir*.'—*Lex. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 57. In another, by Garin d'Apchier, we find:

'Ans lo pot laissar domneiar,
Et estar ab leys a *lezer*.'

And we are told that this means, 'Le peut laisser galantiser et demeurer avec elle à *loisir*.'—*Ubi supra*. In the *Roman de Fierabras* we have:

'Dos jorns et una nueyt aqui feyro *lezor*.'

Meaning 'Deux jours et une nuit là ils firent repos.'—P. 125, ed. Bekker, 1829. Then in *Le Rom. de la Rose* we have a rather different form:

'Mort m'a qui si l'a fait irestre,
Car ge n'aurai jamès *lesir*
De véoior ce que ge desir.'
Tom. i. p. 153, ed. 1814.

And again:

'Bien m'en poés vostre voloir
Confesser trestout par *lesir*,
Et ge tout à vostre plesir.'
Ibid. tom. iii. p. 108.

But in other poems we find a form to which we can clearly trace the origin of Elyot's mode of spelling. Thus in *Le Roman d'Aubri li Borgonnon*:

'Se par mon cors pooit avoir *laisor*,
Je me metroie por le dolor.'
Bekker, *Der Rom. von Fierabras*, p. lxviii. ed. 1829.

In another still more celebrated poem we have the same form:

'Si orent en lor cuers grant joie
Quant il orent aise et *laissor*
De corre seure à lor segnor.'

And also:

'Car c'est li drois neus del vilain,
Qu'il soit tosjors de bone main
Vers celui de cui a péor,
Tant que de mal faire ait *laissor*.'
Partonopeus, tom. i. pp. 9, 91, ed. 1834.

In the *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie* precisely the same form occurs:

'Jà ne vos ert mais *laissor* donée
Que contre mei sachiez espée.'
Tom. i. p. 182.

And again:

'U aveir en aise e *laissor*
Si funt mainz desleiz li plusor.'
Ibid. tom. ii. p. 347, ed. 1838.

Now turning to English writers who have used the same form as Elyot, we find Chaucer in *Troylus and Cryseyde* does so:

'And eseth there youre hertes right ynough,
And lat se which of yow shal bere the belle
To speke of love aright?' And therwith he lough,
'For ther have ye a *layser* for to telle.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 233.

And again:

'But to the grete effect:—thanne sey I thus,
That stondyng in concord and in quiete
This ilke twey, Cryseyde and Troilus,
As I have tolde, and in this tyme swete,
Save only often myghte they not mete,
Ne *layser* have, hire speches to fulfille,
That it befel right as I shal yow telle.'
Ibid. p. 245.

In *The Seven Sages*, an English version made in the fourteenth century of a still earlier romance, we have:

'Certis,' he sayd, 'hit his no rede,
Bot hastilich smyt of my hede,
And god *laysyr* when thou myght have.
Byrye hit in cristyne grave.'
P. 43, ed. 1846. Percy Soc.

Palsgrave gives: 'I am at *layser*, I have lytell besynesse to do. *Il me vacque.* Verb. imp. prim. conj. They use also *je suis a loisir.* Whan you be at *layser*, make up my gowne: *quant il vous vacque, paracheuez ma robe.* I wolde speke with my lorde, if he were at *layser: je parleroys voulentiers a monsieur sil estoyt a loysir.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 423. Udall, in his translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, says: 'By menne of ryghte good credite, and suche as use not to lye, it hath bene reported unto me, aswel that Charles the Emperoure, in case anye vacante tyme of *laysure* maye in so greate unquyetenes and troublous state of the world bee gotten, dooeth gladly bestow the same in readynge the Ghospell booke.'—Tom. i. fo. ccvii b. ed. 1551.

Leasinge, Leasynge, *a lie, a falsehood.*—I. 123; II. 217 and note, 384, 394, 398, 400. This represents the Anglo-Saxon word 'leasunge,' which Somner explains by the Latin equivalents, mendacium, figmentum. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Lees, or false. *Falsus.*' And 'Leesynge, or lyynge (or gabbynge, lezynge, liynge) *Mendacium.*'—P. 298. Both Somner and Skinner connect it with the old French *losange, losenge* or *lozenge*, which Congrave interprets to mean 'guile, deceit, fraud, cousenage.' And Palsgrave gives some countenance to the supposed connexion between the two words, for he gives 'Lye, a false tale—*baue s*, f.; *losange s*, f.; *mensonge s*, m.; *contrevue s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 239. But it is curious that though the word *losenge* occurs frequently in *Le Roman de la Rose*, it is always distinguished from *mensonge* by Chaucer. Thus for the passage—

'Por Dieu, dame, ne créés pas
Male-Bouche le *losengier*;
C'est uns homs qui ment de legier,
Et maint prod'omme a réusé.
S'il a Bel-Acueil accusé,
Ce n'est pas ore li premiers:
Car Male-Bouche est coustumiers
De raconter fauces noveles
De valez et de damoiseles.
Sans faille ce n'est pas mençonge,
Bel-Acueil a trop longue longe.'
Tom. i p. 145, ed. 1814.

Chaucer substitutes the following imitation:

'Sire, ne leveth noughte
Wikkid-tunge, that fals espie,
Which is so glad to feyne and lye.

He hath you maad, thurgh flateryng,
On Bialacoil a fals *lesyng*.
His falsenesse is not now a-newe,
It is to long that he hym knewe.
This is not the firste day;
For Wikkid-tunge hath custome ay,
Yonge folkis to be-wreye,
And false *lesynges* on hem lye.'

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 118.

And where the French poet wrote:

'Et por avoir des gens loenges,
Des riches hommes, par *losenges*,
Empetrons que letres nous doignent
Qui la bonté de nous tesmoignent,
Si que l'en croie par le munde
Que vertu toute en nous habunde;
Et tous jors povres nous faignons,
Mès comment que nous nous plaignons,
Nous sommes, ce vous fais savoir,
Cil qui tout ont sans riens avoir.'

Ibid. tom. ii. p. 364.

The English version has:

'And for to have of men preysyng,
We purchace, thurgh our flateryng,
Of riche men of gret pousté,
Lettres, to witnesse oure bounté,
So that man weneth that may us see,
That alle vertu in us be.
And al-wey pore we us feyne;
But how-so that we begge or pleyne,
We ben the folk, withoute *lesyng*,
That alle thing have without havyng.'

Ubi supra, p. 212.

In Wicklif's confession, given by Knyghton, canon of Leicester, in the vernacular, the description of the Devil is the same as that mentioned by Elyot: 'For before that the fende fader of *lesynges* was lowside, was never this gabbyng contryvede.'—Twysden, *Decem Script.* col. 2650. M. Roquefort defines *Losange* as 'Tromperie, raillerie, insulte; médisance,' and this would seem to be pretty nearly the sense in which Spenser uses the word *leasing* in his portrait of Slander—

'For she was stuft with rancour and despight
Up to the throat, that oft with bitternesse
It forth would breake, and gush in great excesse,
Pouring out streames of poyson and of gall
'Gainst all that truth or vertue doe professe;
Whom she with *leasings* lewdly did miscall,
And wickedly backbite; her name men
Sclaunder call.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 202.

And again in his description of 'the brave courtier' in *Mother Hubberds Tale*—

'He hates fowle *leasings* and vile flatterie,
Two filthie blots in noble gentrie.'

Ibid. vol. v. p. 22, ed. 1866.

Leme, *a gleam, a ray.*—I. 3; II. 364 and note. According to Tyrwhitt this word is used by Chaucer in *The Nonnes Preestes Tale*—

'Certes this dreme, which ye han met to-night,
Cometh of the grete superfluitee
Of your rede colera parde,
Which causeth folk to dreden in hir dremes
Of arwes, and of fire with red *lemes*,
Of rede bestes, that they wol hem bite,
Of conteke and of waspes gret and lite.'

Cant. Tales, vol. iii. p. 196, ed. 1830.

This reading, however, is not adopted in the Aldine edition.

Lese, *to lose.*—I. 34; II. 30. This was the ancient form of the word as we see from the *Promptorium*, which gives 'Lesyn or lese, *Perdo*. Lesynge or thyngys loste (of thynge loste), *Perdicio*.'—P. 298. Whilst Palsgrave has 'I *lese* a thyng, as I *lese* my goodes, or my frendes, or any suche lyke thyng by neglygence or chaunce. *Je pers*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 606. Sir John Maundevile says: 'Natheles it befallethe often tyme, that the gode Dyamande *lesethe* his vertue, be synne and for incontynence of him that berethe it.'—*Voiage &c.*, p. 194, ed. 1727. This form occurs constantly in Chaucer. As in *The Monkes Tale*—

'Nought oonly that the world had of him awe,
For *lesyng* of riches and liberté,
But he made every man reneye his lawe.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 219.

And in *The Romaunt of the Rose*—

'But in case that I shalle say
For pride and ire *lese* it he may.'

Ibid. vol. vi. p. 168

The corresponding passage in the French poem being—

'Fors en deus cas que ge voil dire,
L'en le *pert* par orguel, par ire.'

Rom. de la Rose, tom. ii. p. 44, ed. 1814.

Froissart, in his account of the capture of Bourdille in 1369, had said: 'Et pour ce qu'ils vouloient tout avoir, et ainsi que on dit, grand convoitise fait petit mont.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 582 ed.

P. L. And Lord Berners translates this: 'And bycause they wolde haue all they had but lytel, for it is an olde sayenge, He that all coueteth al *leseth.*'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 384, ed. 1812. This primitive form continued in use to a much later period, for Bacon in his *Nat. Hist.* says: 'You must take heed how you set herbs together, that draw much the like juice. And therefore I think rosemary will *leese* in sweetness, if it be set with lavender or bays, or the like.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 495, ed. 1857.

Lette, subst., *a hindrance, impediment.*—I, 155; II. 162. Palsgrave has '*Let* or lettyng—*empeschement s*, m.; *obstacle s*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 238. And the author, in his own *Dictionary*, translates Impedimentum '*Lette*, impediment in warres.' The substantive is not perhaps so common as the verb; the former, however, is used by Chaucer in *Troylus and Crysede*—

'And when that he in chaumber was allon
He down upon his beddes feet him sette,
And first he gan to syke, and eft to grone,
And thoughte ay on hire so withouten *lette.*'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 122.

Wingfield, writing from Blois to the king in 1520, says: 'He (*i.e.* Francis I.) shewyd me to have received wrytyng fro hys Ambassadour resident with your Grace, by the whyche he was ascerteyned of the exploicte and dispatche of the Ambassadours of Flaunders; neverthelesse he sayde to know wele the same shuld be no *lett* of any thynge passyd and concludyd betwene your Highnes and hym.'—*State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 57. Spenser uses it in *The Faerie Queene*—

'The proud Duessa, full of wrathfull spight,
And fiers disdaine to be affronted so,
Enforst her purple beast with all her might,
That stop out of the way to overthroe,
Scorning the *let* of so unequall foe.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 208.

And again—

'Whom when my knight did see so lovely faire,
He inly gan her lover to envy,
And wish that he part of his spoyle might share:
Whereto when as my presence he did spy
To be a *let*, he bade me by and by
For to alight.'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 122.

It occurs several times in Shakespeare. Thus in *King Henry V.* the Duke of Burgundy says:

'My speech entreats
That I may know the *let*, why gentle Peace
Should not expel these inconveniences,
And bless us with her former qualities.'

And again in *Romeo and Juliet* the former says—

'With love's light wings did I o'er-perch these walls;
For stony limits cannot hold love out:
And what love can do, that dares love attempt;
Therefore thy kinsmen are no *let* to me.'

Brende translates, 'Rex satis gnarus professioni æris pudorem non contumaciam *obstare*;' (Q. Curt. lib. x. cap. 2) 'The kinge perceiued shame to bee the *let* therof, and no disobedience or selfe will.'—Fo. 211, ed. 1561. Hooker, in his *Eccles. Polity*, says: 'All men desire to lead in this world an happy life: that life is led most happily, wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or *let.*'—*Works*, p. 17, ed. 1723.

Lette, verb, *to hinder.*—I. 138, 155, 157, 281; II. 77, 161, 242, 336. In his *Dictionary* the author renders Obsto, are, 'to withstand, to *lette*;' and Impedio, ire, 'to *lette*, to staye.' Chaucer uses the verb in this sense several times. Thus in *The Marchaundes Tale*—

'His squiers, which that stoode ther bisyde,
Excusid him, bycause of his syknesse,
Which *letted* him to doon his busynesse.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 338.

Again in *Troylus and Cryseyde*—

'And looketh now if this be resonable
And *letteth* nought, for favour ne for slouthe,
To seyne a sothe.'——
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 199.

Sir John Maundevile, speaking of Egypt, says, 'And for als moche as it ne reynethe not in that contree, but the eyr is alwey pure and cleer, therfore in that contree ben the gode Astronomyeres, for thei fynde there no cloudes to *letten* hem.'—*Voiage &c.* p. 54, ed. 1727. Palsgrave has, 'I *let* or hynder one of his purpose, or anythyng he is aboute. *Jempesche*, prim. conj. I pray you, *let* me nat, you se I am busye: *je vous prie, ne mempeschez poynt, vous voyez que je*

suis empesché or *embesogné.*—*L'Esclair.* p. 607. Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, says,

'Within that wood there was a covert glade,
Foreby a narrow foord, to them well knowne,
Through which it was uneath for wight to wade;
And now by fortune it was overflowne.
By that same way they knew that Squyre unknowne
Mote algates passe: for thy themselves they set
There in await with thicke woods overgrowne,
And all the while their malice they did whet
With cruell threats his passage through the ford to *let*.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 307, ed. 1866.

Udall uses the passive voice; in translating the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon Mark xiii. he says, 'He is laden with a vessell, whoe being ouercharged and *letted* with worldly ryches, ceasseth to doe those thinges whyche pertayne to eternall healthe.'—Tom. i. fo. clxxxix. ed. 1551; where the original has 'Vase onustus est qui divitiis *impeditus* cessat agere quæ sunt salutis æternæ.'—*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 255, ed. 1541. The passive voice is also used by Joye in his *Exposicion of Daniel*. 'This their deuilysh lawe of their wyueles chastite is the most cruell tyranny, bringinge many thousands to dampnacion, whose myndes and bodyes for this unlawfull bonde are deadly polluted, whose soulis by this one lawe be so *letted* that thei neuer can rightly call upon god, and therfore by the comon consent of all godly men it ought to be abolisshed.'—Fo. 216, ed. 1545. And by Sir Philip Sidney, 'Their minds grudge not at their bodies comfort, nor their sences are *letted* from enioying their obiects: wee haue the impediments of honour, and the torments of conscience.'—*Arcadia*, p. 102, ed. 1605.

Leude, *ignorant*, and hence *vicious*, *wicked*, but not in the limited sense which is alone implied by modern usage.—I. 30. The primitive meaning of this word, as is well known, was that of ignorant, and as learning was almost, if not entirely, confined to ecclesiastics, it came to denote specially *laymen* as distinguished from *clerks* or churchmen; but the notion of vice also attached to the word at a very early period, and is clearly implied by Elyot as we see from the context of the above passage. In the *Promptorium*, it is true, we do not find precisely this meaning: 'Lewde, unkunnynge, or unknowynge, yn what so hyt be. *Inscius*, *ignarus*, (*laicus*). Lewdenesse of onconynge (unknowynge). *Insciencia*, *Ignorantia*.'—P. 301. But it is certainly implied by Palsgrave who gives '*Leuae* of condycions—*maluays*, f. *maluayse s*; m. *villayn s*, f. *villayne s*, m. *maulgraneux*, f. *maulgraneuse s*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 317. Elyot himself seems to have considered it as the equivalent of Stolidus, for in his *Dictionary* he renders the latter 'foolyshe, *lewde* of condicions, odyouse,' and Stoliditas 'foolyshenes, *lewdenes*.' In the first edition of Huloet's *Abcedarium* we find Lewde rendered by the following Latin adjectives, 'Improbus, perperus, pravus, nequam, protervus, stolidus, vernaculus, vernalis, vernilis.' Baret translates it by the French *meschant*. Sir John Maundevile apparently uses the word in this sense in the following passage: 'Sche answerde him, that he knew not what he asked; and seyde that he was a fool, to desire that he myghte not have . . . And the kyng seyde, that he ne wolde asken non other thing. And the lady answerde, Sythe that I may not withdrawe zou fro zoure *lewed* corage, I schall zeve zou with outen wyschinge, and to alle hem that schulle com of zou.'—*Voiage &c.*, p. 177, ed. 1727. In Chaucer it nearly always signifies 'rude' in the sense of 'ignorant,' but the context shows that the following passage is clearly an exception:

'Such olde *lewed* wordes used he.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 345.

Spenser employs it in the same way:

'The baser wit, whose ydle thoughts alway
Are wont to cleave unto the lowly clay,
It (*i.e.* love) stirreth up to sensuall desire,
And in *lewd* slouth to wast his carelesse day,
But in brave sprite it kindles goodly fire.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 303.

And so does Shakespeare in *King Rich. II.*:

'Mowbray hath receiv'd eight thousand nobles
In name of lendings for your highness' soldiers,
The which he hath detain'd for *lewd* employments,
Like a false traitor and injurious villain.'

And in *First Part of King Hen. IV.*:

——— 'Tell me else,
Could such inordinate and low desires,
Such poor, such base, such *lewd*, such mean attempts . . . . . .
Accompany the greatness of thy blood?'

Sir John Davies, speaking of the 'evil customs' of the Irish Chieftains, says: 'They made strong parties and factions, wherby the great men were enabled to oppresse their inferiours, and to oppose their equals: and their followers were borne out and countenanced in all their *lewde* and wicked actions.'—*Discoverie of the State of Ireland*, p. 181, ed. 1613. The word is evidently used in the same general and unrestricted sense by Sir Henry Savile, who translated 'Interfectorem Voculæ altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque *flagitium* navaverat, præmiis attollit.'—(Tac. *Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 59), 'Then he aduanced the murtherer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, ech according to the *lewde* seruice they did.'—*Tacitus*, p. 169, ed. 1612.

Leuer, *rather.*—II. 241, 286, 306. This is really the comparative of the adjective 'Leve' or 'Lief,' the Anglo-Saxon Leof = dilectus. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Have levyr (have leuer), *Malo*.' And 'Lefe and dere, *Carus*.'—Pp. 230, 293. Elyot in his *Dict.* renders Malo 'I had *leauer*, or rather;' whilst Palsgrave gives 'I have *lever*. *Jayme mieulx* or *jayme plus chier*, and *jay plus chier*. I had *leaver* se hym hanged: *je aymeroye mieulx le veoir pendre*. Many men had *lever* se a play than to here a masse: *mayntes gens aymeroyent mieulx* or *aymeroyent plus chier* or *auroyent plus chier de veoyr ung mistere jouer que douyr une messe*.' Also 'Lefe dere—m. *cher s*, f. *chere s*. Lyefe dere—m. *chier s*, f. *chiere s*.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 317, 581. It is constantly used by the early writers. Thus Sir John Maundevile says, 'For alse moche as many men ne may not suffre the savour of the see, but hadden *lever* to gon by londe, they (*i.e.* though) that hyt be more payne; a man schal soo goon unto on of the havenes of Lumbardye, als Venys or another. And he schal passe yn to Grece thorwe Port Moroche, or another, and so he schal gon unto Constantynople.' — *Voiage &c.* p. 152. It occurs very frequently in Chaucer, thus in *The Prologue:*

'For him was *lever* have at his beddes heed
Twenty bookes, clothed in black and reed,
Of Aristotil, and of his philosophie,
Then robes riche, or fithul, or sawtrie.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 10, ed. 1866.

Again in *The Frankelynes Tale:*

'But natheles, yet have I *lever* leese
My lif, than of my body to have schame,
Or knowe my-selve fals, or lese my name.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 21.

And occasionally in Spenser, thus in *The Faerie Queene:*

'But nor for gold nor glee will I abyde
By you, when ye arrive in that same place;
For *lever* had I die then see his deadly face.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 9, ed. 1866.

Again,

'Die had she *lever* with Enchanters knife
Then to be false in love, profest a virgine wife.' *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 106.

This expression is used by the King in his 'Answer to the Lincolnshire Rebels,' in 1536, which is given *in extenso* by Foxe: 'Nowe, what unkindnes and unnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our subiects that be of that minde, which hadde *leuer* such an unthriftie sorte of vicious persons shoulde enioye suche possessions, profites, and emoluments as grow of the sayd houses, to the maintenance of their unthriftie life, then we your naturall Prince, soueraigne Lorde and Kyng, whych doth and hath spent more in your defences of our owne, then sixe times they be worth.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1086, ed. 1583. It may be observed that the positive form of the phrase, viz. 'as lief' meaning 'as soon,' which occurs very frequently in Shakespeare, is still to be met with in vulgar speech in rural districts, and

more particularly in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Leuigate, *madesmooth.*—I. 25. This word, which is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, is formed from the Latin verb Lævigo, which the author in his *Dictionary* translates 'to playne, or make playne, or to polyshe.' It is not used by the best classical writers, but it occurs not unfrequently in Pliny, as, ex. gr. 'Indica (sc. arena) non æque *lævigat*: sed eâ combustâ polientes marmora fricare jubentur.' *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 9. And again: 'Sunt quidam in eo genere molliores (sc. lapides), qui et cote *lævigantur*, ut procul intuentibus ophitæ videri possint.'—*Ibid.* cap. 30.

Lothely, adj. **Lothelynes,** subst. *loathsome, loathsomeness.*—II. 185, 401 and note. The adjective is used by Spenser in *The Faerie Queen*:

> 'An huge great Dragon, horrible in sight,
> Bred in the *loathly* lakes of Tartary,
> With murdrous ravine, and devouring might,
> Their kingdome spoild, and countrey wasted quight.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. i. p. 202.

And again

> 'A foule and *loathly* creature sure in sight
> And in conditions to be loath'd no lesse.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 202.

Lyam, *a leash, thong, or line.*—II. 171 and note. The definition previously given in the note and credited to Randle Holme, ought to be referred to a still older authority, Turbervile, who tells us in his *Booke of Hunting*: 'The string wherewith wee leade a Grey hounde is called a Lease, and for a Hounde a *Lyame*.'—P. 240, ed. 1575. He also says: 'Yet another way to bryng your houndes to quarrie and to rewarde them, you must haue foure or sixe huntsmen that be good and swifte of foote, for els they may rather hinder than furder the houndes; and to euery one of these you may giue two couple of houndes to leade in *liames*; and when the houndes haue unlodged the Harte, they may go fayre and softely, and not weary theyr yong houndes before the crie.'—*Ibid.* p. 37. Now the corresponding passage in the original French is 'Il faut auoir quatre ou six valets, lesquels soyent gracieux, et allans bien à pied, car autrement ils leur feroyent plus de tort que de profit: et leur pourrez donner à mener à chacun quatre ieunes chiens en une *lesse*.'—Du Fouilloux, *La Vénerie*, fo. 14, ed. 1844. Hence we see that lyam is equivalent to *lesse*, the modern *laisse*. And this is the very word used by Montaigne in his own version of the story of Androclus: 'Nous voyions depuis, dict Apion, Androclus conduisant ce lion à tout une petite *lesse*, se promenant par les tavernes à Rome.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 325, ed. 1854. A lime-hound, properly leamhound, was so called because he was held in a liam. And Turbervile shows us that this is the correct etymology, for he uses the original form of the word: 'When they (*i.e.* the huntsmen) cast about a groue or wood with their *Liamhound*, then they make a ryng.' *Ubi supra*, p. 242.

Lybarde, *a leopard.*—I. 189, 191, 215. The author in his *Dictionary* translates Leopardus 'a *Lybarde*.' The same contraction of the first syllable seems to have prevailed in the corresponding French word. For Littré says: 'Il est remarquable que la première partie du mot, dans les anciens textes est toujours monosyllabique, ce n'est qu'au XVI^e^ siècle que *leo* . . . . reparaît sous sa forme propre.' In the *Promptorium* it is spelt Labbarde or Lebbard. Sir John Maundevile has the same form as Elyot: 'Thei bryngen before the Emperour, Lyouns, *Libardes*, and othere dyverse bestes.'—*Voiage, &c.*, p. 285, ed. 1727. Chaucer, in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, describing the God of Love, says:

> 'For nought y-clad in silk was he,
> But alle in floures and in flourettes,
> Ipainted alle with amorettes,
> And with losynges and scochouns,
> With briddes, *lybardes*, and lyouns,
> And other beestis wrought ful welle.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 28.

In the original the corresponding passage is:

> 'Il n'avoit pas robe de soie,
> Ains avoit robe de floretes,
> Fete par fines amoretes

A losenges, à escuciaus,
A oiselés, à lionciaus,
Et à bestes et à *liépars.*'
Rom. de la Rose, tom. i. p. 37, ed. 1814.

Froissart, in his description of Richard's conquest of Ireland, says: 'Notre sire le roi Richard, quand au temps il fut en Irlande, en toutes ses armoiries il laissa à porter les armes d'Angleterre; c'est à entendre, les *liepars* et les fleurs de lis dont il s'écartelle, et prit celles du roi Edouard qui est saint.'—*Chron.* tom. iii. p. 213, ed. P. L. This Lord Berners renders: 'He lefte the beryng of the armes of Englande, as the *lybardes* and flour delyces quarterly, and bare the armes of this saynt Edwarde.'—*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 623, ed. 1812. Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, says:

'For he would learne
The Lyon stoup to him in lowly wise,
(A lesson hard), and make the *Libbard* sterne
Leave roaring, when in rage he for revenge did earne.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 184, ed. 1866.

Lymitour, *a mendicant friar*, who was only licensed to beg within a certain *limit* or district. — I. 234 and note. Tyndale frequently alludes to these friars, as, *ex. gr.*, in his *Practice of Prelates*: 'As soon as the monks were fallen, then sprang these begging friars out of hell, the last kind of caterpillars in a more vile apparel and a more strait religion, that if aught of relief were left among the laymen for the poor people these horse-leeches might suck that also; which drone-bees, as soon as they learned their craft, and had built them goodly and costly nests, and their *limiters* had divided all countries among them to beg in, and had prepared livings of a certainty, though with begging; then they also took dispensations of the pope, for to live as largely and as lewdly as the monks.'—*Expos. on the Script.* p. 277, ed. 1849, Par. Soc. And again, in his *Answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue*, after mentioning with contempt various superstitious observances, he says: 'Such is the *Limiter's* saying of "In Principio erat verbum" from house to house.'—P. 62, ed. 1850, Par. Soc. Now it is evidently to this canting practice that Chaucer alludes in his description of the 'Limiter' in *The Prologue to the Cant. Tales*—

'He was the beste beggar in al his hous,
For though a widewe hadde but oo schoo,
So plesaunt was his *In principio*,
Yet wolde he have a ferthing or he wente.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 9.

In *The treatise against begging friars intitled Jacke Upland*, attributed to Chaucer by Foxe, amongst other questions he asks: 'Why heyre ye to ferme your *limitors*, geuing therefore ech yeare a certayne rent, and will not suffer one in an others *limitation*, right as ye were your selfes Lordes of countreys?'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 262, ed. 1583.

Lymn, *to illuminate, or draw in colours.*—I. 32. In Huloet's *Abcedarium* we find, '*Limned* bokes, hauinge letters of diuers coloures: *Miniati libri.*' The word is no doubt derived from the French *enluminer*, which Cotgrave translates 'to illuminate, inlighten, cleere, brighten, illustrate; also to sleek or burnish; also to *limne.*' He also gives '*enlumineure*, a burnishing, or sleeking, also a *limning.*' Thus Joinville, in his *Hist. de S. Louis*, says: 'Et ainsi comme lescrivain qui a fait son livre, qui *lenlumine* dor et dazur, enlumina ledit roy son royaume de belles abbaies que il y fist, des mansions Dieu, des preescheurs, des cordeliers, et des autres religions.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 303. Spelman, who explains the Low Latin illuminare as 'Libros et literas pingendo ornare,' adds, 'Alias dici videtur luminare, unde Anglicum *to lymn.*' That limning exactly answered to what we now call illuminating is plain from the title of a handbook on that art, published in 1573 by Richard Tottill, which describes it as 'A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the Arte of *Limming*, which teacheth the order in drawing and tracing of letters, vinets, flowers, armes, and Imagery, and the maner how to make sundry sises or grounds to laye siluer or golde uppon, and how siluer or golde shalbe layed or *limmed* uppon the sise, and the waye to temper golde and siluer and other mettales, and

diuerse kyndes of colours, to write or to *limme* withall uppon velym, parchement or paper, and how to lay them upon the worke which thou entendest to make, and howe to vernish yt when thou hast done, with diuerse other thinges very mete and necessary to be knowne to all suche Gentlemenne and other persones as doe delite in *limming*, painting, or in tricking of armes in their right colors, and therefor a worke very mete to be adioined to the bookes of Armes, neuer put in printe before this time.' Spenser uses the word in the general sense of painting:

'Or why doe not faire pictures like powre shew
In which oft-times we Nature see of Art
Exceld, in perfect *limming* every part?'
Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 230, ed. 1866.

Fuller says of Edward Norgate, one of 'the worthies' of Cambridgeshire: 'He became the best Illuminer or *Limner* of our age, employed generally to make the initial letters in the patents of Peers, and Commissions of Embassadours, having left few heirs to the kind, none to the degree of his art therein.'—*Worthies of Eng.* p. 161, ed. 1662. Wood, enumerating the various accomplishments of Roger Ascham, tells us he 'was a passing good orator, had a great faculty in writing Greek, Latin, and English epistles, which were not only excellent for matter, but for the neatness of the handwriting, adorned with illumination, which we now call *limning*, in the margin.'—*Fasti Oxon.* part. i. col. 115, ed. 1815. Peacham, in his *Compleat Gentleman*, has a chapter 'Of Drawing, *Limning*, and Painting,' and says: 'Since Aristotle numbreth Graphice, generally taken for whatsoeuer is done with the Pen or Pencill (as writing faire, Drawing, *Limning*, and Painting), amongst those his παιδεύματα or generous practices of youth in a well-gouerned Commonwealth, I am bound also to giue it you in charge for your exercise at leasure. . . . And since it is onely the imitation of the surface of nature by it, as in a booke of golden and rare-*limmed* letters, the chiefe ende of it, wee reade a continuall lecture of the wisedome of the Almightie Creator, by beholding euen in the feather of the Peacocke a miracle, as Aristotle saith.'—P. 104, ed. 1622. Aubrey, in his notice of the Digby family, says that he had been permitted to inspect a curious volume: 'It was the history of the family of the Digbyes, which Sir Kenelme either did or ordered to be donne. There was inserted all that was to be found any where relating to them out of Records of the Tower, Rolles &c. All Ancient church monuments were most exquisitely *limmed* by some rare artist.'—*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 329, ed. 1813.

M.

Maculate, *to stain, defile.*—I. 278. It is obvious from the context that this word is employed to represent the Latin 'maculare' of the original passage of the *Policraticus*. In his *Dictionary* the author translates the verb Maculo, 'to spotte or make fowle.' The verb appears to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but the same word occurs as a participle in *The Testament of Creseide*—

'O faire Creseide, the floure and a per se
Of Troy and Grece, how were thou fortunate
To chaunge in filth al thy feminite,
And be with fleshly lust so *maculate*,
And go among the Grekes erly and late
So giglotlike, taking thy foule pleasaunce,
I haue pite the should fall such mischaunce.'
Chaucer, *Poet. Works*, fo. 182, ed. 1602.

And is used twice by Shakespeare, first in *Love's Labour's Lost*—

'Most *maculate* thoughts, Master,
Are masked under such colours.'
Works, vol. ii. p. 173, ed. Dyce.

And again in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, when Emilia exclaims—

'O vouchsafe,
With that thy rare green eye—which never yet
Beheld thing *maculate*—look on thy virgin.'
Ibid. vol. viii. p. 196.

Maistries, *feats of strength or skill.*—I. 175. From *maistrie*, the old form of the French *maistrise*. Palsgrave has 'Maystry done by delyvernesse—*ung*

tour de souplesse s, m.; *appertise s*, f.' —*L'Esclair.* p. 242. The word is often used by Chaucer, as in *The Prologue to Cant. Tales*—

'A Monk ther was, a fair for the *maistrie*,
An out-rydere, that lovede venerye;
A manly man, to ben an abbot able.'

And in *The Milleres Tale*—

Som tyme, to schewe his lightnes and *maistrye*,
He pleyeth Herodz on a scaffold hye.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. pp. 6, 104.

Again in *The Romaunt of the Rose*—

'This knyght was comen alle newely
Fro tourneiyng faste by;
Ther hadde he don gret chyvalrie
Thorough his vertu and his *maistrie*,
And for the love of his lemman
He caste doun many a doughty man.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 37.

It appears, on comparing the above passage with the original, that the word italicised is given as the equivalent of the French *force*—

'Cil chevalier novelement
Fu venus d'ung tornoiement,
Où il ot faite por s'amie
Mainte jouste et mainte envaie,
Et percié maint escu bouclé,
Maint hiaume i avoit desserclé,
Et maint chevalier abatu,
Et pris par *force* et par vertu.'
Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. i. p. 48.

In the early English romance of *Sir Perceval of Galles* we have the following stanza—

'Now no *maistrys* he made
Syr Wawayne ther als he rade,
Bot hovde stylle and habade
His concelle to ta.'
P. 56, ed. 1844, Camden Soc.

See also the quotation from Gower, ante p. 488. A very similar phrase to that in the text is used by Sir Thos. North in his translation of Plutarch: 'Neuertheles he sent her worde againe, she should not neede *to trye masteryes*, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time: for so doing, she might bring her selfe in daunger, and be cast awaye for euer.'—P. 45, ed. 1579. A comparison with Amyot's version, however, shows that there was no corresponding phrase in the original: 'Mais il luy manda qu'il n'estoit point besoing que par breuuages ou medecines elle se deschargeast auant temps, pource qu'en ce faisant, elle se pourroit bien gaster et se mettre en danger elle mesme.'—*Vies des hommes Ill.* tom. i. fo. 28, ed. 1565. Knolles, at a still later date, uses almost precisely the same expression as Elyot. In describing the manners of the king of Persia contemporary with Henry VIII., Knolles says: 'He would oftentimes run, leape, and *proue masteries* with his chiefe courtiers, being himselfe a most excellent horseman and cunning archer.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 516, ed. 1603. It was also employed by Bacon: 'This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes affairs, is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof; but this is but to *try masteries* with fortune.'—*Essays*, p. 185, ed. 1857. This obsolete phrase is not noticed by Todd, Latham, or Richardson.

Maynure, the, to be taken with, *to be caught red-handed.*—II. 75. This is an old law term derived from the French *main œvre*, which again represents the still earlier Latin expression 'manu operante,' which is frequently found in the old law books. Thus in a chapter of Fleta on the punishment for arson it is said: 'Christiani autem Apostatæ, Sortilegi, et hujusmodi detractari debent et comburi. Contrahentes vero cum Judæis vel Judæabus, Pecorantes, et Sodomitæ in terrâ vivi confodiantur dum tamen *man' oper'* capti per testimonium legale, vel publicè convicti.'—Houard, *Cout. Anglo-Norm.* tom. iii. p. 118, ed. 1776. M. Houard, in a note on this passage, explains the words italicised to mean: 'Pour *manu operante*: en flagrant délit.' In another chapter of Fleta we read: 'Statutum est quòd omnes utlagati, Regni abjuratores, probatores, *cum manuopere capti*, prisonæ Regis fractores, latrones publici et notorii &c. nullo modo per Pleg' dimittantur.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 251. Thorn, a monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, gives us (*inter alia*) the following presentment *temp.* Ed. II.: 'Jura-

tores præsentant quòd abbas sancti Augustini Cant. clamat in hundredo isto in manerio suo de Suanes tenere placita de felonibus *captis cum manuopere* ad sectam, &c.'—Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 2021, ed. 1652. A charter of Henry IV. confirming a charter of Rich. II. to the Duke of Lancaster, contains the following clause: 'Et quòd prædictus Dux ad totam vitam suam haberet quæcunque bona et catalla vocata "*manuopera*" capta vel capienda cum quacunque personâ infra terras et feoda prædicta, ac per eandem personam coram quocunque judice deadvocata.'—*Liber. Cust.* p. 487, the Rolls ed. Amongst other entries in the Liber Albus of the City of London we find the following: 'Quidam in ecclesiâ Sancti Pauli Londoniarum cognovit se felonem, et *manuopus* liberatur vicecomiti Londoniarum.' —Vol. i. p. 666, the Rolls ed. The first mention of this term in the statutes of the realm seems to be in 3 Ed. I. cap. 15, commonly called Stat. West. I. where it is enacted 'que les prisons q̄ sunt avaunt utlagez, et ceus q̄ eient forjure la tere, Provurs, toz q̄ sunt *pris ov meinoure* &c. . . . ne seient en nule maniere replevisables,' or as the English version has it, 'That such prisoners as before were outlawed and they which have abjured the Realme, Provors, and such as be *taken with the manour* &c. shall be in no wise replevisable.' The reader will not fail to notice the great similarity between this enactment and the second of the above-quoted passages from Fleta. By 7 Ric. II. cap. 4 it is provided, 'que nulle homme soit pris nenprisonez pur Ministre de Foreste sanz due enditement ou *main œvre* ou trespassant en la Foreste;' or in English: 'That no man be taken nor imprisoned by any officer of the Forest without due indictment, or being *taken with the maner*, or trespassing in the Forest.' In the next reign the king's general pardon is extended 'to all his liege people of England' provided (*inter alia*) 'qil ne soit provour nappellez de mort de homme al suite de partie ne *ne pris ove meynovre*.' (1 IIen. IV. cap. 20.) According to our old law, if the defendant were taken *ove le maynour*, and the latter carried to the court he could be arraigned *sur le maynour* without any appeal or indictment. See Staundford, *Les Plees del Coron.* fol. 148 b, ed. 1574. The author last quoted also tells us that in an appeal of robbery 'parcell del money, emble prise sur le felon freshment ove hue et crie est un sufficient prisel *oue le mainour*, comment que de money, un denier ne peut estre conus dauter.' And he adds: 'Et nul marueil si *mainour* est sufficient chose de luy ouster de battail. Car in auncient temps le felon purroit auxi este arraine sur ceo auxi auant come il serroit sur enditement.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. 179 b. The phrase used by Elyot occurs in Robinson's translation of Sir T. More's *Utopia*: 'If they woulde committe robbery they haue nothinge aboute them mete for that purpose. They may touch no weapons, money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner *taken with the maner*, but furthwith they shoulde be punished.'—Fo. 23 b, ed. 1556. It is also employed by Tyndale: 'As he were a fool, which would trust him to tell his money in his absence, that hath picked his purse before his face; even so, sith ye have corrupt the open scripture before our eyes, and are *taken with the maner*, that ye cannot deny, we were mad to believe that which hath lien fifteen hundred years, as ye say, in your rotten maws, should now be wholesome for us.'—*Expositions*, p. 142, ed. 1849 Par. Soc. And several times by Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Costard says: 'The matter is to me, sir, as concerning Jaquenetta. The manner of it is, I was *taken with the manner*.' And in *The Winter's Tale* Clown says: 'Your worship had like to have given us one (*i.e.* a lie) if you had not *taken yourself with the manner*.' And in *Hen. IV. Part. I.* Prince Henry says to Bardolph: 'O villain, thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert *taken with the manner*, and ever since thou hast blushed extempore.'

The confusion of *manour* with *manner* has probably been in no slight degree increased by Minsheu, who seduced by the same love of false etymology already noticed in the cases of 'cockney' and 'denizen,' says: 'it seemeth to come of the French *manière*, the manner.'

Meigre, *meagre, thin, emaciated.*—II. 142. The French *maigre*, which Cotgrave translates 'meagar, leane, scraggie, fleshlesse; thin, slender, gant, lanke, hungry, barren, poore.' It is used in the description of Avarice in *Le Roman de la Rose*:

'Lede estoit et sale et foulée
Cele ymage, et *megre* et chetive,
Et aussi vert cum une cive.
Tant par estoit descolorée,
Qu'el sembloit estre enlangorée;
Chose sembloit morte de faim,
Qui ne vesquist fors que de pain
Petri à lessu forte et aigre;
Et avec ce qu'ele iere *maigre*,
Iert-ele povrement vestue.'

Tom. i. p. 11, ed. 1814.

This Chaucer translates:

'Ful foule in peyntyng was that vice;
Ful sade and caytif was she eek,
And also grene as ony leek.
So yvil hewed was hir colour,
Hir semede to have lyved in langour.
She was lyk thyng for hungre deed,
That ladde hir lyf oonly by breed
Kneden with eisel strong and egre.
And therto she was lene and *megre*,
And she was clad ful porely.'

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 7.

And in the same poem Sorrow is thus painted:

'Si n'i féist riens avarice
Ne de paleur, ne de mégrece;
Car li soucis et la destrece,
Et la pesance et les ennuis
Qu'el soffroit de jors et de nuis,
L'avoient moult fete jaunir,
Et *megre* et pale devenir.'

Ubi supra, p. 14.

Or as Chaucer has it:

'Nought half so pale was Avarice,
Nor no thyng lyk of lenesse;
For sorowe, thought, and gret distresse,
That she hadde suffred day and nyght,
Made hir ful yolare, and no thyng bright,
Ful fade, pale and *megre* also.'

Ubi supra, p. 10.

In *Mother Hubbera's Tale* the mule says to the fox:

'For well I weene, thou canst not but envie
My wealth, compar'd to thine owne miserie
That art so leane and *meagre* waxen late,
That scarse thy legs uphold thy feeble gate.'

Spenser, *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 19.

Knolles adopts the French form of spelling. Speaking of the siege of Damiata, he says: 'These three thousand that were left, were so *maigre* and poore, that pitie it was to behold them.' —*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 93, ed. 1603.

Metely, *moderately, tolerably.*—II. 304. This word, which represents the Latin 'mediocriter,' is apparently connected with met or mete = measure. Palsgrave has 'Metely, *moyennement, assez, par rayson, passablement*, as *moyennement bien, assez bien, bien par rayson, passablement bien.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 839. And Cotgrave renders *mediocrement*, 'meanely, moderately, indifferently, competently, reasonably, measurably, *meetly* well.' Froissart, speaking of the English in Hainault in 1327, says: 'Et leur amenoit-on devant leurs hôtels le foin, l'avoine et la litière, dont ils étoient bien servis et à bon marché.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 23, ed. P. L. Which Lord Berners translates: 'There was dayly brought before their lodgyngis hey, ootes, and litter, wherof they were well served for their horses, and at a *metly* price.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 18, ed. 1812. So again the former, in his account of the siege of Tournay in 1340, says: 'Ce siège fait et arrêté devant la cité de Tournay, si comme vous avez ouï, dura longuement; et étoit l'ost de ceux de dehors bien pourvu et avitaillé de tous vivres et à bon marché.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 111. Which is rendered in the English version, 'The sige enduring, they without wer well prouyded of vytels, and at a *metely* price.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 75. Sir Thos. More, in his answer to Tyndall, says: 'Tyndall maye make himself sure that sith there falleth not a sparow upon the ground without our father that is in heauen: there shall no woman fall aland in any so far an Ilande where he wyll haue hys name preached and hys sacramentes ministred, but that God can and will well ynough prouide a

man or twayn to come to lande with her, whereof we haue hadde alreadye *meetelye* good experience, and that within fewe yeres.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 428, ed. 1557. The same writer, in his *Third booke of coumfort against Tribulacion*, telling a story to exemplify Wolsey's love of flattery, says: 'Whan it came to my parte (I will not saye it Uncle for no boaste), mee thoughte by oure Ladye for my parte, I quytte myselfe *metelye* wel.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 1221.

Meue, *to move, excite.*—I. 16, 71, 112, 117, 129, 148, 161, 169, 221, 231, 233, 237, 238, 241, 268; II. 16, 49, 50, 55, 59, 60, 77, 81, 86, 100, 107, 139, 143, 179, 201, 239, 302, 307, 312, 318, 320, 334, 369, 391. In his *Dictionary* Elyot translates Cieo, 'to *meue* a thyng or to cal.' In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Mevyn or steryn. *Moveo.*' And 'Mevynge or sterynge. *Motus, mocio, commocio.*'—P. 336. Palsgrave has, 'I *meve* or styrre a man to do a thyng by my counsayle, *Je exhorte*, prim. conj. And *je commouue*, prim. conj. And *je suade*, prim. conj. What *meved* you to *meve* hym hereunto: *que vous esmeut de l'exhorter*, or *de le commouuer a cela*, or *de luy suader cela?*'—*L'Escl.* p. 636. In *Le Rom. de la Rose* the description given of Love is:

> 'Cest le gieu qui n'est pas estable,
> Estat trop fers et trop muable.'
>
> Tom. ii. p. 14.

Which Chaucer renders:

> 'Also pley that selde is stable,
> And stedefast right *mevable*.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 144.

And in *The House of Fame* the same form occurs again:

> 'Now have I tolde, yf ye have in mynde,
> How speche or soun of pure kynde
> Enclyned ys upward to *meve*;
> This mayst thou fele wel I preve.'
>
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 234.

Sir John Maundevile says: 'And forsothe there is a gret marveyle: for men may see there the erthe of the tombe apertly many tymes steren and *meven*, as there weren quykke thinges undre.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 27, ed. 1727. The Earl of Wiltshire, in a letter to the king from Angoulême, dated 18 May, 1530, says: 'I told hym I thowght it a very straunge delyng, and prayid hym nevir to *meve* yt, nor by myn advyse the Kyng nor my Lady shuld nevyr spek of it, for I knew verely Your Grace wold thynk very straunge if any suche thyng shulde be *mevyd*; and told hym, yf they wold nedes *meve* any such thyng, they shuld *meve* yt by whom they wold, for I wold in no wyse be the *mever* of any such thyng, wherof I was suer shuld comme no good, but harm.'—*State Pap.* vol. vii. p. 236.

Missprision, *contempt, misbehaviour.*—I. 41. This well-known law term is simply the English form of the French *mesprison*, which Cotgrave translates '*misprision*, error, offence; a thing done or taken amisse.' Palsgrave has, 'Mysbehavour — *mesprison s*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 245. The word, in the sense of *délit*, occurs frequently in the early French poems; thus in the *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie* we have:

> 'Eisi cum vos m'oez retraire,
> Conte, baron e aversaire
> Des mesfaiz, del offension
> E de la laide *mesprision*
> Chargié, portant la peneance,
> Tut maintenant senz demorance
> Jurent la paiz, livrent ostages,
> E retornent en lor homages.'
>
> Tom. i. p. 245, ed. 1836.

Again we find it frequently in *Le Rom. de la Rose*, with the same meaning:

> 'Car il par amors, sans haine,
> A sa belle fille Virgine
> Tantost a la teste copée,
> Et puis au juge présentée
> Devant tous en plain consistoire;
> Et li juges, selonc l'estoire,
> Le commanda tantost à prendre
> Por li mener ocir ou pendre.
> Mès ne l'occit ne ne pendi,
> Car li pueples le deffendi,
> Qui fu tous de pitié méus,
> Si tost cum li fais fu séus;
> Puis fu por ceste *mesprison*
> Apius mis en la prison,
> Et là s'occist hastivement
> Ains le jor de son jugement.'
>
> Tom. ii. p. 77, ed. 1814

Chaucer generally gives 'trespass' as

the English equivalent of this word; thus he translates:

'Vilonnie ne *mesprison.*'
Tom. i. p. 77.

'Fro *trespasse* and fro vilanye.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 62.

Again:

'Mès ge sui en moult grant souci
Que vous nel' faciés mie ainsi;
Ains crient que mal gré me savés
Au mains por ce que vous avés
Esté por moi mis en prison;
Si n'est-ce pas por *mesprison*
Que j'aie encore vers vous faite,
C'onques par moi ne fu retraite
Chose qui à celer féist.'
Tom. i. p. 163.

Is rendered as follows:

'But yit I am in gret affray,
Lest thou do not as I say;
I drede thou canst me gret maugre,
That thou enprisoned art for me;
But that not for my *trespas*,
For thurgh me never discovred was
Yit thyng that oughte be secree.'
Ubi supra, p. 134.

But in another place Chaucer renders the same word 'treason':

'Là trovast par grant *mesprison*
Mainte tele comparaison.'
Tom. ii. p. 370.

'There myght he se, by gret *tresoun*,
Fulle many fals comparisoun.'
Ubi supra, p. 216.

One of the earliest statutes in which the word is found is 14 Ed. III. cap. 6, but in this case it is applied only to such venial offences, committed by the official transcribers of records, as would now be called 'clerical errors.' But by 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22, it is enacted that the offence of doing anything to the peril of the King, &c., 'by any words without wrytyng or any exterior dede or acte,' shall be deemed 'for *mesprision* of treason.' Sir Thomas More says: 'For by perceiuyng that in some thynges were nothyng the perill that they feared, some may waxe therein more negligent, and by lesse fearing the lesse daunger, may soone steppe into the more. And therefore haue I wist ere this the iudges of a great wisedome in greate open audience, where they haue hadde occasion to speake of hyghe *missepriesion* or of treason, forbeare yet the saying of some such thynges as they would not haue letted to speake among themselfe.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 964. The legal definition of misprision generally given in law dictionaries, and taken from Staundford's *Plees del Coron*, depends on a statute passed subsequently to the reign of Hen. VIII.

Mo, *more.*—I. 8, 35, 243, 305; II. 8, 51, 192, 298. This form of the comparative was very commonly used by early writers. Thus Maundevile says, 'There were wont to ben 5 Soudans: but now there is no *mo* but he of Egypt.'—*Voiage &c.* p. 42. Chaucer, in *The Prologue* to the *Cant. Tales*, says—

'There was also a reeve and a millere,
A sompnour, and a pardoner also,
A maunciple and myself, ther was no *mo*.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 17.

And in the *Prologe of the Wyf of Bath*—

'He knew of hem *mo* legendes and lyves,
Than ben of goode wyves in the Bible.'
Ibid. p. 227.

It is, however, used even by such a late writer as Hooker, who says 'That the latter churches, and the fewer, should conform themselves unto the elder and the *moe*.'—*Eccles. Pol.* p. 108, ed. 1723.

Mockage, *mockery.*—II. 252 and note. This obsolete and very uncommon word is used by Sir Thomas Chaloner, who translates the following sentence of Erasmus, 'Verum hæc omnia videor vobis propemodum joco dicere,' 'But all this perchaunce ye wene I speake halfe in *mocage*.'—*The Praise of Folie*, signat. M. iii. ed. 1549. And still later by Harrison in his *Description of England*, 'But such, alas, is our nature that not our own but other mens do most of all delite us; and for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles for halfe penie cock horsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, two pennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape iust *mockage* and reproch in other countries.'—P. 325, ed. 1587.

Mote, subst. *a moot, an argumentative pleading.*'—I. 148. This word is said by Spelman to be derived from the Saxon gemote = conventus, an assembly, and he explains it by, *inter alia*, the Latin word placitum, pleading. The same word is found in a compound form, as for instance Burgmote, and Swainmote, the courts of the Borough and of the Forest, *i.e.* the places appointed for cases to be tried and argued before the burgesses and the verderors respectively. But the word as used by Elyot applies more particularly to the arguing of fictitious cases, which from very early times was required of barristers and students, in order to qualify them for the due discharge of the duties of their profession. Minute directions are given in the orders of the various Inns of Court, published by Dugdale, for the performance of these exercises. In the Middle Temple in his time there were '*Mootes* every Tuesday and Thursday night, brought in by two Utter Baristers, wherein the Benchers proceed as followeth: Immediately after supper the Benchers assemble themselves in the bay-window, at the upper end of the Hall; where, standing in order according to their antiquity, there repairs unto them two gentlemen under the Bar, whose turn it is to recite the Pleadings. Who after a low obeysance, demand whether it be their pleasure to hear a *Moot* and depart with an affirmative answer. Then the Benchers appoint two amongst themselves to argue the Case, besides one of the Readers elect, who stands not in their assembly and is to be allwayes one . . . . All parties being ready, the two Benchers appointed to argue, together with the Reader elect, take their places at the Bench table, the auncient Bencher sitting in the midst, the second on his right hand, and the Reader elect on his left. Then the *Moot men* also take their place, sitting on a form close to the Cupboard, and opposite to the Benchers. On the one side of them sits one of the Students that recites the Pleading, and the other on the other side. The Pleadings are first recited by the Students; then the Case put and argued by the Baristers, and lastly by the Reader elect and Benchers, in manner aforesaid; who all three argue in English, but the Pleadings are recited and case argued by the Utter Baristers in Law French. The *Moot* being ended, all parties return to the Cup-board, where the *Moot men* present the Benchers with a cup of beer and a slice of bread; and so the exercise for that night is ended.'—*Orig. Jurid.* p. 209, ed. 1680. Bacon says, 'We see orators have their declamations, lawyers have their *moots*, logicians have their sophems.'—*Works*, vol. x. p. 120, ed. 1868. The expression 'a moot-point' is, of course, derived from this legal exercise.

Mote, verb, *to argue*, or *discuss a legal case.*—I. 149. Blount, in his *Law Dictionary*, derives this from the Saxon verb 'motian,' to treat or handle. Dugdale prints from a MS. *temp.* Hen. VIII. a description of the Middle Temple, in which it appears that 'in Grand Vacations every day at night except Sonday, Saturday, or some feste of 9 Lessons, before three of the Elders or Benchers at the leste, is pleadyd and declared in homely Law-Frenche by such as are young lerners, some doubtful matter or question in the Law; which afterwards an Utter Barister doth reherse, and doth argue and reason to it in the Law-Frenche, and after him another Utter Barister doth reason in the contrary part, in Law-Frenche also; and then do the three Benchers declare their myndes in English; and this is that they call *motyng;* and the same manner is observed in the Terme time.'—*Orig.* p. 194.

Mought, *might.*—I. 16, 19, 44, 46, 53, 60, 67, 78, 106, 130, 136, 138, 144, 153, 159, 166, 171, 174, 179, 187, 190, 193, 198, 200, 204, 209, 211, 228, 232, 239, 283, 306; II. 3, 11, 16, 47, 50, 55, 59, 60, 66, 67, 70, 75, 78, 88, 90, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 108, 127, 131, 132, 135, 137, 138, 140, 142, 148, 150, 151, 155, 157, 163, 169, 171, 191, 198, 201, 205, 221, 224, 226, 230, 234, 235, 241, 244, 252, 254, 266, 271,

282, 291, 294, 304, 305, 307, 309, 314, 316, 321, 326, 329, 330, 342, 344, 345, 347, 368, 370, 378, 385, 388, 395, 403, 416, 423, 433, 434, 441. The preterite tense of the verb 'to mowe,' is constantly used by early writers, and is formed in the same way as 'ought' from 'owe.' The following passage from Gower exhibits the various tenses of this verb in juxtaposition :—

'For whan I am there, as she is,
Though she my tales *mought* alowe
Ayene her will, yet mote I bowe
To seche if that I might haue grace:
But that thinge maie I not embrace,
For ought that I can speake or do.'
Conf. Aman. fo. xv. ed. 1554.

This form is used very frequently by Wolsey in his correspondence, of which the following instances will suffice as examples. In a letter to the king from France in 1521, he says, 'Your Grace perceyving suche imminent daungers as *mought* ensue to your subgiettes, if they shulde repaire to Bourdeaux for this furste vintage, willed and required me to shewe myn opinion what was mooste expedient to be doon therin.' And in another letter, also to the king, he says, 'assuring your Highnes that I have omitted noo thing after the poore capacite of myn intendement, that *mought* in any wise tende to the advauncement of your honour, or furtheraunce of thestablishing of this treux betwixte these grete Princes; making the lenger myn abode here to perfite the said treux, rather for keping Your Grace out of the werres, till ye *mought* be sufficiently furnished for the same, than for any other intent, cause, or occasion.' —*State Pap.* vol. i. pp. 62, 85. Spenser, in *The Shepheards Calender*, has the same form :—

'And ever my flocke was my chiefe care,
Winter or sommer they *mought* well fare.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 19, ed. 1866.

Mountenaunce, *amount, space.*—II. 141. The French *montance.* Palsgrave has, 'Space, place, or tyme—*espace s*, f. ; *amplitude s*, f. ; *montance s*, f.' 'The *montenance* of a hande brede, the *montenance* of an ynche, *la grandeur et la largeur dune paulme, la grandeur dung poulce.* The *montenance* of a myle, of halfe a myle, *lespace dune myle*, or *dune demye myle.*'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 273, and 852. Maundevile uses the original form, 'And thanne after comethe the 4 Hoost, that is moche more than ony of the othere, and that gothe behynden him, the *mountance* of a bowe draught.'—*Voiage &c.* p. 289. And so does Chaucer in *The Knightes Tale:*—

'Of al the remenant of al myn other care
Ne sette I nought the *mountaunce* of a tare,
So that I couthe do ought to youre pleasaunce.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 49, ed. 1866.

But in *The Testament of Loue* he uses the same forme as Elyot: 'Also man is made of all the fower Elements. All uniuersitie is rekened in him alone ; he hath under God principalitie aboue al things. Now is his soule here, now a thousand mile hence, now farre, now nighe, now highe, now lowe, as farre in a moment as in *mountenaunce* of ten Winter, and al this is in man's gouernance and disposicion.'—*Works*, fo. 279 b. ed. 1602. And so does Udall in his translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase on Luke ii., 'They geat them therfore backe agayne euen the same waye that they had come, to the *mountenaunce*, in manier, of one whole dayes iourney.'—Tom. i. fo. ccxxxvi b. ed. 1551; the original being 'Proinde remensi sunt viam ad iter fermè diei unius.' —*Par. in Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 306. So also Sir Thomas More says, 'And then what a madnesse is it for the poore pleasure of your worldly goods of so few yeares, to caste youre selfe both bodye and soule into the euerlastynge fyre of hell, whereof there is not mynyshed the *mountenaunce* of a momente, by the lyenge there the space of an hundred thousand yeares.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 1231, ed. 1557.—It is used also several times by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, thus :—

'This said, they both a furlongs *mountenaunce*
Retired their steeds, to ronne in even race.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 35.

Again :—

'So forth they both yfere make their progresse,
And march not past the *mountenaunce* of a shott,
Till they arriv'd whereas their purpose they did plott.' *Ibid.* p. 80.

The original French word, which is now obsolete, occurs in *Le Roman de la Rose*, as in the following passage :—

'Tant par estoit de grant viellune,
Qu'el n'alast mie la *montance*
De quatre toises sans potance.'
Tom. i. p. 17, ed. 1814.

And again :—

'Et li cort sus, au col la mace,
Qui tant est grosse et tant li poise,
Que merveilleusement li poise
Dont sa dame en vie demore
La *montance* d'une sole hore.'
Ibid. tom. ii. p. 222.

Mumpsimus, a cant word in the sixteenth century for *obstinacy*.—II. 289 and note.

Mynchen, *a woman professed in religion, a nun.*—II. 314. This is the Anglo-Saxon word Minicene = *religieuse*. The word occurs in the Chartulary of Wilton Abbey, probably compiled at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century :—

'There was a *Mynchun* with inne that Abbay tho,
The wheche was come off heyghe lynage.'
Chron. Vilodunense, p. 110, ed. G. H. Black. 1827.

The word still survives in the names Minchin Burrow and Minchin Buckland in Somersetshire, and Minchin Hampton in Gloucestershire, and Mincing Lane preserves the memory of certain ancient 'tenements there sometime pertaining to the *Minchuns* or nuns of St. Helens in Bishopsgate Street.'—Stow, *Survey of Lond.* lib. ii. p. 41, ed. 1720.

N.

Ne, *neither, nor.*—I. 5, 31, 68, 97, 157, 178, 245, 268, 292, 305; II. 4, 16, 92, 98, 111, 113, 122, 123, 137, 140, 161, 162, 172, 180, 181, 184, 271, 275, 335, 345, 349, 399, 409. This Anglo-Saxon particle is very commonly used by the early writers. Thus Chaucer, in *The Knightes Tale*, says :

'And ye schullen bothe anon unto me swere,
That never ye schullen my corowne dere,
Ne make werre on me night *ne* day,
But be my freendes in alle that ye may.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 56.

Again, in *The Prologue of the Myller* :

'The Myller that for drunken was al pale,
So that unnethe upon his hors he sat,
He wold avale nowther hood *ne* hat,
Ne abyde no man for his curtesye.'
Ubi supra, p. 96.

The word continued to be used long after Elyot's time, for Spenser employs it very frequently. Thus in *The Shepheard's Calender* :

'Selfe have I worne out thrise threttie yeares,
Some in much ioy, many in many teares,
Yet never complained of cold nor heate,
Of Sommer's flame, nor of Winter's threat,
Ne ever was to Fortune foeman.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 19.

Again, in *The Faerie Queene* :

'So soone as Mammon there arrivd, the dore
To him did open and affoorded way;
Him followed eke Sir Guyon evermore;
Ne darknesse him, *ne* daunger might dismay.'
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 141.

Ne the lesse, Nethelas, *nevertheless*.—I. 48; II. 350.

Norisery, *nursery*.—I. 29. In his *Dictionary* the author has 'Gynæcium, a *nourcerye*.' While in the *Promptorium* we find '*Norysrye*, where yonge chyldur arn kept (norshery, where yong childyr ben, arn putte, norcery). *Bephotrophium*' (qu. *Brephotrophium*?).'—P. 358. This word is only the Anglicised form of the French word *nourricerie*, which was doubtless in use prior to the sixteenth century, and Littré is therefore probably mistaken in attributing its invention to Molière.

Nourise, Norise, *a nurse*.—I. 29, 31, 35, 66. This is simply the French word *nourrice*. Palsgave has '*Nouryce* that fedeth a childe—*nourice s*, f.' And 'I forlye, as a *nouryce* dothe her chylde whan she kylleth it in the nyght. *Je tue en couchant dessus.*'—*L'Escl.* pp. 248, 556. Chaucer employs a very

similar form, *ex gr.*, in *The Prologe of the Wyf of Bathe* :

'And but thou do my *norice* honoure,
And to my chamberer withinne my boure,
And to my fadres folk, and myn allies.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 215, ed. 1866.

Again, in *The Persones Tale*, he says: 'Flaterers ben the develes *norices*, that norisshen his children with mylk of losingerie.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 316. And so does Gower:

'Of me no maner charge it is
What sorowe I suffre, but of thee
Me thinketh it is great pitee,
For if I sterue thou must deie,
So mote I nedes by that weie
For motherheed, and for tendernes,
With all my hole besynes,
Ordeine me for thilke office,
As she whiche shall be thy *norice*.'
Conf. Amant. fo. xxxiii b, ed. 1554.

Spenser, in *The Ruines of Time*, uses the same form as Elyot:

'Cambden, the *nourice* of antiquitie,
And lanterne unto late succeeding age.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 296.

And Gascoigne, in *The Steele Glasse*, calls gold—

'The verie cause of wars,
The nest of strife and *nourice* of debate.'
Works, p. 297, ed. 1587.

Holland, in the following century, translated 'Sed adulatione vitiorum altrice depulsâ, excellentissimam virtutum omnium adverte justitiam.'—*Amm. Mar.* lib. xx. cap. 8, § 11; as follows: 'But putting aside flatterie, the very *nourice* of vices, set your mind upon iustice, the most excellent vertue of all others.'—P. 156, ed. 1609. And still later, in a comedy called *The Ordinary*, produced in 1651, we find the earlier form used in the following dialogue, in juxtaposition to the modern word:

'*Meanwell.* This is no tender
And wanton thing; she is a stay'd
And settled widow, one who'll be a nurse
Unto you in your latter days.
Moth. A *norice*
Some dele ystept in age! So mote I gone,
This goeth aright; how highteth she, say you?'
Dodsley's *Coll. of Old Plays*, vol. x. p. 235, ed. 1780.

Noyfull, *hurtful, injurious.*—I. 254. This obsolete adjective is formed from a substantive, Noy, which was once in use, representing the Latin Noxa. There was also an old French word, *noy*, which, however, M. Roquefort explains to mean *débat, contestation*, and the primitive form of the modern *nuire* = nocere, was *noire*. The word used in the text was not at all uncommon in the sixteenth century. Thus Sir Thos. More says, 'Wherfore it foloweth that Tindall sayeth false, in that he sayeth that the knoweledge of them was so necessarye for the soule health, that withoute that knowledge, the use of them must nedes be *noyfull*, and not lawfull unto them.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 481, ed. 1557. In a little book with the title *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe*, compiled by John Harrison, but generally supposed to have been written by Bale, Bishop of Ossory, who was made a Prebendary of Canterbury in 1560, and died in 1563, the writer says: 'And as touchynge your mattens and euensonge, they are also fylthye drynkes of the same whores cuppe of Babylon, verye execrable and *noyfull* to them that schall receyue them in faythe without understandynge, as a fulfyllynge of ther dutye to God.'—Fo. 88, ed. 1543. In the play of 'Kynge Johan,' the authorship of which is also, but with much greater certainty, attributed to Bale, the words occur in the following passage:

'Thus do ye recken; but I feare ye come of Clerus,
A very *noyfull* worme, as Aristotle sheweth us,
By whome are destroyed the honycombes of bees;
For poore wydowes ye robbe, as ded the Pharysees.'
P. 86, ed. 1838, Camden Soc.

We find it used also in another work, of which Bale was undisputably the author, *The Image of both Churches*: 'For no poyson is to the soule so pestilent nor yet venim so *noyfull* as is false doctrine.'—Part ii. chap. 15, sig. O.v.b., Printed by Thomas East. Another bishop, Jewel, in his *Exposition upon Thessalonians*, says: 'What if a thief

or a pirate take usury of a pirate or a thief, and both be partakers of the gain, and be both of them holpen? Let no man mislike the comparison. For, as I said before, a pirate or a thief is not so *noifull* as an usurer.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 856, ed. 1847, Par. Soc.

Numbles, *part of the inside of a stag.* —II. 253 and note. This is the French word *nombles*, which M. Roquefort explains to mean 'la partie qui s'élève entre les cuisses du cerf.' Palsgrave, however, has '*Noumbles* of a dere or beest—*entrailles*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 248. The best explanation of the term is given by M. Pichon in a note to his edition of *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a treatise on domestic economy, said to have been written in the fourteenth century: 'Des anciens veneurs, l'auteur anonyme du *Roi Modus*, qui a été copié en cet endroit par Phébus, est le plus explicite, Les *nombles* sont, suivant lui, "une char et une gresse avec les rognons, qui est par dedens endroit les longes, près des deux cuisses." Cette définition, de même que les expressions de l'auteur du *Ménagier*, concordent avec la position et la nature du morceau dit aujourd'hui *onglet*, peut-être par corruption de *nomblet*, dans la boucherie de Paris.'—Tom. ii. p. 131, note, ed. 1846. Turbervile, in his instructions for breaking up a hart, says: 'You shall take the Harts heart and slyt it in sunder, taking out a bone which is therein, and rayse the *Noombles* from his fillets and betweene his handes . . . And you shall take from the *Noombles* three knots or nuts, which are betweene them and the sides, and are called *cynq* and *quatre*. Those pertayne to the chiefe huntesman; the *Noombles*, handes, and tenderlings (which are the soft toppes of his hornes when they are in bloud), doe pertayne to the Prince or chiefe personage.'—*Booke of Hunting*, p. 129, ed. 1575. These directions were obviously borrowed from the French work already referred to, as the reader will see on comparing them with the corresponding passage: 'Apres faut ouurir le cœur, et en oster l'os, et leuer les *nombles*, qui se prennent entre les cuisses, puis doit leuer les cuisses: . . . et en faut oster du bout de deuers les costez trois neuds, qu'on appelle les cinq et quatre, qui appartiennent au grand Veneur. Les *nombles*, cuisses, et cymier appartiennent au Roy.'—Du Fouilloux, *La Vénerie*, fo. 54 b, ed. 1844. Turbervile, however, shows that the English practice was somewhat different from the French, for he says in another place: 'We use not to take the heart from the *nombles*, but account it a principall part thereof. And about the winding up of the *noombles*, there is also some arte to be shewed; but by all likelyhoode they use it not in Fraunce as we do.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 135. Elyot shows us in his *Dictionary* what he himself understood by the term, for he translates Præcordia 'the skynne whiche dyuideth the ouer part of the body from the nether: it is also taken from the place under the rybbes sometyme at the *numbles*, as the hart, the splene, the lunges, and lyuer.' In the *Book of St. Albans*, a still older authority, we are told:

'Now of the *nomblys* merke well the termes.
The man to his mayster spekyth full blythe
Of the *nombles* of the harte that he wolde hym kyth,
How many endes there shall be theym wythinne.
Quod the mayster but one thycke nor thynne,
And that is but the Gargylyon to speke of all by dene,
And all thise other Crokes and Roundelles bene.
Yet wolde I wyte and thou woldest me lere
The crokes and the roundelles of the *nombles* of the dere.
One croke of the *nombles* lyeth euermore
Under the throte bolle of the beest before.
That callyd is Auauncers who so can theym ken,
And the hyndermest parte of the *nombles* then,
That is to saye the Forchers, that lyen euen betwene
The two thyes of the beste that other crokys euene
In the mydref that callyd is the roundell also,
For the sydes rounde abowte coruen it is fro.'

Sign. d. iv. b, ed. 1810.

They were evidently considered a dainty dish, for in an early ballad we read:

'They washed togyder and wyped bothe,
And set tyll theyr dynere;
Brede and wyne they had ynough,
And *nombles* of the dere.'
Ritson's *Robin Hood*, vol i. p. 8, ed. 1832.

But if, as is supposed, the expression 'to eat humble pie' be really a corruption of the original phrase 'to eat *numble* pie,' we must assume that taste as well as language were in course of time perverted, contemporaneously perhaps with the disappearance of both vert and venery, which furnished Robin Hood and his merry men with such savory repast.

Nygardshyppe, *niggardliness, stinginess.*—II. 344, 345, 346, 421 and note.

O.

Obfuscate, *obscured, darkened.*—II. 73, 365. This obsolete word is merely the English form of the Latin Obfuscatus, the participle of the verb Obfusco or Offusco, which latter, however, has no classical authority, and seems only to have been used by Tertullian in the following passages: 'Quale judicium est, ut ob ea quis *offuscetur*, per quæ promeretur?'—*Lib. de Spect.* cap. 22. And 'Omnis situs, habitus elementorum, effectus, motus, status, ortus, occasus singulorum, judicia sunt Creatoris; ne putes eum exinde judicem definiendum, quo malum cœpit, atque ita justitiam de causâ mali *offusces*.'—*Adversus Marcion.* lib. ii. cap. 12. Elyot, in his *Dictionary*, renders Offusco 'to make blacke or darke.' Hall puts this word into the Earl of Warwick's mouth in a speech supposed to have been delivered A.D. 1467: 'The fame of all our estimacion, whiche all kynges and princes haue conceiued in us, partly obteined by the vertue and prowesse of our noble auncestors, and partly acheued by oure awne peines and forward actes, shall now bee *obfuscate*, utterly extinguished, and nothyng set by.'— *Chron.* fo. cxcix. ed. 1548. We find the same expression used in a letter from Aylmer, Chief Justice of Ireland, and Sir John Allen, the Master of the Rolls, to Cromwell in 1535: 'But as for the jornay sowthwarde, for the brekeng of Obreenes Bridge, and executeng of other exploites there, we dowbt les the same shall not take effecte this yere, both for that the somer is so farre past, and theis causes foloing; the debilitie of the Deputie (and he will not honor to be so moche *obfuscate*, that any other shuld execute soche an enterprise); the continuall raynes and wetnes which hath chaunced this somer that carriage can not well passe.'—*State Pap.* vol. ii. p. 267; where it is evidently used as we say, 'to throw into the shade.' The word continued to be used in the next century, for Burton says: 'Many a Gentlewoman that is guilty to her selfe of her imperfections, paintings, impostures, will not willingly be seene in the day time . . . She hates the day like a dormouse, and aboue al things loues torches and candle light, and if she must come abroad in the day, she couets, as in a Mercers shop, a very *obfuscate* and obscure sight.'—*Anat. of Mel.* p. 381, ed. 1624. And in a book bearing the title of *Il Passaggiere* or *The Passenger*, printed in Italian and English in double columns, we find it used as the equivalent of the Italian *offusca*: 'The daughter's beautie is the mother's glory; light becomes more *obfuscate* and darke in my hands, and in yours it doth atchieue the greater blaze.'—P. 403, ed. 1612.

Obsessed, lit. *beset, besieged*, but here *possessed with an evil spirit.*—II. 26, 57. In order to appreciate the meaning of this now obsolete word, we must refer to the very special sense which was attached by monastic writers to the Latin 'obsessus,' viz. as = the Greek ἐνεργούμενος, *i.e.* à dæmone vexatus. Thus the venerable Bede, in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, narrating the miraculous cure of a boy who was possessed by a devil, says: 'Contigit namque puerum quendam in territorio Lindisfarnensium, atrocissimo dæmone vexari, ita ut, sensu rationis funditus amisso clamaret, ejularet, et vel sua membra. vel quicquid attingere posset, morsibus dilaniare niteretur. Missus est ad energumenum presbyter

de monasterio; qui cum solitus fuisset per exorcismi gratiam immundos fugare spiritus, huic tamen *obsesso* prodesse nil prorsus valebat.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 340, ed. 1843. Pope Victor III., in his Dialogues, tells a story of a boy working in a field, to whom the devil was said to have appeared in the form of a monstrous bird: 'Cum autem domum regressus paululum remoratus esset, qui ei apparuerat dæmon in eum ingressus cœpit horribiliter fatigare. Uterque turbatus parens affuit, lugens et perstrepens familiola cuncta circumstetit. Sed cum nullum ei auxilium impendere posse se cernerent, salubri reperto consilio, hoc ad monasterium ad limina eum B. Benedicti perducunt, atque ad ejus venerandum sepulchrum in dexterâ parte altaris misericordiam Domini lacrymabiliter postulantes, prosternunt, ibique *obsessus* vehementer fatigatus obdormivit.'—Migne, *Patrol. Curs.* tom. 149, col. 996. The French have also the verb *obseder* and substantive *obsession* in the same sense, and the following definition of the latter is given in the *Encyclopédie* of MM. Diderot and D'Alembert: 'On distingue l'*obsession* de la *possession* du démon, en ce que dans la *possession*, l'esprit malin est entré dans le corps de l'homme, et ne le quitte point, soit qu'il le tourmente et l'agite toujours, soit qu'il lui nuise seulement par intervalles. L'*obsession*, au contraire, est lorsque le démon, sans entrer dans le corps d'une personne, la tourmente et l'*obsède* au-dehors, à-peu-près comme un importun qui suit et fatigue un homme de qui il a résolu de tirer quelque chose.' The outward and visible signs of *obsession*, according to the same authority, are the ability to be raised in the air and then fall forcibly to the ground without injury, to speak a foreign language without learning it, to know and predict events before they happen, and generally to do things beyond the ordinary powers of man. Burton says: 'Agrippa and Lauater are perswaded that this humour (melancholy) invites the Diuell to it, wheresoeuer it is in extremity, and of all other, melancholy persons are most subiect to diabolicall temptations, and illusions, and most apt to entertaine them, and the Divell best able to worke upon them. But whether by *obsession*, or possession, or otherwise, I will not determine, 'tis a difficult question.'—*Anat. of Mel.* p. 46, ed. 1624. The distinction is well illustrated by Le Sage in the following passage: 'Je n'avois pas meilleure opinion de cette seconde équipée que de l'autre; mais le diable, qui nous *obsède* toujours, ou plutôt nous possède dans de pareilles conjonctures, me représenta que je serois un grand sot d'en demeurer en si beau chemin.' *Gil Blas*, p. 148, ed. Pan. Litt. In his *Dictionary* Elyot translates the Latin Arreptitius, 'he that is *obsessed* with an ylle spyrite.'

Odible, *hateful.*—II. 282 and note. This word, derived from the Latin Odibilis, is not at all uncommon with the writers of this period. Thus Fabyan, speaking of Menpricius, one of the early kings of Britain, says: 'From one vice he grewe into an other, so that he became *odible* to God and manne.'—*Chron.* p. 13, ed. 1559. And Stow tells us that in A.D. 586: 'Careticus began to rule the Britaines. This man loued ciuill war, and was *odible* both to God and to his subiectes.'—*Annales*, p. 56, ed. 1615. We find it used in the Statutes of the Realm; thus 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13, an act making various offences high treason, declares in the preamble that 'it is moste necessarie, bothe for comune police and duety of subjectes, above all thynges to prohibite, provyde, restreyne, and extinct all maner of shamefull sclaunders, perils, or ymmynente daunger or daungers which myght growe, happen, or aryse to their Soverayn Lorde the Kynge, the Quene, or their heyres, whiche when they be harde, sene, or understande, can not be but *odible* and also abhoryd of all those sortes that be trewe and lovynge subjectes.' Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in his *Image of both Churches*, says: 'These (*i.e.* monks, friars, &c.) doth Esay in similitude compare unto wild beasts, dragons, ostriches, dancing apes, owlets, mermaids, and other *odible* monsters.'—

Works, p. 518, ed. 1849, Par. Soc. Foxe, in his *Defence of Lord Cobham against Alanus Copus*, says: 'But heere will be sayd again perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuantes of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggreuate, and to geue a shew of a thing, which they would to seeme more *odible* to the people, is not so precisely to bee scande or exquisitely to be stand upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of trouth.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. i. p. 573, ed. 1583.

Operatrice, *a performer, worker.*—II. 358 and note. Probably from the Latin, through the French feminine *opératrice* of *opérateur*. As an English word it seems to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Opinion, of virtue, &c., *a character, or reputation for.*—II. 163, 284, 416 and note.

Ordinately, *in order, regularly.*—I. 24, 72. This adverb is probably formed by analogy to the Latin 'ordinatim.' Huloet, in his *Abcedarium*, gives '*Ordinatlye*, dispositè, ex disposito, ordinatim.' It is used by Sir John Maundevile, who, describing the pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Thomas in the city of Calamye, says: 'And before the chare gon first in processioun alle the maydenes of the Contree, 2 and 2 to gidere, fulle *ordynatly*.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 212, ed. 1727. Again, after describing the dress of the courtiers of the great Chan of Tartary, he tells us: 'Whan thei ben thus apparaylled, thei gon 2 and 2 togedre, fulle *ordynatly* before the Emperour, with outen speche of ony woord, saf only enclynynge to him.'—*Ibid.* p. 280. Among the ordinances for the government of Prince Edward, son of Ed. IV., made 27 Sept. 1474, we find the following: 'Item, we wyll that the hall be *ordynately* served, and strangers served and cherished according to their haveures.'—*Royal Household*, p. *29, ed. 1790. Chaucer employs this word several times; thus in *The Persones Tale* he says, 'This praier moste be trewely sayd, and in verray faith, and that men praye to God *ordinatly*, discretly, and devoutly.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 364, ed. 1866. And again in *The Remedie of Loue*—

'This werke who so shall see or rede,
Of any incongruitie doe mee not impeche,
Ordinately behoueth me first to procede
In deduction thereof, in manner as the leche
His pacients siknesse oweth first for to seche,
The which known, medicin he should applie,
And shortly as he can, then shape a remedie.'
Works, fo. 306 b, ed. 1602.

Orels, *or else.*—I. 3, 11, 42, 54. These particles were not infrequently combined in one word by early writers. Thus Gower says:—

'Some parte thei shopen in to bestes,
Some parte thei shopen in to foules,
To beres, tygres, apes, oules,
Orels by some other wey.'
Conf. Am. fo. cxxxv. ed. 1554.

Palsgrave, in the introduction to his grammar, says, 'But for so moche as diverse consonantes in theyr soundyng followe these generall rules in every condicion, (that is to say, eyther haue suche sounde as they have in the latine tong, *orels* be remissely sounded or left unsounded, accordyng as these sayd rules do declare) and that dyverse other have a sounde moche different from the latine tong . . . I shall reherse al the consonantes used in the frenche tong after the ordre of a, b, c.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 25.

Ornate, adj. *adorned, embellished.*—I. 26, 116. Formed from the participle 'ornatus,' of the verb 'ornare.' The Author in his *Dictionary* translates Superbus 'proude, sometyme magnifyke or noble, also hyghe, *ornate*, or garnysshed, ryche, wycked.' It is used by Chaucer in *The Court of Loue*:

'And ye that ben Metriciens me excuse,
I you beseech, for Venus sake aboue,
For what I meane in this, ye need not muse:
And if so be my lady it refuse
For lacke of *ornate* speech, I would be wo
That I presume to her to writen so.'
Works, fo. 327, ed. 1602.

Ostent, *to display, exhibit.*—II. 183. This verb, formed from the Latin 'ostento,' which the author in his *Dictionary* renders 'to shewe often, also to

booste,' does not appear to be used by any other English writer.

Ouche, *a jewel, a brooch.*—II. 447 and note. Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, describing Mercy, says:—

> 'And on her head she wore a tyre of gold,
> Adornd with gemmes and *owches* wondrous fayre,
> Whose passing price uneath was to be told.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 22, ed. 1866.

P.

Pale, *a stake*, used as an instrument of torture by the Turks.—II. 247. The Latin word 'palus' in this sense is quite classical. Thus Cicero, in his Oration against Verres, says, 'In Triocalino . . . Leonidæ cujusdam Siculi familia in suspicionem vocata est conjurationis . . . Statim (ut par fuit) jussu ejus homines, qui nominati erant, comprehensi sunt, adductique Lilybæum . . . causâ dictâ damnati sunt . . . Damnatis quidem servis, quæ prædandi potest esse ratio? produci ad supplicium necesse est . . . Itaque producuntur, et ad *palum* alligantur . . . Nomine sceleris conjurationisque damnati, ad supplicium traditi, ad *palum* alligati, repente, multis millibus hominum inspectantibus, soluti sunt, et Leonidæ illi domino redditi.'—Act. ii. lib. v. cap. 5. As a horrible method of torture the stake or *pale* seems to have found favour with the Turks from very early times, and, as we know, has retained its place amongst other infamous institutions of the country down to the present time. It is alluded to by Pope Pius II. in his speech to the French Ambassadors at Mantua in 1459. And we have seen reproduced in our own day the same detestable cruelties thus practised by the Turks in Europe. He says, 'Tædet referre quanta patiuntur infelices Christiani, qui proximi sunt rugienti et sævissimo leoni. In servitutem pueri rapiuntur, matronæ ac puellæ libidinem fœdissimæ genti explere coguntur, virorum alii cruces, alii *palos subeunt*, quidam exemplo Isaiæ secti per medium animas tradunt, quibusdam etiam vivis, in morem Bartholomæi, cutis adimitur: nullum tormenti genus nostri non ferunt: non ætati, non sexui parcitur, sanguis omnium qui pereunt ex nostris manibus requiretur. Jam Rasciani ætate nostrâ desciverunt à fide, jam Bosnenses defecerunt. Bulgaria et Græcia tota Turcorum est, nisi Peloponnesi portio quædam. Albani exhausti sunt, Hungari fessi, Valachi exterriti, nisi opem ferimus, aut fugere aut sese dedere, et cum perfido Machometo Christum blasphemare cogentur. Et nos interim miseri inter nos contendi mus? Absint hæ lites, facessant jurgia, resurgat pax, si non perpetua, saltem temporalis, donec Turcorum pestis ab Europâ dejiciatur.'—D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. iii. p. 820, ed. 1723. The fact that this particular species of cruelty was actually inflicted by the Turks is frequently mentioned by Knolles; thus, speaking of Scanderbeg's defeat in 1464, he says, 'The poore Christian captiues were afterwards for most part sold: of the rest, some were *aliue thrust upon sharpe stakes*, some hanged upon yron hookes, some otherwise cruelly at the victors pleasure tortured to death.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 371, ed. 1603. And when the Venetians, under Barbaricus and Nicholaus Ragius, made an attempt upon Patras, 'At the first encounter Barbaricus himselfe was slaine: Ragius, captaine of the horsemen, was taken, and aliue *empailed upon a sharpe stake*.'—*Ibid.* p. 393. Again, when in 1508 Bajazet sent Alis Bassa against Techellis, a fanatic, who had made an insurrection in Asia Minor, we are told that the latter, 'to terrifie the great Bassa, or at leastwise with a most horrible spectacle to stay his pursute, caused Caragoses, the viceroy, whom hee had carried along with him in chaines, to be cruelly *empaled* by the high way side *upon a great sharpe stake set fast in the ground*.'—*Ibid.* p. 474. So completely indeed was this word associated with the practice of the Turks that Cotgrave translates the French *pal*, 'A pale, stake, or pole; also a putting to death by a stake thrust long wayes through the bodie, *much used among the Turkes*.'

Parsonage, Personage, *the person, body.*—I. 97, 172, 195, 238; II. 134, 161, 293, 399 and note.

Pauion, *the name of a dance.*—I. 230. This dance, more usually spelt *pavane*, was, as already observed in the note, so called from the Latin 'pavo,' notwithstanding that M. Littré, who suggests that such a derivation would give *pavone* rather than *pavane*, considers the origin uncertain. But as the dance was undoubtedly introduced into France from some other country, either Spain or Italy, in which the peacock is called *pavon* and *pavone* respectively, it requires no very violent assumption to suppose that the name by which the dance was popularly known, was adopted and Gallicised without any attention being paid, in the process of adoption, to the strict rules of etymology. That one such dance was known as *la pavane d'Espagne* is beyond doubt, for Thoinot Arbeau, whose authority on this point is unimpeachable, tells us that 'depuis peu de temps ils en ont apporté une qu'ils appellent *la pauane d'Espagne*, laquelle se dance decoupee auec diuersité de gestes, et par ce qu'elle a quelque conformité auec la dance des Canaries.'—*Orchesographie*, fo. 33. And this is confirmed by Voltaire, who says, 'Les Français, qui ont aujourd'hui porté la danse à la perfection, n'avaient, dans la jeunesse de Louis XIV. que des danses *espagnoles*, comme la sarabande, la courante, la *pavane*, &c.'—*Œuvres*, tom. iv. p. 187, note, ed. Pan. Lit. On the other hand Puttenham, in the passage already quoted, speaks of 'the *Italian* Pauan.' Whatever may have been the country of its birth there can be no doubt that the Pavane was domiciled in France before it was known in England, and Arbeau, writing towards the end of the sixteenth century, tells us that in his day 'La dicte *pauane* (apparently a different dance from *la pauane d'Espagne*) n'a pas esté abolie et mise hors d'usage du tout, et croy qu'elle ne le sera iamais, vray est qu'elle n'est pas si frequentee que par le passé.'—*Ubi supra*, fo. 28 b. With regard to the origin of the name, even if we reject M. Compan's explanation that the positions occupied by the dancers suggested a comparison with the circle of a peacock's tail when fully extended, yet from the picturesque description of the dance handed down to us by Arbeau (see Vol. I. p. 241, note), we can form some idea of the magnificent spectacle presented to the eyes of the spectators, and it requires no great effort of the imagination to see in the long trains and flowing robes, and the stately movements of the wearers, a resemblance to a group of peacocks, strutting on a lawn, and exhibiting with conscious pride all the splendour of their natural plumes. This at any rate seems to be the view taken by the authors of the *Dictionary of the Spanish Academy*, where we find Pavana defined as 'Especie de danza Española, que se executa con mucha gravedád, seriedád y mesúra, y en que los movimientos son mui pausados: por lo que se le dió este nombre con alusion à los movimientos y ostentacion del Pavo real.' Shakespeare in *Twelfth-Night* makes Sir Toby Belch exclaim, 'Then he's a rogue and a passy-measures *pavin:* I hate a drunken rogue.' There are other readings of this passage, which is by no means free from obscurity, but in order to render it intelligible, we must adopt the rule 'res pro personâ,' and take *pavin* for a musician, or player of *pavanes*. And in this explanation we derive some assistance from the authority before referred to, who tells us, 'Les ioueurs d'instruments la (*i.e.* pauane) sonnent aulcunesfois moins pesamment, et d'une mesure plus legiere, et par ce moyen elle se ressente de la mediocrité d'une bassedance, et lappellent *passe meze.*'—Arbeau, *Orchesog.* fo. 33. The 'pavane' is mentioned by Ascham, who says in *Toxophilus*, 'Now whether these ballads and rounds, these galiards, *pavanes*, and dances, so nicely fingered, so sweetly tuned, be liker the music of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned judge.'—P. 26, ed. 1864. Sir Philip Sidney represents

one of his characters in *Arcadia* 'turning up his mustachoes, and marching as he would begin a *pauen.*'—P. 329, ed. 1605.

Paynym, *a pagan, a heathen.*—I. 207; II. 203. This word represents the early French *paienime = paiennie*, which again is derived from the Latin *paganus*, because, as M. Littré says: 'le paganisme persista plus longtemps parmi les gens de la campagne.' In the History of S. Louis, by Joinville, we read: 'Scecedins que je vous ai devant nommé le chievetain des Turs, se estoit le plus prisié de toute la *paennime*.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 221. And in the History of the Crusades by William of Tyre, who lived in the twelfth century, we find the same form adopted: 'Por cele proesce que le roi Richard fist iluec et aillors au chastel de Darun, qu'il prist sus les Sarrasins, fu-il mult douté par toute *paienime*, et avenoit aucune fois, si com l'en dist, que quant les enfans as Sarrazins ploroient, il disoient tes-toi por le roi d'Engleterre.' —Martene, *Coll. Vet. Script.* tom. v. col. 637, ed. 1729. Again, 'En ce point avint que le soudan d'Egypte, qui fu fils Salahadin, aloit un joi chacier, si chai de son cheval, et se bruisa le col. Quant son oncle, qui point de terre n'avoit, vit son neveu mort, il saisi la terre, et la garni, et manda par tout *paienime* querre chevaliers et serjans, et il lor donroit bon sous.'—*Ibid.* col. 645. Sir John Maundevile says: 'Job was a *Payneem* . . . and alle though he were a *Payneem*, natheles he served wel God, aftre his lawe, and oure Lord toke his service to his plesance.' And also, 'Of that generacioun of Cham ben comen the *Paynemes*, and dyverse folk that ben in yles of the see be alle Ynde.'—*Voiage, &c.* pp. 183, 267, ed. 1727. In the *Promptorium* we find: 'Paynyn (paynim). *Paganus, pagana, gentilis,*' and 'Paynyn or hethyn. *Ethnicus.*'—P. 378. Palsgrave has 'Panym an infydele—*payen s*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 250. Elyot has used the same form as Chaucer, who says, in *The Persones Tale*: 'Here may men lerne to be pacient; for certes, nought oonly cristen men ben pacient for the love of Jhesu Crist, and for guerdoun of the blisful life that is perdurable, but the olde *paynymes*, that never were cristen, comaundedin and useden the vertu of pacience.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 322, ed. 1866. Sir Thomas More, in his answer to Tyndale, employs this form pleonastically: 'Of which two wordes *baptisma* and *ecclesia*, neyther nother hadde in the greke tong before any holy significacion at all, nor signifyed there anye other thing then the tone a weshyng, the tother a congregacyon or assemble of heathen *paynim* people.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 428, ed. 1557. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in his *Praise of Folie*, says: 'But now haue ye any *painem* or heretike that will not geue place and yelde straight to so many fine arguments of our maister doctors?'—Signat M. iii. ed. 1549. Erasmus having written: 'Nunc quis *ethnicus*, quis hæreticus non continuo cedat tot tenuissimis subtilitatibus?'—*Mor. Encom.* p. 222, ed. 1540. The word is a favourite one with Spenser, and it continued in use even down to the time of Hooker, who frequently employs it. 'Thus far,' he says, 'even the *painims* have approached; thus far have they seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing that the fiery throne of God is attended on by those most industrious angels, careful how all things are performed amongst men.'—*Works*, p. 7, ed. 1723.

Peramours, *in wanton love.*—II. 347 and note. From the old French expression *aimer par amours*, which was constantly used by the early poets and romance writers. Thus in the Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy, composed in the twelfth century we find—

> 'Et vous, seigneurs, qui *par amors* amez,
> Faites ensi, se joïr en volez.'
>
> P. 57, ed. F. Michel, 1830.

Again in the thirteenth century, in *Le Rom. de la Rose*—

> 'Si sunt aucun de tel maniere,
> Qui cest Amor n'ont mie chiere.
> Toutevois fins Amant se faignent,
> Mès *par amors* amer ne daignent.'
>
> Tom. ii. p. 18, ed. 1814.

This is translated by Chaucer as follows—

'And somme have also this manere,
To feynen hem for love seke;
Sich love I preise not at a leke.
For *paramours* they do but feyne;
To love truly they disdeyne.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 147.

In the fifteenth century we have the same phrase: 'Il y avoit un simple et rude paysan, marié à une plaisante et gente femme, laquelle laissoit le boire et le manger pour aimer *par amour*.'—*Les Cent Nouv.* p. 157, ed. Pan. Litt.

Perler, *a parlour.*—I. 78. The French *parloir*, which Cotgrave translates: 'A parlour; also the roome out of which nunnes doe speake through an iron grate unto the lay people that come unto them.' We find the original mentioned in the thirteenth century in a book containing the regulations of the trades and industries of Paris: 'Nus mesureur ne puet mesurer nule manière de grain à nule mesure qui ne soit seigniée au seing le Roi; et se il le fesoit, il seroit en la merci au prevost de Paris; et se il a mesure et ele n'est pas seigniée, il la doit porter au *parloir* aus bourgois, et illeuc doit estre justée et seignié.'—*Livre des Métiers*, p. 22, ed. 1837. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Parlowre. *Locutorium*.'—P. 384. Chaucer uses the word in the same sense as Elyot in *Troylus and Cryseyde*—

'When he was com unto his neces place,
"Where is my lady," to hire folk quod he,
And thei him tolde, and he forth in gan pace
And fond two other ladys sete and she,
Withinne a paved *parlour*, and thay thre
Herden a maydyn reden hem the geeste
Of the segee of Thebes, whil hem leste.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 156, ed. 1866.

This word is represented by the Latin *parlura* in formal documents of the fifteenth century; thus in a memorandum as to the custody of the great seal in 1473, we are told that the chancellor, Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, surrendered it to the Master of the Rolls in the presence of witnesses: 'Apud Chesewyk, infra hospitium suum, in quâdam *parlurâ* juxta Thamesiam.' And that within a few days afterwards it was delivered by the Master of the Rolls to Henry, Earl of Essex: 'Apud Londoniam, infra hospitium suum, in quâdam *parlurâ* adjacente gardino.' Rymer, *Fœd.* tom. xi. p. 782. The parlour was not merely, as its name imports, a room for conversation, but was used for meals; thus in a scarce tract called 'A manifest detection of the use of Dice Play,' published about the same time as *The Governour*, we have a picture of a London citizen's house: 'Soon after we came home to his house, the table was fair spread with diaper cloths, the cupboard garnished with much goodly plate . . . The good man, in the mean season, had been in the kitchen; and suddenly returning and breaking our talk, somewhat sharply blamed his wife that the dinner was no further forward; and whiles she withdrew her from us, by like to put all things in a good readiness, Come on, quoth he, you shall go see my house the while; it is not like your large country houses; rooms, ye wot, in London be strait, but yet the furniture of them be costly enough . . . and consequently, bringing me through divers well trimmed chambers, the worst of them apparelled with verdures, some with rich cloth of Arras, all with beds, chairs, and cushions of silk and gold of sundry colours, suitably wrought. . . . So down we came again into the *parlour*, and found three divers gentlemen, all strangers to me; and what should I say more but to dinner we went.'—Pp. 9, 10, Percy Soc. vol. xxix. 1851. The parlour, according to Mr. Wright, 'appears in the sixteenth century to have been a room the particular use of which was in a state of transition. Though in London it was already used as the dining-room, in the country it appears to have been considered as a sort of amalgamation of a store-room and a bedroom.'—*Dom. Manners in Eng.* p. 475, ed. 1862. In *Much Ado about Nothing* one of the scenes is laid in a garden, and Hero says—

'Good Margaret, run thee to the *parlour;*
There shalt thou find my cousin Beatrice
Proposing with the prince and Claudio.'

In *The Faerie Queene* it evidently corresponds to the modern drawing-room—

'Thence backe againe fair Alma led them right,
And soone into a goodly *parlour* brought,
That was with royal arras richly dight,
In which was nothing pourtrahed nor wrought,
Nor wrought nor pourtrahed, but easie to be thought.
And in the midst thereof, upon the floure,
A lovely bevy of faire ladies sate,
Courted of many a jolly paramoure,
The which them did in modest wise amate.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 175.

Perse, *to pierce, to penetrate.*—I. 30; II. 92. The French *percer*. Palsgrave has: 'I *perce*, I enter in to a thyng or passe thorowe it. *Je perce*, prim. conj. And in this sence I fynde also *je penetre*, prim. conj. I holde the a groote thou shalte nat *perce* thorowe it at one stroke: *je gaige ung gros que tu ne le perceras pas a ung coup.* I *perce* a thynge thorowe bothe the sydes. *Je transperce*, prim. conj. And *je trancys oultre*, sec. conj. He *persed* hym thorowe bothe the sydes with an arowe: *il luy transperça les deux coustez dune fleche.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 656. This form is used by Chaucer in *The Court of Love*:

'Now am I caught, and unware sodenly,
With *persant* stremes of your yen so clere.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 29.

Again, in *The Rom. of the Rose*:

'Hir persone he shalle a-fore hym sette,
Hir laughing eyen, *persaunt* and clere,
Hir shappe, hir fourme, hir goodly chere.'
Ibid. vol. vi. p. 86.

Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart's description of the battle of Crecy, says: 'Whan the genowayes felte the arowes *persynge* through heedes, armes, and brestes, many of them cast downe their crosbowes and dyde cutte their strynges, and retourned discomfited.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 157, ed. 1812. The same form continued to be used by Spenser:

'The knight was much enmoved with his speach,
That as a swords poynt through his hart did *perse*,
And in his conscience made a secrete breach,
Well knowing trew all that he did reherse.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 13, ed. 1866.

Again:

'All were his earthly eien both blunt and bad,
And through great age had lost their kindly sight,
Yet wondrous quick and *persaunt* was his spright,
As eagles eie that can behold he sunne.'
Ibid. p. 26.

Peruse, *to inspect, examine.*—II. 406 and note.

Petites, *persons of small account.*—II. 396 and note.

Pikethanke, *a flatterer, a sycophant.*—II. 87 and note. Huloet, in his *Abcedarium*, gives 'Pyckethanke, Sycophanta, et Sycophantia is the offence or qualitye of a pycke thancke. Et Sycophantor Sycophantisso is to playe the pycke thancke.' Shakespeare uses the word in *Hen. IV. Part I.*, when the Prince says:

'Yet such extenuation let me beg,
As, in reproof of many tales devis'd—
Which oft the ear of greatness needs must hear—
By smiling *pick-thanks* and base newsmongers,
I may, for some things true, wherein my youth
Hath faulty wander'd and irregular,
Find pardon on my true submission.'

It was sometimes used as an adjective. Thus Knolles, in his *Hist. of the Turks*, says: 'Whereunto were joyned also the hard speeches of her *pickthanke* fauourits, who to currie Fauell, spared not to put oyle as it were unto the fire, for the stirring up of the emperour unto reuenge.'—P. 108, ed. 1603. Fairfax uses the substantive in his poem *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, first published in 1600:

With pleasing tales his lord's vaine eares he fed,
A flatterer, a *pickthanke*, and a lier.
Curst be estate got with so many a crime,
Yet this is oft the staire by which men clime.
Vol. i. p. 43, ed. 1817.

Bale seems to use the word in a special sense in his *Image of both Churches*, which from the internal evidence appears to have been written in 1545: 'Seldom escaped any from the terrible hands of the prelates and priests in that wretched time, that sincerely favoured

the truth. Everywhere had they their spies, their Judases, their false accusers, their summoners, their bailiffs, and their *pick-thanks* with other officers, to bring them in.'—*Select Works*, p. 574, ed. 1849. Par. Soc.

Pirries, *gales, or gusts of wind.*—I. 178. The origin of this word is lost in obscurity. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Pyry, or storme. *Nimbus*.'—P. 401. Whilst Palsgrave has, 'Pyrry a storme of wynde—*orage s*, m. ; *bouffee de uent s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 254. The same word is spelt 'berry' by Cotgrave, who translates *Bouffée*, 'A puffe ; a suddaine violent and short blast ; a *berry*, or gust of winde.' And *Tourbillon de vent*, 'A whirlewind, also a gust, flaw, *berry*, sudden blast, or boisterous tempest of wind.' Udall, in his translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus*, says : 'And as thei wer sailing Jesus fell aslepe. And in the meane season there sodainly arose a *pierie* of wind, and so troubled the water, that by reason of the waues coming fast ouer into the boat, the disciples wer in ieopardie.'—Tom. i. fo. cclxxxviii b, ed. 1551 ; where the original has 'Porro inter navigandum obdormiit Jesus, atque interim exorta venti *procella* sic commovit lacum, ut, undis in navim irruentibus, discipuli periclitarentur.' —*Paraph.* tom. i. p. 364, ed. 1541. Stephen Hawes, a contemporary of Elyot, in his *Pastime of Pleasure*, has another form of the same word :

> 'We wyped our chekes our sorowe to cloke,
> Outwardly faynyng us to be glad and mery,
> That the people should not perceyve the smoke
> Of our hote fyre to lyght the emyspery :
> Thoughe inwardly with a stormy *pery*,
> The fyre was blowen, yet we dyd it cover,
> Bycause abrode it should nothyng perceyver.'
>
> P. 92, ed. 1848. Percy Soc.

Hall, recording the events of the seventeenth year of Hen. VI., says : 'What should I reherse the great tempestes, the sharpe blastes, the sodain *piries*, the unmesurable wyndes, the continuall raynes, whiche fell and chaunced this yere in England.'—*Chron.* fo. cxxxvii. ed. 1548. The same author also uses this word metaphorically: 'Sodainly there rose a straunge storme and a quicke *pirie*, so mischeuous and so pernicious that nothyng more execrable or more to be abhorred, could happen in any Christian region. Whiche sedicious tempest, if wise counsail had not with al spede repressed, no doubt but Kyng Charles and the whole publique wealthe of Fraunce had been turned up, and cleane ouerthrowen.'—*Ibid.* fo. cxxxvii. b. Harrison, in his *Descript. of Britaine*, speaking of the Essex marshes and islands, says : 'Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water ; but for as much as a *perrie* of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis, one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narow seas, was woont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, and caried us forthe the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts.'—P. 45. Holinshed, in his *Historie of Scotland*, says : 'In the yeere 1480 saith he (*i.e.* Hector Boethius) it chanced as a Scotish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outragious that the maister of the ship with other the mariners woondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middest of summer. At length, when the furious *pirrie* and rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman underneath the hatches called unto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue, by God's grace, might yet be saued.'—P. 97, ed. 1585. North, in his translation of Plutarch, says : 'The captaines of the Athenians perceiuing they made not towardes the Iles, which was their direct course to returne into Asia, but that they were driuen backe by storme of winde and *pyrries* of the

'sea towardes the coaste of Attica . . . they thereupon sent away presently nine tribes, that marched thither with such speede as they came to Athens the very same day.'—P. 355, ed. 1579. Amyot, whose version North followed, having written, 'Ains estoient poulsez par l'impetuosité du uent et des *courans* de la mer au dedans de l'Attique.'—*Vies des hom. ill.* tom. i. fo. 222 b, ed. 1565. The word occurs in the next century in the collection called 'A Mirour for Magistrates':

'In surgelesse seas of quiet rest when I
Seuen yeares had sail'd, a *perrie* did arise,
The blasts whereof abrig'd my libertie,
For whilst I did with busie braine deuise
Them to destroy which did my Court despise,
The boistrous blasts of hatred blew a gale,
My cables crakt, my Barke was bong'd with bale.'

And again:

'As erst I said, my blisse was turn'd to bale,
I had good cause to weepe and wring my hands,
And shew sad cheare, with countenance full pale,
For I was brought in sorowes wofull bands,
A *pirrie* came and set my ship on sands.'

Pp. 194, 502, ed. 1610.

Popiniay, *a parrot or parroquet.*—I. 116. From the French *papegay*, which Cotgrave renders, 'a parrot or *popingay*.' Palsgrave has 'Popyniaye a byrde—*papegault* 2, m.; *paroquet* 2, m.' And 'Popyniaye colour—*uert gay* s, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 256. The original is found in the 13th century in *Le Rom. de La Rose*, as follows—

'Li rossignos lores s'efforce
De chanter et de faire noise;
Lors s'esvertue, et lors s'envoise
Li *papegaus* et la kalandre.'

Tom. i. p. 6, ed. 1814.

This is rendered by Chaucer—

'Than doth the nyghtyngale hir myght,
To make noyse and syngen blythe;
Than is blisful many sithe,
The chelaundre and the *papyngay*.'

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 3. ed. 1866.

Again we have in the same poem—

'Car il iert tout covers d'oisiaus,
De *papegaus*, de rossignaus,
De calandres et de mesanges.'

Ubi supra, p. 37.

Or in English—

'And he was alle with briddes wryen;
With *popynjay*, with nyghtyngale,
With chalaundre, and with wodewale.'

Ubi supra, p. 28.

These birds are mentioned by Sir John Maundevile, who, speaking of the great Chan, says: 'He hathe of certeyn men as thoughe thei were zomen, that kepen bryddes, as Ostrycches, Gerfaucouns, Sparehaukes, Faukons gentyls, Lanyeres, Sacres, Sacrettes, *Papyngayes* wel spekynge and briddes syngynge.'—*Voiage, &c.*, p. 287, ed. 1727. Again, 'There ben manye *Popegayes* that thei clepen Psitakes in hire langage; and thei speken of hire propre nature, and salven men that gon thorghe the Desertes, and speken to hem als appertely, as thoughe it were a man.'—*Ibid.* p. 331. Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, says: 'Young whelps learn easily to carry; young *popinjays* learn quickly to speak.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 116, ed. 1864. Richard Eden, in his translation of Peter Martyr's work, says: 'They gaue theym furthermore speakinge *popingiais* of sundry colours as many as they woolde aske. For in Paria there is no lesse plentie of *popingiais* then with us of dooues or sparous.'—*Decades of the Newe Worlde*, fo. 79, ed. 1555. Shakespeare, in *Hen. IV. Part I.* applies the term to a chatterbox:

'With many holiday and lady terms
He question'd me; among the rest, demanded
My prisoners in your majesty's behalf.
I then, all smarting with my wounds being cold,
Out of my grief and my impatience
To be so pester'd with a *popinjay*,
Answer'd neglectingly, I know not what.'

Poreblynde, *purblind, short-sighted.*—II. 206 and note.

Pose, *a cold in the head.*—II. 339 and note. In the *Promptorium* we find: 'Pose (or sneke) *Catarrus, corisa.*'—P. 410. Palsgrave has: 'Pose dysease—*caterre* s, f.' and 'Sneke pose—*rime* s, f.' Also 'Ryme, the reume of the heed—*rime* s, f.'—*L'Esclair.* pp. 257, 263, 272. Huloet, in his *Abcedarium*, gives, 'Pose, a syckenes in the heade distillynge like water, called a catarre or reaume. *Coryza, distillatio, fluctio.*

Possede, *to possess.*—II. 204. The French *possèder.* Palsgrave has, 'I possede. *Je possede,* prim. conj. It is no felycyte to *possede* great substaunce, but to use it well: *ce nest pas bieneureté que de posseder grans biens, mays de les bien user,* or *employer.*—*L'Esclair.* p. 662. This word is used by Wolsey, who seems to have had a great liking for French words, in a letter to the king from Abbeville, 29 July, 1527: 'Themperour hereby shulde easly (the Pope being absent) establishe his oun See Imperiall in the cite of Rome, adquire, *possede,* and take into his oun handes, the landes and patrymony of the Churche, without contradiccion, or any effectuell resistens.'—*State Pap.* vol. i. p. 227. It is also used by Sir Anthony St. Leger, one of the Irish Commissioners, in a report to the king, on the Irish harbours, and dated from 'Your Majesties Castell of Maynooth,' 6th April, 1543, 'I thinke fewe havens of this lande more meter for your Majestie to have in your handes; but the same woll not be had, without some warre with those that *possede* the same, whiche be but meane men, but they be under the McArties, whiche be men of the greatest power of that coste.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 447.

Pounced, *pricked, punched with holes.*—II. 18. Dr. Johnson, and we may add his editor, Mr. Todd, derived this word from the Italian *ponzonare.* Richardson, on the other hand, connects it with the Italian *punzellare* and Spanish *punzar.* Whilst Nares thought it came 'from *poncar,* Spanish, or *poncellare,* Italian.' It is curious that not one of these learned persons should have suggested the French *poinçonner,* of which it was undoubtedly a corruption. The *poinçon* was the bodkin used by tailors for making holes in cloth, and, in accordance with the fashion of the time, they pierced these holes in regular patterns as ornaments for dresses which were thus capable, as we see from the passage in the text, of great elaboration. A passage in Chaucer's *Persones Tale* makes it clear that this derivation of the word is the correct one: 'As to the first synne that is in superfluité of clotheynge, which that makid is so dere, to harm of the poeple, not oonly the cost of embrowdyng the deguyse, endentyng or barryng, owndyng, palyng or bendyng, and semblable wast of cloth in vanité; but ther is also costlewe furring in here gownes, so mochil *pounsyng* of chiseles to make holes, so moche daggyng of scheris, for with the superfluité in lengthe of the forsaide gownes traylinge in the donge and in the myre, on hors and eek on foote, as wel of man as of womman, that al thilke traylyng is verraily (as in effect) wasted, consumed, thredbare, and rotyn with donge, rather than it is yeven to the pore, to gret damage of the forsaide pore folk, and that in sondry wise; this is to sain, the more that cloth is wastid, the more most it coste to the poeple for the scarsenes; and forthermore, if it so be that thay wolde yive such *pounsed* and daggid clothing to the pore folk, it is not convenient to were to the pore folk, ne suffisaunt to beete here necessité, to kepe hem fro the desperance of the colde firmament.'—*Poet. Works,* vol. iii. p. 296. According to Mr. Tyrwhitt, the words in italics should be read *pounsoning* and *pounsoned,* which would make the resemblance to the French original still more marked. Palsgrave has 'Bodkyn instrument—*poynson s,* m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 199; whilst in the *Promptorium* we find 'Pownson (poyntyn) *Puncto.*'—P. 411. The word was also applied to a particular method of ornamenting plate, &c. Thus in an inventory of articles in the French King's Chapel made in 1420 we find mentioned: 'Le pied d'une Croix d'argent doré *poinçonné* à la devise du Roy.' Menestrier, *La Devise du Roy,* p. 75, ed. 1679. And in the Inventory of the Royal Jewels made in the 2nd year of Hen. VI. We find frequently such an item as the following: '1 Ewer d'or chacez et *pounsonez* parcell.'—Rolls of Parl. vol. iv. p. 217. M. Laborde says that this kind of ornament was very common in the 15th century, and mentions: 'Une couppe, à façon d'une cloche, *poinçonnée* à branche et à oyseaulx.'—

Gloss. Fran. du Moyen Age, p. 455, ed. 1872. Lady Bergavenny, by her will dated 10 Jan. 1434, bequeathed *inter alia*, 'My round basin of silver *pounced* with morys letters,' and Sir Harris Nicolas explains this as '*Pounsonnez*, indented or pricked with a sharp-pointed instrument, a method of ornamenting plate used by the Morescoes or Moors in Spain, in patterns or shapes of flowers, but principally for letters.'—*Testamenta Vetusta*, pp. xxxii. 228, ed. 1826. This method is still better illustrated by Hall's description of the dresses worn at some Christmas revels in 1514–15: 'The Kinge, the duke of Suffolke, and ii other in mantels of clothe of siluer and lyned with blew veluet, the syluer was *pounsed* in letters, so that veluet might be sene through.'—*Chron.* fo. lv b, ed. 1548. From the frequent mention of the term by the writer last quoted, we see how commonly this method of ornamentation was applied to dresses; thus, speaking of some jousts at Paris in 1514–15, he says: 'The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery daye newe apparelled at hys coste, one daye in siluer and golde, a nother in crymesyn veluet and yelowe veluet, and another daye in white veluet and grene, some daye myxted with satyn, some daie embrawdered, some daye *pounced* with golde, and so euery daye in chaunge as the woorkers fantasye coulde deuyse.'—*Ibid.* fo. l. Again at the Field of the Cloth of Gold: 'The courser whiche his grace roade on was trapped in a marueilous vesture of a newe deuised fashion; the trapper was of fine golde in bullion, curiously wroughte, *pounced* and sette with anticke woorke of Romayne figures.'—*Ibid.* fo. lxxvi. At the Princess Elizabeth's christening in 1533, 'the Marchiones of Dorset gaue thre gilt boulles *pounced* with a couer.'—*Ibid.* fo. ccxviii. Mr. Gough Nichols says that he had 'found the term in Latin in the volume of Durham wills, published by the Surtees Society. Alan de Newark, who had been Archdeacon of Durham, and died in 1411, makes this bequest: "Item lego Willielmo cognato meo ciphum argenti coopertum, *ponsatum* in fundo et in cooperculo."' Mr. Nichols adds: 'The receptacles for perfumed powders, the lids of which were pierced entirely through, were called *pouncet*-boxes; and thence the dust placed in similar boxes, and still used for drying the ink of writings, acquired the name of *pounce*.'—*Archæol.* vol. xxix. p. 56. The term was also applied to the ornamentation of books, for in an inventory of the effects of Queen Charlotte of Savoy, who died in 1483, we find mentioned: 'Ung livre couvert de roge *poinssonné*, parlant de la passion Nostre Seigneur.'—*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 6ᵉ série, tom. i. p. 364, ed. 1864.

Poyses, *equal weights, dumb-bells.*—I. 171. The author, in his *Dictionary*, translates Alteres, '*Poyses* of lead made to lyfte up with bothe handes, to exercyse men whyche may not otherwyse labour, wherof there be now many in England, specially in the chambres of studentes.' The word 'poyse' is simply the French *pois* Anglicised, for, according to M. Littré, the modern form *poids* is incorrect, the introduction of the letter *d* being due to the false system of etymology which prevailed in the sixteenth century. The more correct form is found in *Le Rom. de la Rose*, in the thirteenth century—

> 'Mès ne vodroie por mon *pois*
> D'argent, qu'il fust sus votre pois.'
> Tom. i. p. 129, ed. 1814.

And also in *La Chanson des Saxons*—

> 'Là seront li denier livrè par igal *pois*;
> Chascuns en aura iv, c'est li chevages drois.'
> Tom. i. p. 57, ed. F. Michel, 1839.

We find it in the next century in the poem *Flore et Blancefleur*—

> 'Quant masse d'or por li donai,
> Encore n'a il pas deus mois;
> D'or i donai sept fois son *pois*.'
> P. 92, ed. Bekker, 1844.

Again Philip de Beaumanoir, a French jurisconsult of the 13th century, tells us 'Parce que noz avons parlé des mesures des terres et des cozes qui a mesure doivent estre livrées, pot on entendre des cozes qui sont bailliés à *pois*. Mais il n'a pas tant de diferences es *pois*

comme il a es mesures, car eles ne se cangent pas en tant de liex.'—*Les Cout. du Beauvoisis*, tom. i. p. 378, ed. 1842. This original form is still preserved in *avoirdupois*, which weight is first mentioned in 27 Ed. III. stat. ii. cap. 10, where we also find *poiser* used apparently in the same sense: 'Item pur ce que nous avons entendu, que ascuns Marchantz achatent *avois de pois*, laines, et autres marchandises par un *pois* et vendent par un autre, et fount aussint deceivables retretes sur le *poiser* . . . si volons et establissons que un *pois*, une mesure, et une verge soit par toute la terre, sibien hors de lestaple come dedeinz.' In Baret's *Alvearie* we find: '*Poyze* or weight, *Le pois*, *ponderosité*. Equall *poyze* or weight, Æquilibris. A weight or *poyse* of seuen ounces, Septunx.' Also 'to *poyse* or weigh; pondero. Weights of ledde to counterpoyse a thing, Libramenta plumbi.' Hence our modern 'counterpoise.' The word 'poise' is frequently used by Shakespeare; thus, in *Measure for Measure*, Angelo says—

> 'Pleas'd you to do't at peril of your soul,
> Were equal *poise* of sin and charity.'

Again in *Hen. VI. Part. III.* the king says—

> 'Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,
> Yet neither conqueror nor conquered;
> So is the equal *poise* of this fell war.'

Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, describing the fight between the Knight and the Dragon, says of the latter—

> 'So downe he fell, as an huge rocky clift,
> Whose false foundacion waves have washt away,
> With dreadfull *poyse* is from the mayneland rift,
> And rolling downe great Neptune doth dismay;
> So downe he fell, and like an heaped mountaine lay.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 46.

In an account of a voyage to Guinea in 1554, the writer, speaking of the encounters which he alleges take place between elephants and serpents, says: 'When the elephant waxeth faint he falleth down on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the *poise* of his body breaketh him.'—Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 19, ed. 1599.

Prease, Prese, subst., *a press, crowd, throng.* — II. 103, 158, 292. From the French *presse*, which was itself spelt *priesse* in the thirteenth century. Thus Henri de Valenciennes, in his continuation of Ville-Hardouin's *Conqueste de Constantinople*, says, 'Au matin entra li emperères en Salenyque . . . Et quant il vint à l'entrée de la porte, il y ot si grant *priesse* que là où on feroit cascun de baston et de verghe sur la tieste juroient-il que tout i enterroient.'—P. 203, ed. P. Paris, 1838. Palsgrave has 'Prease of people—*presse, foulle s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 258. We find this form used by Chaucer in his *Dream:*

> 'And standing thus, as was my grace,
> A lady came more than apace,
> With huge *prease* her about,
> And told how the queene without
> Was arived and woulde come inne.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 94.

Again in the same poem:

> 'I rose and walkte, soughte pace and pace,
> * * * * * * *
> Till I came where I thoughte to sleepe
> More at mine ease, and out of *preace*,
> At my good leisure, and in peace.'
>
> *Ibid.* p. 126.

Froissart, in his account of the battle of Cressy, wrote, 'Tousiours tiroient les Anglois durement en la plus grande *presse*.' And speaking of the blind King of Bohemia's request to be led into the battle: 'Les Cheualiers respondirent qu'ils le lairroient enuis. Et adoncques (à fin qu'ils ne le perdissent en la *presse*) ils le lierent par les freins de leurs cheuaux tous ensemble.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 139, ed. 1547. Lord Berners translated these passages, 'And euer styll the englysshmen shot where as they sawe thyckest *preace* . . . They sayde they wolde do his commaundement, and to the intent that they shulde nat lese hym in the *prease*, they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 157. Lord Ormond, writing to Lord Russell on the 15th November, 1545, says, 'As I did first set fourthe from my house of Gaw-

ran . . . founde a letter there emonges a great *preese* of people.'—*State Pap.* vol. iii. p. 538. The king, in his Instructions to Sir Thomas Boleyn and Dr. Sampson, in 1522, says, 'A capitain being now in Tirwen, named Mons. de Cares, cousin germain to the said duke, sent furth amonges other a servaunt of his, willing hym to putt hymself soo ferre in *prese*, that he mought be taken amonges the companye of Mons. Beurayn.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 104. Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, adopts the same form :

'Into the thickest of that knightly *preasse*
He thrust, and smote downe all that was betweene,
Caried with fervent zeale ; ne did he ceasse,
Till that he came where he had Cambell seene
Like captive thral two other Knights atweene.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 155, ed. 1866.

And so does Fairefax in *Godfrey of Bulloigne :*

'Thus given and taken was the bold defie,
And through the *prease* (agreed so) they brake,
Their hatred made them one, and as they wend,
Each knight his foe did for despite defend.'

Vol. ii. p. 228, ed. 1817.

Prease, verb, *to press, to crowd.*—II. 48. Palsgrave has, 'I *prease* in to a place by vyolence. *Je enpresse*, prim. conj., and *je me empresse*, and *je me fourre dedens.* I marvayle you be nat ashamed to *prease* in to the kynges chaumber on this facyon : *je me merueille que vous nauez poynt de honte de vous fourrer dedans la chambre du roy en ceste facion.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 665. Chaucer, in *The Knightes Tale*, says:

'Duk Theseus was at a wyndow set,
Arayed right as he were god in trone.
The pepul *preseth* thider-ward ful sone
Him for to seen, and doon him reverence.
* * * * * * *
Whan sette was Theseus riche and hye,
Ypolita the queen and Emelye,
And other ladyes in here degrees aboute,
Unto the seetes *preseth* al the route.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

North, in his translation of Plutarch, says: 'But the two Tribunes, Fuluius and Manlius, spake against him and sayed : it was out of all reason that so younge a man should in such manner *prease* to haue the office of the highest dignitie, against the use and custome of Rome, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the commonwealth.'—P. 410, ed. 1579. The corresponding phrase, however, used by Amyot, whom North followed, is '*anticipast* ainsi presque par force l'office de supreme dignité.' — *Les Vies des hom. ill.* tom i. fo. 258 b, ed. 1565. Holland uses the same form in his translation of Marcellinus: 'Whiles the barbarous enemies *preassed* on all in plumpes and heapes.'—P. 70, ed. 1609; where the original has, 'Dum instarent barbari conglobati.' — Lib. xvi. cap. 12.

Prepence, Prepense, *to premeditate, to consider beforehand.*—I. 263 ; II. 374 and note. From the old French verb *pourpenser.* Villehardouin, a writer of the thirteenth century, says, 'Lors se *pourpensèrent* d'un mout grant engien ; car il fermèrent tout l'ost de mout bones lices, de bons mairiens et bones barres ; si en furent plus fort et plus seur.'—*Conqueste de Constant.* p. 51, ed. 1838. The word is used by Montaigne: 'A l'entrevue du pape Clement et du roy François à Marseille, il adveint, tout au rebours, que monsieur Poyet, homme toute sa vie nourry au barreau, en grande reputation, ayant charge de faire la harangue au pape, et l'ayant de longue main *pourpensee*, voire, à ce qu'on dit, apportee de Paris toute preste.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 52, ed. 1854. Again, 'La vraye cause d'un changement si nouveau, et de ce r'advisement sans aulcune impulsion apparente, et d'un repentir si miraculeux, en tel temps, en une entreprinse *pourpensee* et deliberee, et devenue iuste par l'usage . . . certes, ie ne sçais pas bien encores qu'elle elle est.'—*Ibid.* tom. iv. p. 245. M. Littré quotes the following example as being due to the same writer, 'La moins *pourpensée* mort est la plus heureuse,' but on referring to the passage cited, the Editor finds that what Montaigne really wrote was 'Pourtant feut ce, l'opinion de Cesar, que la moins *premeditee* mort

estoit la plus heureuse et plus deschargee.'—*Ibid.* tom. iv. p. 227. The passage from Holinshed in which the word occurs quoted in the note, is copied verbatim from Hall's *Chronicle*, fo. lxii, ed. 1548. Brende, in his translation of Q. Curtius, lib. x. cap. 4, says, 'Hys frendes dyd publishe abroade dronkennes to be the cause of hys dysease, but in verye deede it was *prepensed* treason.'—Fol. 215 b, ed. 1561.

Prevent, *to anticipate, outstrip, intercept.*—I. 125, 189, 280. From the Latin 'prævenire,' and like the French *prévenir*, it does not seem to have been in use before the sixteenth century. Brende, in his translation of Q. Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 8, says, 'Then exhortacion was gyuen unto them to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the sprynge of the daye they were come to the streyghtes, wherein their purpose was to *preuente* Darius.'—Fo. 24 b, ed. 1561; the original being 'oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas *occupare* decreverant.' Knolles uses the word in this its primitive sense. 'Othoman omitting no opportunitie, presently sent one of his captaines . . . to besiege the castle of Einegiol: wherein he used such celeritie, that *preuenting* the fame of that was done at Bilezuga, he suddenly inuironed the castle.'—*Hist. of Turks*, p. 141, ed. 1610. Again, 'Scanderbeg presently sent Amesa backe againe into Dibra, and other speedie messengers likewise into all the parts of Epirus, to disperse the newes . . . but flying Fame, the speedie post, had *preuented* the messengers by him sent, and alreadie filled euery corner of Epirus with report of Scanderbeg his comming.'—*Ibid.* p. 284. So North, in his translation of Plutarch, says, 'Pelopidas then immediatly made them besiege the castell of Cadmea about . . . doing al he could possible to winne it, and to expulse the Lacedæmonians before any supply and aide came to them from Sparta. So he did, and *preuented* it so sodainly, that the garrison being departed out of the castel by composition, as they returned towards Lacedæmonia, they found Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, comming towards them with a great army to help them.'—P. 315, ed. 1579. The corresponding passage in Amyot's version being 'Ce qu'il feit, et les *preuint* de si peu des temps,' &c.—*Les Vies*, tom. i. fo. 196 b, ed. 1565. Again the latter says, 'Car ilz se hasterent pour tascher à *preuenir* le renfort que Pyrrus attendoit.'—*Ibid.* fo. 275 b; which North renders, 'For they made hast to *preuent* the aide that Pyrrus looked for.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 436. Spenser uses the word in this sense in *The Faerie Queene:*

> 'With that he put his spurres unto his steed,
> With speare in rest, and toward him did fare,
> Like shaft out of a bow *preventing* speed.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 115, ed. 1866.

And so does Shakespeare in *Julius Cæsar*:

> '———I know not how,
> But I do find it cowardly and vile,
> For fear of what might fall, so to *prevent*
> The time of life.'
>
> Act v. Sc. 1.

We may compare with this last quotation Montaigne's use of the word in a similar connexion: 'La pluspart des philosophes se treuvent avoir ou *prevenu* par desseing, ou hasté et secouru leur mort.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 382. Bacon constantly employs the word in this sense; thus, in *The Advancement of Learning*, he says: 'Knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented; and so is it possible of knowledge induced. But in this same anticipated and *prevented* knowledge, no man knoweth how he came to the knowledge which he hath obtained.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 404, ed. 1857.

Propise, *suitable, fit, proper.*—I. 28, 61, 116; II. 88, 415 and note. The French *propice*, which was very commonly employed by English writers of the sixteenth century. Palsgrave has 'Fytte as a garment or other thynge—m. et f. *propice s.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 312. Froissart gives us a speech of Charles V. on his death-bed, in which he says: 'Faites

le seigneur de Cliçon connétable; car tout considéré, je n'y vois nul plus *propice* de lui.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 111, ed. Pan. Lit. This Lord Berners translates: 'I wyll ye make the lorde Clysson constable, for all thynges consydred, I se no man so *mete* as he for that offyce.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 600. Hall, speaking of the surrender of Bordeaux by the English in 1453, says: 'When this composicion was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen had their shippes and al thinges necessarie for their iorney to them deliuered, which, when wynd and whether were to them *propice* and conuenient, were shortly transported into England in the moneth of October this present yere.'—*Chron.* fo. clxvi b, ed. 1548. Grafton makes the Duke of Buckingham say, in 1484: 'I phantasied that if I list to take upon me the crowne and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the time *propice* and conuenient.'—*Chron.* p. 816, ed. 1569.

Prouecte, *advanced.*—I. 30. In his *Dictionary* the author translates Provectus, 'aged,' and Provectus ætate, 'runne farre in yeres.' Cotgrave shows us, that at any rate, in the sixteenth century the same word was in use in France, for he gives, '*Provect*, m. *-cte*, f. well grown in age, or of good yeares.' But being probably intelligible only to the few who were classical scholars, it never became popular on either side of the channel, and like many other words in this glossary, may be regarded as a literary curiosity of that period.

Puissance, Puyssaunce, *power, might, strength.*—II. 47, 352, 354. The French *puissance*, which Cotgrave translates '*Puissance*, power or powerfullnesse; force, might, strength, abilitie, possibility, wealth, sway, authority, jurisdiction; also a power, army, or great number of men.' We find the word used in the thirteenth century in *Le Rom. de la Rose*:

> 'Car certes el n'avoit *poissance*,
> Ce cuit-je, ne force, ne sens
> Ne plus c'un enfés de deus ans.'
>
> Tom. i. p. 18, ed. 1814.

And in the following century it is used by Joinville in a sense in which at a still later period it was very constantly employed by Froissart as well as by English writers, viz. for 'a host, an army.' Thus in the *Hist. de St. Louis* we read: 'Toute la *puissance* du soudan se logerent sur le fleuve de Rexi.'—Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xx. p. 220. Froissart, in his account of Flanders in 1379, says: 'Quand le commun de Ypre et cils des menus métiers sçurent la venue de cils de Gand, si s'armèrent et s'ordonnèrent tous sur le marché; et étoient bien cinq mille. Là n'avoient les riches hommes de la ville, ni les notables, nulle *puissance*.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 78, ed. Pan. Lit. Which Lord Berners renders: 'So ther the ryche men of the town had no *puyssance*.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 566. Again we have the following speech in 1382: 'Beaux seigneurs, ne vous ébahissez mie si le roi de France est venu jusques à Yppre; vous savez comment anciennement toute la *puissance* de France envoyée du beau roi Philippe vint jusques à Courtray; et de nos ancesseurs ils furent là tous morts et déconfits. Pareillement aussi sachez qu'ils seront morts et déconfits, car Philippe d'Artevelle atout grand' *puissance* ne laira mie que il ne voise combattre le roi et sa *puissance*.'—*Ubi supra*, tom. ii. pp. 243, 244. This appears in the English version: 'Ye knowe well howe auncyently all the *puyssance* that was sent by Kyng Philyppe to Courtrey, by our auncetours, they were all discomfytted and slayne: in lykewise so shall they all be slayn and disconfyted, for Philyppe Dartuell hathe a great *puyssance*.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 731. Hall, in his account of the reign of Ed. IV., uses this word pleonastically: 'Kyng Edwarde beeyng nothyng abasshed of this small chaunce, sente good woordes to the Erle of Pembroke, animatyng and byddyng hym to bee of a good courage, promisyng hym not alonely ayde in shorte tyme, but also he hymself in persone royall would folowe hym with all his *puyssance* and power.'—*Chron.* fo. cci. ed. 1548. It is used by Spenser:

'And ever as he rode his hart did earne
To prove his *puissance* in battell brave.'

Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 113, ed. 1866.

And very frequently by Shakespeare.

Puissaunt, *powerful.*—I. 103, 178, 180, 181. The French adj. *puissant.* Palsgrave has, 'Puyssante myghty—m. *puissant s*, f. *puissante s.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 321. We find it in the thirteenth century:

'Acoustumance est trop *poissans*,
Et se bien la sui congnoissans.'

Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. ii. p. 141.

And:

'Ce ne font pas, bien le recors,
Li mendians *poissans* de cors.'

Ibid. p. 184.

It is a favourite word with Froissart two centuries later. Thus he gives a letter from Philip d'Artevelle to the French Commissioners in 1382, which commences thus: 'Très chers et *puissans* seigneurs.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 224; or, in the English version of Lord Berners, 'Right dere and *puissaunt* lordes.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 712. Again, the former tells us: 'Les Flamands étoient bien si *puissans*, par outre la rivière, que du défendre et garder le pas et tenir contre tout homme qui escarmoucher et assaillir les voudroit par devant.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 233. And the latter: 'The flemynges were beyond the ryuer *puyssaunt* ynough to lette them, and to kepe the passage agaynst any that wolde scrimysshe or assaut them.'—*Ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 721.

Purpose, verb, *to propose, propound by way of discussion.*—I. 275; II. 26, 439. From the French *proposer*, to which the first meaning assigned by Cotgrave is 'to purpose.' In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Purposyn, *Propono*,' and 'Purpos, *Propositum.*' Palsgrave has: 'I purpose. *Je propose*, prim. conj. Man *purposeth* and God disposeth: *homme propose et Dieu dispose.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 670. The author, in his *Dictionary*, translates Propono, 'to purpose,' Propositum, 'a purpose,' and Propositio, 'a matter pourposed to be dysputed or reasoned.' We find this use of the French verb in the fifteenth century. Jean le Févre, a chronicler of that age, speaking of the reception of the Emperor Sigismund at Paris in 1415, says: 'Et, depuis, y ot ung docteur en théologie, nommé maistre Ghérart Machet, qui *proposa* devant luy moult prudentement, de par le roy, dont il fut très contens.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 278, ed. Morand, 1876. Chaucer uses the word in this sense:

'Ye seen, that every day ek mor and more,
Men trete of pees, and it supposed is
That men the queene Eleyne shal restore,
And Grekes us restoren that is mys;
So though ther nere comfort non but this,
That men *purposen* pees on every side,
Ye may the bettre at ese of herte abyde.'

Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 355.

So Spenser:

'Whom overtaking, she in merry sort
Them gan to bord, and *purpose* diversely,
Now faining dalliaunce and wanton sport,
Now throwing forth lewd wordes immodestly.' *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 220.

According to Littré, *proposer* appears as *perposer* in the dialect of the province of Berry.

Pye, *a magpie.*—I. 116. The French *pie*, which again is derived from the Latin 'pica.' Elyot, in his *Dictionary*, translates the latter 'a byrde called a *pye*.' Palsgrave has 'Pye a byrde—*pie, agache s*, f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 254. Chaucer, in *The Squyeres Tale*, mentiones these birds:—

'And al withoute the muwe is peynted greene,
In which were peynted alle these false fowles
As ben this tydifs, tercelettes, and owles,
And *pyes*, on hem for to crye and chyde,
Right for despyte were peynted hem by-syde.' *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p 374.

So Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, says, 'A bishop . . . said once unto me, "We have no need now of the Greek tongue, when all things be translated into Latin." But the good man understood not, that even the best translation is for mere necessity but an evil imped wing to fly withal . . . Such, the higher they fly, the sooner they falter and fail . . . Such as will needs so fly, may flie at a *pie*, and catch a daw.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 226, ed. 1864.

R.

Radycate, verb, *to root.*—I. 31. **Radicate**, part., *rooted*—II. 50. From the Latin verb 'radicor,' which was not used by the best authors, and never in an active sense. Hall uses the same form in speaking of the ill feeling between Ed. IV. and his brother, the Duke of Clarence: 'The which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then betwene bretherne, especially when it is fermely *radicate*.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxxxix b, ed. 1548. We find the same phrase in a letter from Thomas Legh, one of the visitors of monasteries, to Cromwell, touching the 'obstinacie and parrvarse mynde of the Abbot of Rievaulx,' 'whyche rebelliouse mynde,' he says 'at this tyme is soo *radicate* not only in hym butt also in money of that religion.'—Wright, *Monast. Letters*, p. 61, ed. Camden Soc. 1843. The word is now quite obsolete; but the verb 'eradicate,' which is invariably employed in an active sense, survives to remind us of the existence of a kindred form.

Rebecke, *a kind of fiddle or violin.*—I. 225 and note. Palsgrave has 'Rebecke, an instrument of musyke—*rebec z*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 261. According to M. Littré, 'On a fait usage du *rebec* pendant tout le moyen âge, et il ne fut définitivement abandonné qu'au commencement du 18e siècle.'

Reboyle, lit. *to boil up again*, hence *to murmur, cry out.*—II. 86 and note. From the Latin 'rebullire,' or perhaps the French *rebouillir*. The former is not used by any author except Apuleius, and he seems to use it in both a transitive and intransitive sense. Thus 'Cum ille, impetu teli præsecatâ gulâ, vocem, immo stridorem incertum per vulnus effunderet, et spiritum *rebulliret*,'—*Met.* lib. i. § 10, is an example of the former; and 'Concurrit unus è cellâ vinariâ, nuntians omne vinum, quod olim diffusum fuerat, in omnibus doliis ferventi calore, et prorsus ut igni copioso subdito, *rebullire*,'—*Ibid.* lib. ix. § 201, of the latter usage. Phaer uses the same word as Elyot to translate the Latin 'stridit,' in his translation of Virg. *Æn.* iv. 688–9:—

'Illa graves oculos conata attollere rursus
Deficit, infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.'

'She towardes her her heauy faynting eies
wold fayn haue cast,
But fixyd underneth her brest her wounde
reboylyth fast.'
Sig. L, iii. b. ed. 1558.

Recomforte, *to cheer up again, to refresh.*—I. 123, 238; II. 143, 291. The French *réconforter*. Palsgrave has, 'I recomforte, I comforte agayne. *Je reconforte*, prim. conj. I pray God recomforte you: *je prie a Dieu quil vous vueille reconforter*.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 681. It occurs in *Le Roman de la Rose:*

'Tant parla Amis et tant dist,
Qu'il m'a auques *réconforté*,
Et hardement et volenté
Me donna d'aler essaier
Se Dangier porroie apaier.'
Tom. i. p. 127.

Chaucer renders this 'to ease.'—

'Mi freend hath seid to me so wel,
That he me *esid* hath somdelle,
And eke allegged of my torment;
For thurgh hym had I hardement
Agayn to Daunger for to go,
To preve if I myghte meke hym soo.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 103.

But elsewhere he uses the French form itself, as in *The Knightes Tale:*

'And over al this yit seide he mochil more
To this effect, ful wysly to enhorte
The peple, that they schulde him *recomforte*.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 88.

Again in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'Judas Machabeus, which was Goddes knight, whan he schulde fighte ayeinst his adversaries, that hadde a gretter nombre and a gretter multitude of folk and strengere than was the poeple of this Machabe, yit he *reconforted* his litel poeple, and sayde ryght in this wise: As lightly, quod he, may oure lord God almighty yive victory to fewe folk, as to mony folke.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 185. It is a favourite word with Froissart. Thus, speaking of the battle of Rosebecque, he says, 'Dont les seigneurs de France furent moult réjouis, quand ils virent ce beau jour venu et ce soleil luire, et qu'ils purent voir au loin et autour d'eux, devant et derrière; et se tinrent moult à *reconfortés*, et à bonne cause.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 250. ed. Pan. Lit. His translator employs the same

word: 'The Lordes of France were greatlye reioysed whan they sawe the sonne shine so clere that they might se all about them, this greatly dyde *reconfort* them.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 738, ed. 1812. So does Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*:

'Thus long this gentle bird to him did use
Withouten dread of perill to repaire
Unto his wonne, and with her mournefull muse
Him to *recomfort* in his greatest care,
That much did ease his mourning and misfare.' *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 197.

And also in *Mother Hubberds Tale:*

'Thus when this courtly gentleman with toyle
Himselfe hath wearied, he doth recoyle
Unto his rest, and there with sweete delight
Of Musicks skill revives his toyled spright,
Or els with Loves, and Ladies gentle sports,
The joy of youth, himselfe he *recomforts.*'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 23.

Redoub, *to amend, reform.*—I. 40; II. 180 and note. The French *radouber*, which Cotgrave renders 'To piece, mend, renew, patch or botch up.' Thus in the fifteenth century Commines says, 'Ledit comte de Charolois se *radouba* et rapaisa avec son père, le mieux qu'il put.'—*Mém.* p. 5, ed. Pan. Lit. Montaigne, speaking of the halcyon's nest, says, 'Quand elle a parachevé de le construire, elle le porte au battement du flot marin, là où la mer, le battant tout doulcement, luy enseigne à *radouber* ce qui n'est pas bien lié, et à mieulx fortifier aux endroicts où elle veoid que sa structure se desmeut et se lasche par les coups de mer.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 330, ed. 1854.

Relent, verb act. and neut., *to render, or become soft.*—II. 130, 139, 318 and note. The French *ralentir.* Cotgrave renders this 'To slacken, remit, loosen, foreslow, wiredraw, linger, draw out in length, relent in.' Palsgrave has, 'I *relent*, or melte. *Je fonds.* Se howe this snowe begynneth to *relent* agaynst the sonne: *aduisez comment ceste neyge commence a se fondre contre le soleil.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 684. Littré gives the form '*relent*' subst., and '*relenti*' adj., and explains the former as 'mauvais goût que contracte une viande dans un lien humide.' The reader may compare with this the passage quoted from Bacon.

Remorde, lit. *to bite again,* hence metaphorically, *to prick so as to cause remorse.*—II. 49 and note. The French *remordre.* Palsgrave has, 'I *remorde*, I grutche. Declared in "I remorce,"' and 'I remorce, I grutche in my conscyence for a thing. *Je remors, jay remordu, remordre,* conjugate lyke his symple *je mors*, I byte. I have remorced more in my conscyence than all men knewe of: *je ay plus grant remors en ma conscience que tout homme ne scait.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 685. It was generally applied to the conscience as in the above and following instances. Thus in *Les quatre Livres des Rois*, a version attributed to the twelfth century, we have, 'Ta conscience ne te *remorderad*, ne tu n'en plurras pur cest pecchied que tu freies se de mun mari te venjasses.'—P. 100, ed. 1841. In *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a work of the fourteenth century, it occurs again with reference to the same subject, 'Après tu dois dire en toi confessant . . . Sire, aucune fois je ne me suis pas confessé quant ma conscience me *remordoit* et ramentevoit mon mal.'—Tom. i. p. 43, ed. 1846. Chaucer uses this form in *Troylus and Cryseyde,*—

'Ye shal ek seen so many a lusti knyght,
Amange the Grekes, ful of worthynesse;
And ech of hem, with herte, wit, and myght,
To plesen yow don alle his bisynesse,
That ye shal dullen of the rudenesse
Of us cely Trojans, but if routhe
Remorde yow, or vertu of youre trouthe.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 360.

Renome, *renown, reputation.*—I. 189, 256; II. 14, 30, 76, 146, 180, 291, 311, 343, 437. The French *renom* or *renommé.*—Palsgrave has, 'Renome the name of a man—*renom s*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 262. In *Le Roman de la Rose* it is said of Arthur—

'Encor est-il de tel *renom,*
Que l'en conte de li les contes
Et devant rois, et devant contes.'
Tom. i. p. 48.

This Chaucer renders—

'And yit he is of sich *renoun,*
That men of hym seye faire thynges
Byfore barouns, erles, and kynges.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 37.

Froissart uses *renommé* more often than *renom*: 'À la grâce de Dieu, nous ne trouverons jamais seigneurs qui nous

combattent ni qui s'osent mettre contre nous aux champs; et nous sera l'honneur cent fois plus grande que ce que nous eussions le confort des Anglois; car s'ils étoient en notre compagnie ils en auroient la *renommée*, et non pas nous.' —*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 245. This Lord Berners renders: 'By the grace of God we shall fynde no lorde that dare fyght agaynst us in the felde, and it shall be more honoure for us, than though we had comfort of the englisshmen, for if they were in our company they shulde haue the *renome*, and nat we.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 733. Montaigne uses both forms: 'On n'a pas veu sortir de Macedoine, ny de Perse, aulcun orateur de *renom*.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 51. 'Ils leur mandent que si le soing de se faire cognoistre aux siecles advenir, et de la *renommee*, les arreste encores au maniement des affaires . . . qu'ils ne s'en donnent plus de peine.'—*Ibid.* tom. i. p. 376. This latter form is adopted by Chaucer in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale*—

> 'For gentilnesse nys but *renomé*
> Of thin auncestres, for her heigh bounté,
> Which is a straunge thing to thy persone.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 241, ed. 1866.

Gower uses the same form as Elyot—

> 'Of Armenie I rede thus;
> There was a kynge, whiche Herupus
> Was hote; and he a lustie mayde
> To doughter had, and as men saide,
> Hir name was Rosiphele,
> Whiche tho was of great *renome*.'
> *Conf. Am.* fo. lxx. ed. 1554.

Repugn, *to be contrary to, to oppose, resist.*—I. 27, 138; II. 400 and note. From the Latin 'repugnare.' Hall, speaking of the proposal made through the French ambassadors for the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Duke of Orleans, says, 'The common people *repugned* sore against that demaund, for thei said that she was heire apparant to her father, and if he should dye, thei would haue no Frencheman to be kyng of Englande.'—Chron. fo. clv. ed. 1548. Joye, in his *Exposicion on Daniel*, uses the word in the same sense: 'I thinke there was neuer a fayerer and goodlyer realme then was Egipte constituted of Joseph, and yet did Moses lament it to be utterly destroid for *repugning* Gods message and witholding his peple in bondage ayenst his will.'—Fol. 211 b, ed. 1545. Spenser, speaking of the Brehon law, says: 'It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great show of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things *repugning* quite both to Gods law and mans.'—*Works*, vol. viii. p. 303, ed. 1805.

Respect, *time for consideration, postponement.*—II. 437 and note. From the Latin 'respectus.' According to Littré: '*Respect* et *répit* sont deux formes d'un même mot.' This word is used by the king himself in precisely the same sense in his 'Instructions to Tunstall and Wingfield' in 1525: 'If fynally by no manner introduccion they can cause the emperour to invade this yere erly ne late, as is aforesaid, but that he wol stik unto the invasion of the next yere, than they shal desire to have *respect* to advertise the Kinges Grace therof, and so shal forbeire capytulacion for the yere next, till upon suche advertisment they shal knowe the Kinges further pleasure in this behalf.'—*State Pap.* vol. vi. p. 428. Again, Dr. Benet, in a letter to the king from Rome dated 28 May, 1533, says: 'In that congregation the Cardinales did not shewe their opinions, but toke *respecte* till the next congregation.'—*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 463.

Resplendish, *to shine.*—II. 194. From the French *resplendir*. Palsgrave gives: 'I shyne, as any bright thynge shyneth. *Je resplendis*, sec. conj. But John le Mayre useth *je resplens, tu resplens, il resplend.* "*Aussi resplend la ducalle baniere.*" But all other tenses be ever used of the seconde conjugacion, and in his first booke, cap. xxii.: *Et la noble conqueste de Jason en Colcos prent son fondement dung mouton a la toison dor qui resplend maintenant au ciel, faisant lung des douze signes du zodiaque.* His victoriouse actes shyned thorowe all the worlde: *ses actes victorieux resplendissoyent par tout le monde.*'—*L'Esel.* p. 703. The word occurs in *Le Roman de la Rose*—

'Tel clarté de la pierre yssoit,
Que Richece en *resplendissoit*
Durement le vis et la face,
Et entor li toute la place.'

Tom. i. p. 45.

The parallel passage in the English version being—

'Sich lyght tho sprang oute of the stone,
That Richesse wondir brighte shone,
Bothe hir heed, and alle hir face,
And eke aboute hir al the place.'

Chaucer, *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 35.

Froissart employs this word in his account of the siege of Vennes in 1342: 'Et pour ce qu'il faisoit tard, et afin aussi que ceux de dedans en fussent plus ébahis, ils allumèrent grands feux, si que la clarté en *resplendissoit* dedans la cité de Vennes.'—*Chron.* tom i. p. 169, ed. Pan. Lit. Lord Berners renders this: 'And bycause it was darke, to thyntent to make them within the more abasshed, they made great fiers, so that the brightnesse therof gaue lyght into the cytie.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 115. Desportes the poet, almost the contemporary of Elyot, says in *Diane*—

'Ce grand flambeau du ciel, sans fin *resplendissant*,
Œil visible de Dieu, fils aîné de Nature,
Tousjours dessous un signe immobile ne dure,
Ains change et fait changer l'âge pront et glissant.'

Œuvres, p. 114, ed. 1858.

The form used by Elyot is very rare in English, but it appears in the following verses given by Fabyan in his first edition, published in 1516—

'Be ioyous the spouse of god most dere,
Which like to the sone most clerest of light,
When in the day he shyneth most clere,
The world illumynest by menes ful right,
And thorowe the vertue of thy full myght,
Causest the world to be *resplendisshaunt*
By meane of thy peas, which is full habundaunt.'

Chron. p. 33, ed. 1811.

Rode, to lie at, *to lie at a roadstead, or port, or haven.*—I. 39, 175; II. 224. This expression is evidently derived from the French phrase, *être* or *ancrer à la rade*. Thus in Rabelais we find, 'Beaulx amyz, puisque surgir ne pouons a bon port, mettons nous *à la rade*, ie ne scay ou.'—*Œuvres*, p. 237, ed. Pan. Lit. So M. Carloix, in his account of the capture of Dieppe in 1560, says: 'M. de Vieilleville, par sa furieuse et inoppinée entrée, fist fondre et dissiper cette enraigée populaste. . . . Les ungs gaignerent, par les portes ouvertes, les champs; les aultres se saulverent dedans les navires, barques, pathaches et aultres vaisseaux qui estoient *à la radde* sur le port.'—*Mém. du Maréchal de Vieilleville*, tom. iv. p. 239, ed. 1757. So Amyot, in his version of Plutarch's *Lives*, says: 'Parquoy aiant posé l'ancre *en la rade*, il enuoya un messager en la uille deuers elle.'—*Les Vies des hom. ill.* tom. ii. fo. 460 b, ed. 1565. Sir Thomas North translates this: 'There hauing cast out his ancker, and *riding at rode*, he put a messenger on the shore and sent him into the citie to his wife.'—P. 715, ed. 1579. Spenser uses the word in *The Faerie Queene*:

'Now strike your sailes, ye jolly Mariners,
For we be come unto a quiet *rode*,
Where we must land some of our passengers,
And light this weary vessell of her lode.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 57, ed. 1866.

So in *The Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare makes Antonio say:

'Sweet lady, you have given me life and living;
For here I read for certain that my ships
Are safely come to *road*.'

Harrison, in his *Descript. of Eng.*, speaking of the Royal Navy, tells us that 'The queenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ships, which *lie* for the most part *in* Gillingham *rode*.'—P. 200, ed. 1587. Knolles uses precisely the same phrase as Elyot: 'Neither was the fortune of Baiazet his naüie at sea better than that of his army at land: for as it *lay at rode* upon the coast of Syria, at the mouth of the river Orontes, which runneth by the famous citie of Antiochia, his galleyes were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their anchors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed up of the sea.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 450, ed. 1610. Bryskett, contemporary with the writer last quoted, says: 'One Elpi, a

dweller in the Ile of Samos, who traded into Afrike, comming with his ship on that coast, went a shore, where he met a lion, in whose teeth a bone of some beast stucke in such sort as he could not close his mouth, or make any shift to eate. Elpi, pittying the beaste, who seemed to craue at his hands releefe, tooke out the bone, and so deliuered him of that mischiefe. But this thankfull lion failed not euery day after, so long as his ship *lay* there *at rode*, to bring him duly his share of what prey soeuer he tooke.'—*A Discourse of Ciuill Life*, pp. 234, 235, ed. 1606.

Rosiall, *rosy, like a rose.*—II. 137.

Rouers, at, *at a venture, at an uncertain distance.*—I. 291. See the definition given by Markham in the note p. 292. Cotgrave translates *temerairement*, 'at randome, *at rovers*, at all adventures.'

Roume, *room, space.*—I. 10. Palsgrave has, 'Roume, space—*lieu x*, m. ; *espace s*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 263. While in the *Promptorium* we find, 'Rowm, space (or rymthe). *Spacium.*' P. 438. Chaucer, in the *Legende of Good Women*, says :

'For in the prison, ther as he shal descende,
Ye wote wel that the best is in a place
That nys not derke, and hath *roume* and eke space
To welde an axe, or swerde, or staffe, or knyffe.'
Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 338, ed. 1866.

Route, *a company, crowd.*—I. 123 ; II. 195 and note. The French *route*. Palsgrave has 'Route, a company,—*routte s*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 264. This word is constantly employed by Froissart ; thus, speaking of the defeat of Jacques de Bourbon in 1361, he says : 'Si fut ordonné l'archiprêtre, qui s'appeloit messire Regnault de Servolle, à gouverner la première bataille, et l'entreprit voluntiers, car il fut hardi et appert chevalier durement ; et avoit en sa *route* plus de quinze cents combattans. . . . Et là fut l'archiprêtre un bon chevalier et vaillamment se combattit, mais il fut si entrepris et si mené par force d'armes qu'il fut durement navré et blessé et retenu à prison, et plusieurs chevaliers et écuyers de sa *route*.'—*Chron.* tom. i. pp. 456, 457. Chaucer uses it in *The Rom. of the Rose* :

'But nyghtyngales a fulle grete *route*,
That flyen over his heed aboute.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 28.

Royle, *a Flemish horse.*—I. 178. Harrison is our authority for this statement, for he says : 'Of such outlandish horsses as are dailie brought ouer unto us I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish *roile*, and Scotish nag, bicause that further speech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise.'—*Descript. of England*, p. 220. It seems most probable that they were so called from their colour, roil being a corruption of *rouille*, 'rust,' the Latin rubigo, just as *roussin*, according to some, is derived from roux, rousse, red. Littré, indeed, tells us that the phrase '*un ros Arabi*, un cheval roux d'Arabie,' is often met with, but adds that there is nothing to show that the primitive application of roucin was to a red (bay ?) horse. On the other hand, Gervase Markham tells us that 'The colour of that Arabian which I haue seene, and which is euen now under mine hands, is a most delicate *bay*.'—*How to chuse, &c., Horses*, ed. 1599. We learn from this authority that 'The Flaunders and Friesland be of al the worst ; they be thicke, chubheaded, hollow eyed, long backt, flat buttockt, weake ioynted, especially in the pasterns, alwaies ready to tyre in a miles riding.' This latter characteristic is indeed confirmed by another writer —Gascoigne, who, in his *Complaint of Philomene*, says :

'God's mercy lends you brydles for desire,
Hold backe betime, for feare you catch a foyle ;
The flesh may spurre to euerlasting fire,
But sure, that horse that tyreth like a *roile*,
And lothes the griefe of his forgalded sides,
Is better much than is the harbrainde colte,
Which headlong runnes, and for no brydle bydes,
But huntes for sinne in euery hil and holte.'
A hundreth sundrie Flowers, sig. Q. iii. b.

Ryghtwyse, *righteous.*—II. 215, 224, 310, 430 and note, 431.

S.

Sad, *serious, steady.*—I. 1, 35, 203, 268: II. 141. The notion of grief is quite foreign to this use of the word. Palsgrave has, 'Sadde, discrete — m. *rassis*, f. *rassise s.* Sadde, full of gravyte, m. et f. *graue s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 323. Chaucer uses the word in this sense in *The Clerkes Tale:*

'And whan this Walter saugh hir pacience,
Hir glade cheer, and no malice at al,
And he so oft hadde doon to hir offence,
And sche ay *sad* and constant as a wal,
Continuyng ever hir innocence overal,
This sturdy marquys gan his herte dresse
To rewen upon hir wyfly stedefastnesse.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 311.

So Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart, says, 'Whiche treaty was so wysely handled by *sadde* and discrete counsayle of bothe parties, so that a peace was graunted bytwene bothe kynges, their countreis, and liege people, to endure ix yere.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 415. The original being, 'Et furent si sagement démenées les paroles par si bonnes et si vaillans gens, qui ressoignoient le dommage de l'un royaume et de l'autre que une trèves furent prises entre l'un roi et l'autre, leurs pays, leurs gens, et tous leurs adhérens, à durer neuf ans.'—*Chron.* tom. i. p. 612, ed. Pan. Lit. Hall, in his account of the marriage of the king with Ann of Cleves, says, 'In this apparell she goynge betwene the Erle of Ouersteyn and the Graunde Master Hostoden, which had the conduyte and ordre of the performaunce of her maryage with most demure countynaunce and *sad* behauiour, passed through the Kynges chaumbre, all the Lordes goyng before her, tyll they came to the galery where the Kyng was, to whom she made three low obeysaunces and curteisyes.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxl b. ed. 1548. Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, uses the word in the same sense as Elyot, 'Yet the same man (*i.e.* Plato), in the same place, Philologe, by your leave, doth admit wholesome, honest, and mannerly pastimes to be as necessary to be mingled with *sad* matters of the mind, as eating and sleeping is for the health of the body, and yet we be born for neither of both.'—P. 13, ed. 1864. So does Sir P. Sidney: 'But I say for my part, I thinke no man, for valour of mind and abilitie of body, to be preferred if equalled to Argalus; and yet so valiant as he neuer durst do any body iniurie: in behauiour some will say euer *sad*, surely sober, and somewhat giuen to musing, but neuer uncourteous; his word euer led by his thought and followed by his deed.'—*Arcadia*, p. 16, ed. 1605. So Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning*, says: 'Of this wisdom it seemeth some of the ancient Romans in the *saddest* and wisest times were professors; for Cicero reporteth that it was then in use for senators that had name and opinion for general wise men, as Coruncanius, Curius, Lælius, and many others, to walk at certain hours in the Place, and to give audience to those that would use their advice.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 447, ed. 1857.

Saulfe, Saulfly, *safe, safely.*—I. 181; II. 13, 100, 106, 107, 143, 175, 252, 291, 307. From the old form of the French *sauf*, in which the *l* of the Latin root salvus was retained. Thus in Rabelais we read, 'Les truyes en leur gesine (*saulue* lhonneur de toute la compaignie), ne sont nourries que de fleurs dorangiers.'—P. 219, ed. Pan. Lit. Chaucer has a similar form; thus in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale:*

'Wommen may now go *saufly* up and down.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 233.

Again in *The Clerkes Tale*:

'The remenant of your jewels redy be
Within your chambur dore dar I *saufly* sayn.' *Ibid.* p. 305.

Sely, *simple, timid, miserable.*—II. 5 and note, 396. This adjective of Saxon origin, is said by Mr. Todd to mean 'happy,' 'prosperous,' but the context of the various passages cited shows that this meaning cannot be attributed to it. Palsgrave has: 'Sely or fearfull—m. *paoureux*, f. *paoureuse s.* Sely, wretched—m. *meschant s*, f. *meschante s.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 323. It occurs in *The Chanounes Yemannes Tale:*

'What wiste this prest with whom that he delte?
Ne of his harm comyng he no thing felte.
O *seely* prest, O *sely* innocent,
With coueytise anoon thou schalt be blent;

O graceles, ful blynd is thy conceyt,
No thing art thou war of the deceyt,
Which that this fox i-schapen hath to the;
His wily wrenches y-wis thou mayst not fle.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 62.

It is used by Robinson in his translation of More's *Utopia*: 'For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abiecte parte of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the *seelye* and wofull beastes slaughter and murder.'—Fo. 82, ed. 1556. In the more modern form, *silly*, the word is used in the same primitive sense so late as the seventeenth century by Hooker, who says, 'Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such, therefore, as knew the poor and *silly* estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching.' *Works*, p. 68, ed. 1723.

Seelynge, *covering, closing.* — II. 182 and note. The verb 'to seele' is derived from the French *siller* or *cillier*, a term used in falconry, and applied to the act of sewing up the eyes of a hawk in order to accustom it to the hood. Palsgrave has, 'I *cele* a hauke, or a pigyon, or any other foule or byrde, whan I sowe up their eyes for caryage or otherwyse. *Je cile*, prim. conj. And this pigyon be *celed*, you shall se her mounte goodly: *si ce pigeon soyt cilé une foys, vous le verrez monter bien gentiment.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 479. Sir Philip Sidney, like Bacon, applies this expression to a dove: 'Now she brought them to see a *seeled* Doue, who, the blinder she was, the higher she straue.'—*Arcadia*, p. 55, ed. 1605. By Spenser it is used metaphorically in *The Faerie Queene:*

'O lightsome day! the lampe of highest Jove,
First made by him mens wandring wayes to guyde,
When darknesse he in deepest dongeon drove,
Henceforth thy hated face for ever hyde,
And shut up heaven's windowes shyning wyde;
For earthly sight can nought but sorrow breed,
And late repentance which shall long abyde;
Mine eyes no more on vanitie shall feed,
But *seeled* up with death shall have their deadly meed.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 196.

Semblable, Semblably, *like, similar*; *in like manner, similarly.*—I. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 27, 28, 35, 37, 38, 59, 63, 70, 72, 78, 82, 86, 91, 101, 125, 129, 132, 157, 171, 174, 183, 193, 199, 206, 211, 213, 218, 221, 229, 236, 248, 266, 267, 268, 293, 301; II. 8, 15, 22, 27, 43, 52, 54, 72, 73, 84, 86, 92, 101, 102, 111, 112, 113, 115, 121, 123, 161, 162, 169, 172, 177, 183, 184, 187, 195, 199, 205, 209, 215, 234, 235, 238, 248, 267, 276, 284, 286, 291, 305, 308, 314, 318, 332, 342, 366, 388, 405, 410, 412, 427. The French *semblable, semblablement.* Cotgrave translates the former, 'Semblable, like, alike, such, even such, resembling, according unto.' And the latter, 'Semblably, likewise, in like sort, in such fashion, after the same manner, also, even so.' It occurs in *Le Roman de la Rose*:

'Ge n'apele pas vente, don:
Vente ne doit nul guerredon,
N'i afiert graces ne merites:
L'ung de l'autre se part tous quites.
Si n'est-ce pas vente *semblable*:
Car quant cil a mis en l'estable
Son destrier, il le puet revendre,
Et chetel ou gaaing reprendre.'
Tom. ii. p. 312.

And this is translated by Chaucer:

'I wole not sellyng clepe yevyng,
For sellyng axeth no guerdonyng;
Here lith no thank, ne no merite,
That oon goth from that other al quyte.
But this sellyng is not *semblable*;
For, whanne his hors is in the stable,
He may it selle ageyn, pardé,
And wynnen on it, such happe may be.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 180.

And in the same poem:

'A son pooir voloir déust
Quiconques à fame géust,
Et soi garder en son *semblable*,
Por ce que tuit sunt corrumpable.'
Ubi supra, tom. ii. p. 22.

Which is thus rendered by Chaucer:

'For he shulde setten alle his wille
To geten a likly thyng hym tille,
And to sustene, if he myghte,
And kepe forth by kyndes righte,
His owne lykenesse and *semblable*.
For because alle is corumpable.'
Ubi supra, p. 148.

Again, in *The Marchaundes Tale*, we have:

'I wot wel that my lord can more than I;
What that he saith, I hold it ferm and stable,
I say the same, or elles thing *semblable*.'
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 326.

And in *The Tale of Melibeus*: 'Whan oure Lord hadde creat Adam, oure forme fader, he sayde in this wise: Hit is not goode to be a man aloone; make we to him an help *semblable* to him-self.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 150–1, ed. 1866. Becon, the contemporary of Elyot, says: 'Cold is that fire, yea, rather it is no fire, which containeth not in it the virtue and strength of burning. *Semblably* cold is that love, yea, rather it is no love, which containeth not in it the virtue and strength of working.'—*Early Writings*, p. 39, ed. 1843. Shakespeare uses both adjective and adverb. Thus in *Hen. IV. Part II.* Falstaff says: 'It is a wonderful thing to see the *semblable* coherence of his men's spirits and his: they, by observing of him, do bear themselves like foolish justices; he, by conversing with them, is turned into a justice-like serving-man.' And in *Hen. IV. Part I.* Hotspur exclaims:

'This, Douglas? No; I know this face full well:
A gallant knight he was, his name was Blunt;
Semblably furnished like the king himself.'

Cavendish gives us the judgment of Cardinal Campeggio, in which he says: 'I will adjourne this courte, for this time, according to the order of the courte of Rome, from whence *semblably* our jurisdiction is derived.'—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. p. 568.

Semblaunte, *appearance*.—II. 131, 152, 277 and note. The French *semblant*, which is rendered by Cotgrave, 'A shew, seeming, semblance, apparence, countenance.' And the phrase *Faire semblant*, 'To seem, or make as if.' We find the word in *Le Rom. de la Rose*:

'Ens où milieu je vi Haine,
Qui de corrous et d'ataine
Sembloit bien estre moverresse,
Et correceuse et tencerresse,
Et plaine de grant cuvertage
Estoit par *semblant* cele ymage.'
Tom. i. pp. 8–9.

Which Chaucer renders:

'Amyd saugh I a Hate stonde,
That for hir wrathe, yre, and onde,
Semede to ben an moveresse,
An angry wight, a chideresse.
And ful of gyle, and felle corage,
By *semblaunt* was that ilke ymage.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 5.

Again, in the same poem, we have:

'Fol et legier à décevoir;
Mais se ge vif, sachiés de voir,
Mar lor fist onques bel *semblant*.'
Ubi supra, p. 147.

In the English version this is rendered:

'A foole is eythe to bigyle,
But may I lyve a litel while,
He shal forthenke his fair *semblaunt*.'
Ubi supra, p. 121.

Chaucer uses it again in *The Clerkes Tale*:

No wonder is, for in hir gret estate,
Hir gost was ever in playn humilité;
Ne tender mouth, noon herte delicate,
Ne pompe, ne *semblant* of realté.'
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 307.

And it is a favourite with Spenser, as *ex. gr.*:

'Her purpose was not such as she did faine,
Ne yet her person such as it was seene;
But under simple shew, and *semblant* plaine,
Lurkt false Duessa secretly unseene,
As a chaste virgin that had wronged beene.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 65.

The French phrase mentioned by Cotgrave is used by Knolles in the seventeenth century: 'For all that, Moses, neither in word or countenance, *made* any *semblant* of liking or disliking the message.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 368, ed. 1610.

Sengles, Singles, *a figure in a dance*.—I. 246, 253. This was the French name for the third figure of the basse dance. See Vol. I. p. 246, note a. The word *sengle* was originally used as *simple* was at a later period. Cotgrave translates *Sengle*, 'Single, not double, all alone, simple, without addition, of itself'; and *Simple*, 'A simple in Phisick,

a Phisicall drug, also *a single in dancing.*' Whilst Palsgrave has 'Syngle gowne—*robe sengle s*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 270. And in *Le Rom. de la Rose* we have:

'Si font bien oel enferme et troble
De *sengle* chose sembler doble,
Et paroir où ciel doble lune,
Et deux chandeles sembler une.'
Tom. iii. p. 184.

In *Le Trésor de Vénerie*, written by Hardouin in 1394, which enumerates the various notes on the horn used in the chase, we are told:

'Mais or vous plaise à retenir
Ces vi mos aisiés à aprendre
Par lesquelz vous poves comprendre
De corner toute la science.
Du primier mot aies fience
Qu'il est un mot *sengle* apellés.'
P. 11, ed. 1856.

And again:

'Apres qui vuest chemin corner
Trois mos tous *sengles* doit sonner.'
Ibid. p. 13.

Shailes, *a kind of scarecrow.*—I. 247. There can be little doubt that this is the same word which is more usually spelt Shewell or Sewel. The latter word is mentioned in connexion with 'blenchars' in the passage quoted from Ellis *ante* p. 461, precisely in the same way as Elyot himself has both words in juxtaposition in the text. In order to understand this technical term, we must refer to our old authority on such matters, Turbervile, who explains it as follows: 'Any thyng that is hung up is called a *Sewel*. And those are used most commonly to amaze a Deare, and to make him refuse to passe wher they are hanged up.'—*The Booke of Hunting*, p. 98, ed. 1575. Again he says: 'When they (*i.e.* huntsmen) hang uppe any paper, clout, or other marke, then it is to be called *Sewelling*, or setting of *Sewels*.'—*Ibid.* p. 242. There being no phrase at all equivalent to this in the corresponding passage in Du Fouilloux's work, which, as we have already seen, Turbervile very closely followed, we must presume that this artifice was unknown to the French sportsmen. In Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, published in 1660, we find: 'A *sewell*, a thing to keep out the deer; cosa da tener' fuora il cervo; chose pour retraindre le cerf; cosa por restrenir el ciervo.' The term appears to be still in use, for Mr. Shirley, in his work on *Deer and Deer Parks*, says: 'Lord Winchilsea also remarks upon the importance of *sewels*, that is, lengths of cord on spindles, with turkey feathers knotted on to them, at the interval of a couple of feet; it is found that deer are afraid of these strings of feathers, when stretched across a large park, and are by their means kept within a certain space for a day together, by this simple device, which, however, appears to be of little use in small parks, where it is found that deer take no notice of *sewels*, and where, therefore, it is useless to employ them.'—P. 246, ed. 1867. The word is employed metaphorically by Sir Philip Sidney: 'For, as children must first by feare be induced to know that, which after (when they do know) they are most glad of; so are these bug-beares of opinions brought by great Cleraks into the world, to serue as *shewelles* to keepe them from those faults whereto else the vanitie of the world and weaknesse of senses might pull them.'—*Arcadia*, p. 267, ed. 1605.

Shalme, *a kind of flute.*—I. 225, and note. In his *Dictionary* the author translates 'Tibia' 'the leg, proprely the shanke or shinne bone, it is also an instrument called a *shalme*,' and 'Tibicen, Tibicina,' 'he or she that blowethe a trumpette or *shalme*.' Cavendish, in his account of Wolsey at Compiegne in 1527, says that the king of France borrowed the cardinal's private band, 'who plaied there all night, and never rested, soe that, whether it were with extreme labour of blowing, or with poisonning, as some judged, because they were more commended by the king than his owne, or of what other mischaunce, I cannot tell, but the plaier on the *shalme*, who was very excellent in that kind of instrument, died within a day or two after.'—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i. 538. North, in his translation of Plutarch, says, 'Agesilaus commaunded his souldiers to put garlandes upon

their heades, and his musitians to sounde their *shalmes* or pipes, whilest he did sette up a token of triumphe as victorious.'—P. 665, ed. 1579. Amyot, whom North followed, had written: 'Commanda à ses souldards qu'ilz meissent des chappeaux de fleurs dessus leur testes, et aux menestriers qu'ilz iouassent de leur *flustes*, pendant qu'il faissoit dresser et accoustrer un trophée comme uictorieux.' — *Les Vies des hommes ill.* tom. ii. fo. 425, ed. 1565. Hall, in his account of the procession by water from Greenwich on the occasion of Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1532–3, speaks of the Lord Mayor's barge, 'in whiche were *Shalmes*, Shagbushes and diuers other instrumentes, whiche continually made goodly armony.'—*Chron.* fo. ccxii b, ed. 1548. The result of the passages above quoted makes it evident that the instrument of which Mr. Wright gives a drawing (referred to in Vol. I. p. 226, note) is incorrectly described by him as a *shalm*, inasmuch as he represents it not as a pipe or flute, but as a stringed instrument, and therefore answering more to the description of a rebec than of a shalm.

Simulachre, *a figure, a likeness.*—I. 47. The French *simulacre*, which Cotgrave translates, 'The image, picture or counterfeit of a man or woman; the figure, semblance, resemblance, likenesse, forme or proportion of any thing represented.' It was, of course, derived from the Latin 'simulachrum,' which is quite classical. Elyot, in his *Dictionary*, renders the latter, 'An ymage of a manne or woman.' The word occurs in French in the twelfth century. 'Li reis Asa sa mère meime Maacham remuad e tut en ostad del servise e del sacrefise de un ydle que clamed ert Priap que ele cultivout; e tut fist dépescier e esmier cel vilain *simulacre*, kar ço ert ydle de pecchié e de lécherie, e puis le fist jeter aval en la rivière.'—*Les quatre livres des Rois*, p. 302, ed. 1841. Sir John Maundevile distinguishes between this word and idol: 'Summe worschipen *symulacres* and summe ydoles. But betwene *symulacres* and ydoles is a gret difference. For *symulacres* ben ymages made aftre lyknesse of men, or of wommen, or of the sonne, or of the mone, or of ony best, or of ony kyndely thing; and ydoles is an ymage made of lewed wille of man, that man may not fynden among kyndely thinges; as an ymage that hathe 4 hedes, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of sum other best, that no man hathe seyn aftre kyndely disposicioun. And thei that worschipen *symulacres* thei worschipen hem for sum worthi man that was sum tyme, as Hercules, and many othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 198, ed. 1727. The word is used in the sixteenth century by Montaigne: 'Je ne suys pas la secte de Pythagoras, "que les hommes prennent une ame nouvelle quand ils approchent des *simulacres* des dieux pour recueillir leurs oracles;" sinon qu'il voulust dire cela mesme.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 340, ed. 1854.

Skoser, *a horse dealer.* — I. 63. This word should undoubtedly be printed 'skorsers,' as it appears in the later editions, the mistake being probably due to the printer having omitted to notice the sign of contraction in the author's MS. In his *Dictionary* Elyot gives, 'Hippocomus, an horse-*skorcer*.' Cotgrave translates *Maquignonnage*, 'Deceitfull Brokage, bargaining for, or selling of, things; hence also the trade of *horse-scoursing*.' And *Maquignonner*, 'To play the broker or *Horse-scourser*, to deale deceitfully in bargains.' The word is derived from the verb 'scorse,' meaning to exchange, which is used in this sense by Spenser. It is curious that the Scotch had the verb 'to coss' or 'cose' with precisely the same meaning, whilst on the other hand, according to Du Cange '*Cozzoni* etiamnum Italis dicuntur quos nostri *Maquignons* vocant.'—*Gloss.* sub voc. *Cociones*. The following passage in Bishop Douglas's translation of Virgil shows that he considered 'cosit' the equivalent of 'permutat.'

'Syne Mnestheus ane bustuous lioun skyn,
With rouch and werelik talbert nathyng thyn,

'To Nisus gaif, and the traist Alethes
With him has helmes *cosit*, and gaif him his.'
P. 286, ed. 1710.

The corresponding passage in Virgil being:

'Dat Niso Mnestheus pellem horrentisque leonis
Exuvias; galeam fidus *permutat* Aletes.
Æn. ix. 306.

Skene, in his *Glossary* defines 'Bote' as 'Ane auld Saxon worde, signifying compensation, or satisfaction, as manbote, thieft-bote, and in all excambion or *cossing* of landes or geare moueable, the ane part that gettis the better, giuis ane Bote or compensation to the uther.' *De Verb. signif.* ed. 1597. Spenser employs 'scorse' as a substantive as well as a verb:

'——Therein sat an old, old man, halfe blind,
And all decrepit in his feeble corse,
Yet lively vigour rested in his mind,
And recompenst them with a better *scorse:*
Weake body wel is chang'd for minds redoubled forse.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 180.

Again:

'Their steel-hed speares they strongly coucht, and met
Together with impetuous rage and forse,
That with the terrour of their fierce affret
They rudely drove to ground both man and horse,
That each awhile lay like a sencelesse corse.
But Paridell, sore brused with the blow,
Could not arise, the counterchaunge to *scorse*,
Till that young Squyre him reared from below,
Then drew he his bright sword, and gan about him throw.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 49.

It is used by Drayton in *Poly-Olbion* in precisely the same sense:

'—— in this song of mine, hee seriously that reads,
Shall find, ere I haue done, the Britaine so extold
(Whose height each Mountaine striues so mainly to uphold)
Matcht with as valiant men, and of as cleane a might,
As skilfull to commaund, and as inur'd to fight;
Who, when their fortune will'd that after they should *scorse*
Blowes with the big-bon'd Dane, eschanging force for force
(When first he put from sea to forrage on this shore,
Two hundred yeeres distain'd with either equall gore;
Now this aloft, now that, oft did the English raigne,
And oftentimes againe depressed by the Dane),
The Saxons then, I say, themselues as brauely show'd
As these on whom the Welsh such glorious praise bestow'd.'
P. 196, ed. 1613.

In Higgins' *Nomenclator* we have the very word used by Elyot, and its definition, 'Mango equorum, qui emit equos et permutat distrahitque. *Maquignon.* An horse *scorser*: he that buyeth horses and putteth them away againe by chopping and changing.'—P. 514, ed. 1585. In process of time the derivation of the compound word having apparently been forgotten, it was corruptly spelt 'horse-courser.' Harrison, in his *Descript. of England*, says, 'There is no greater deceipt used anie where than among our horssekeepers, *horssecorsers*, and hostelers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them, be it spoken which deale for privat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false tricke or other.'—P. 220, ed. 1587. Blundeville, whose book on horses and horsemanship is one of the earliest practical treatises on this subject in our language, says, with regard to feeding horses on buckwheat, 'I would not wyshe eyther that, or any other way of such sodeyn reysyng of a horses flesh to be used. For such fatnes is but puft up, and neuer continueth, as is dayly too wel proued in such horses or gueldings as are bought at the *horsecorsers* handes, whiche moste commonly seke rather falsly to pampre their horses for an outwarde shew, then truely to dyet them, to thintent they may make the sooner sale of them, and be at no great charge in longe keepynge them.'—*Dyetyng of Horses*, fo. 32, ed. 1565. Gervase Markham adopts a form of the word approximating very closely to the Scotch: 'There both haue beene and are many questions raised (not by horsemen, for they know the truth of arte, but by such as beare the false shapes of horsemen, as amb-

lers, common horse breakers (alike in qualite to Mountebanks and Horse *cossers*) touching the making of horses to amble, some inuaying against one practise, some against another.'—*Cavalarice*, lib. iv. p 12, ed. 1617. Scott uses the corrupt form of the word :—

'" And next I saw them saddled lead
Old Cheviot forth, the Earl's best steed,
A matchless horse, though something old,
Prompt in his paces, cool and bold.
I heard the Sheriff Sholto say,
The Earl did much the Master pray
To use him on the battle day ;
But he preferr'd—" —" Nay, Henry, cease !
Thou sworn *horse - courser*, hold thy peace."'

Poet. Works, p. 136, ed. 1847.

Sopheme, Sophisme, *a sophism.*—II. 230 and note, 279. Palsgrave has, 'Sopheme, a doutfull questyon—*sophisme s*, m.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 272. In *Le Roman du Renart*, a poem of the thirteenth century, we find this word spelt differently :

'Et ge si le questionai,
De gramaire li demandai,
De *soffime* et de question,
Ne me sot respondre un boton.'

Tom. iii. p. 51, ed. 1826.

Chaucer adopted the actual French form in his translation (see the note to Vol. II. p. 230) of the following passage :

'Tous jors i troverés *sophime*
Qui la conséquence envenime,
Se vous avés sotilité
D'entendre la duplicité.'

Le Rom. de la Rose, tom. ii. p. 388.

In the first passage in the text Elyot has obviously followed Chaucer's example

Sophisticate, *counterfeit, false, fallacious, oversubtle.* — II. 279. The French *sophistiqué*, which Cotgrave renders, 'Sophisticated, adulterated, falsified, also cunningly handled, or cavilingly uttered.' Thus Montaigne says, 'Et certes, la philosophie n'est qu'une poësie *sophistiquee.*' — *Essais*, tom. ii. p. 429. Again, 'Emonez, ieune gars de Chio . . . se presenta au philosophe Arcesilaus, et luy demanda, si un sage se pourroit veoir amoureux : "Ouy dea," respondit l'aultre, "pourveu que ce ne feust pas d'une beauté paree et *sophistiquee* comme la tienne."'—*Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 482. Once more, 'En (*i.e.* de la raison) dont faict les hommes, comme les parfumiers de l'huile; ils l'ont *sophistiquee* de tant d'argumentations et de discours appellez du dehors, qu'elle en est devenue variable et particuliere à chascun, et a perdu son propre visage.'—*Ibid.* tom. iv. p. 223. Sir John Maundevile employs it in the first sense above mentioned : 'First zee schulle wel knowe that the naturelle Bawme is fulle cleer and of Cytrine colour, and stronge smellynge ; and zif it be thykke, or reed, or blak, it is *sophisticate*, that is to seyne, contrefeted and made lyke it, for disceyt.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 62, ed. 1727.

Sourded, *arisen, sprung up.*—I. 16. The French verb *sourdre* Anglicised. Palsgrave has, 'I ryse out, or springe out, or ryse up, as water that springeth. *Je sours, nous sourdons, je sourdys, jay sourdy, je sourdyray, que je sourde, sourdre*, tert. conj. It is a plesaunt syght to se the water ryse up or ryse out by bubbels out of a spring : *il fait beau veoyr leaue sourdre par bouyllons hors dune source.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 692. And it is used in this its primitive sense in *Le Rom. de la Rose* :

'Par-là, soit esté, soit ivers,
S'encorent dui flueves divers
Sordans de diverses fontaines
Qui moult sunt de diverses vaines.'

Tom. ii. p. 91, ed. 1814.

By Montaigne it is used in two senses, the primitive, like that last quoted, and the figurative, as it is employed by Elyot: 'Un laboureur, perceant de son coultre profondement la terre, en veit *sourdre* Tages, demi-dieu, d'un visage enfantin, mais de senile prudence.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 58, ed. 1854. And 'De ce vice *sourdent* plusieurs grandes incommoditez.'—*Ibid.* p. 307. So Amyot, in his translation of Plutarch, says : 'Il (*i.e* Timoleon) ne retourna onques-puis à Corinthe, ains en feit uenir sa femme et ses enfans, et ne s'entremesla point des troubles qui depuis *sourdirent* entre les Grecs.'—*Les Vies*, tom. i. fo. 189 b, ed. 1565. This word is used several times by Chaucer

in *The Personnes Tale*, as in the following instances: 'Now mighte men axe, whereof pride *sourdeth* and springeth.' And 'Now sith so is, that ye han herd and understonde what is pride, and whiche ben the spices of it, and whens pride *sourdeth* and springeth.'—*Poet. Works*, vol. iii. pp. 300, 302, ed. 1866. In a poem already referred to, 'On the deposition of Rich. II.,' we have the same form as in the text:

> 'Amonge the comune peple
> Sodeynly ther *sourdia*
> Selcouthe thingis,
> A grett wondir to wyse men.'
> Wright, *Polit. Poems*, vol. i. p. 368, the Rolls ed.

And it occurs also in Fabyan's *Chronicle*: 'But to all this was the towne of Gaunt repugnaunt, in so moche that mortall warre beganne to *sourde* atwene the sayd towne and the towne of Brugys and other.' Again: 'Charlys, Kynge of Nauarne, caused to be slayne within the towne of the Aygle in Normandy sir Charlys de Spayne, constable of Fraunce, for the whiche murdre *sourdyd* great warre atwene Kynge John and the sayde Kynge of Nauerne.'—Pp. 436, 499, ed. 1811.

Sowne, Soune, subst. and verb., *a sound, to sound*.—I. 12, 116, 122, 226, 266. This form of the word is very common with the early writers. Thus Chaucer, in *The Prologue*, says:

> 'A baggepipe cowde he blowe and *sowne*,
> And therwithal he brought us out of towne.'

And shortly afterwards:

> 'Ful lowde he sang, Come hider, love, to me.
> This sompnour bar to him a stif burdoun,
> Was nevere trompe of half so gret a *soun*.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. pp. 18, 21.

And in *The Boke of the Duchesse*:

> 'Of eloquence was never founde
> So swete a *sownynge* facounde.'
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 183.

So also Gower:

> 'And of musike also the note
> In mans voyce, or softe or sharpe,
> That fonde Juball, and of the harpe
> The mery *sowne*, which is to like,
> That fonde Paulius forth with phisike.'
> *Con. Am.* fo. lxxvi b, ed. 1554.

Sir John Maundevile has the same form: 'This lond of Caldee is fulle gret: and the langage of that contree is more gret in *sownynge*, than it is in other parties bezonde the see.'—*Voiage, &c.*, p. 184, ed. 1727. Again he says: 'In that Vale heren men often tyme grete tempestes, and thondres, and grete murmures and noyses, alle dayes and nyghtes: and gret noyse, as it were *sown* of tabours and of nakeres and trompes.' —*Ibid.* p. 340.

Sowne, *a swoon*.—II. 155. This word is spelt in a great variety of ways by the early writers, and not unfrequently as above, which has led to its being confounded with the preceding homonym. Elyot himself does not observe uniformity in this respect, for in his *Dictionary* he renders Defectus animi '*sownynge* or lyenge in a traunce.' Lipopsichia, 'a *soundyng*, where one semeth to be deade.' And Sopitus, 'brought aslepe or to reste, or into a *sowne* with a sodayne stroke.' Cotgrave translates *espausmer* 'To fall into a *swoune*,' and *espausmure* 'A swounding, or falling into a trance.' Whilst Palsgrave has, 'Sounyng—*pasmoison s*, m.,' and also, 'I sownde, I fall downe in a *sownde* for fayntnesse. *Je me espausme*, verb. med. prim. conj. and *je me esuanouys*, sec. conj. Let me nat be by whan you let hym blodde, for I shall sownde than: *que je ne soye pas present, je vous prie, quant vous le saignez, car je me espaumeray doncques*, or *je me esuanouyray doncques*.'—*L'Escl.* pp. 273. 726. Chaucer has swowe, swough, swogh, swoune, and swowne. Thus in *The Doctor's Tale*:

> 'And with that word *aswoun* sche fell anoon,
> And after, whan hir *swownyng* was agoon,
> Sche riseth up, and to hir fader sayde:
> Blessed be God, that I schal deye a mayde.
> * * * * * *
> And with that word on *swoune* doun sche fel.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 83.

And in the *Dream* we have two forms:

> 'For withoute moving any paas,
> All sodainely as thing dying,
> He fell at once downe *sowning*.
> * * * * * *
> Lo, where he lyeth in a *swoone*,
> Withoute word.'
> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 102.

So Gower:

'She wepeth, she crieth, she *swouneth* ofte,
She caste hir eien up alofte.
* * * * * * *
And with this worde she fell to grounde
A *swoune*, and there she laie astounde.'
Conf. Am. fo. lxxxiii, ed. 1554.

Again:

'And with that word she gan downe fall
Of *swoune*: and he hir up nam,
And forthe with that the maiden cam,
And thei to bedde anone hir brought.'
Ibid. fo. ciii b.

Spenser has yet another form:

'Shortly she came whereas that woefull Squire,
With blood deformed, lay in deadly *swownd*;
In whose faire eyes, like lamps of quenched fire,
The christall humor stood congealed rownd.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 310.

Again in the same poem we read:

'Till faint through yrkesome wearines, adowne
Upon the grassy ground her selfe she layd
To sleepe, the whiles a gentle slombring *swowne*
Upon her fell, all naked bare displayd.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 3.

Brende in his translation of Q. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 5, translates, 'Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros summovet, cervice graviter ictâ, *semianimis* procubuit ante regis pedes;' 'And Leonatus, whyles he resisted the Indians that egerlye pressed upon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe upon the necke, that he fell downe in a *sowne* at the Kynges feet.'—Fo. 193, ed. 1561. It was probably owing to this that the word was by later writers actually spelt 'sound.' Thus North, in his translation of Plutarch, says: 'The young Lady, hearing these newes, fell downe in a *sound* before him, and neither spake nor sturred of long time.'—P. 715, ed. 1579.

Spice, *a kind, sort, species.*—II. 186, 187, 327, 364. From the French *espèce*. Palsgrave has 'Spyce, a kynde—*espece s*, f.'—*L'Escl.* p. 274. And Cotgrave, '*Espece*, f. A kind, or sort of.' On the other hand, in the *Promptorium*, we find, 'Spece or kende. *Species*.'—P. 467. And the author, in his own *Dictionary*, says, 'Sommetyme Species doo sygnyfye *spyces*.' Huloet, in his *Abcedarium*, gives, 'Spice or kynde, *genus, species*. This form is frequently employed by Chaucer. As in *The Knightes Tale*:

'And therfore of his wyse purveaunce
He hath so wel biset his ordenaunce,
That *spices* of thinges and progressiouns
Schullen endure by successiouns.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 93.

Again, in *The Persones Tale*: 'The *spices* of penitence ben thre. That oon of hem is solempne, another is comune, and the thridde is pryvé.' And 'The *spices* of this part schuln be more largely declared in here chapitres folwynge.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 266, 308 ed. 1866.

Spousayles, *espousals, wedding.*—II. 142. The French *espousailles*, which Cotgrave translates, 'An espousals, or bridall, a wedding, or marriage.' Baret, in his *Alvearie*, gives, 'Spousals, Sponsalia. *L'accord et conuenance matrimoniale, fianceailles.*' Chaucer has this form in *The Clerkes Tale*:

'Bowith your neck undir that blisful yok
Of sovereigneté, nought of servise,
Which that men clepe *spousail* or wedlok.
* * * * * * *
'With hertly wil thay sworen and assentyn,
To al this thing, ther sayde no wight nay.
Bysechyng him of grace, er that thay wentyn,
That he wolde graunten hem a certeyn day
Of his *spousail*, as soone as ever he may.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. pp. 281, 283.

And in the *Testament of Love* he says: 'And truely after tyme that such accorde by theyr consent in harte is ensealed and put in my tresorie emongs my priuie things, then ginneth the name of *spousaile*.'—*Works*, fo. 280, ed. 1602. Spenser has the same form in *The Faerie Queene*:

'He left two sonnes, of which faire Elferon,
The eldest brother, did untimely dy;
Whose emptie place the mightie Oberon
Doubly supplide, in *spousall* and dominion.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 201, ed. 1866.

Squynce, *the quinsy.*—II. 338 and note. In his *Dictionary* the author translates Angina, 'A disease in the throote, called the *Quynse*.' Whilst in his *Castel of Healthe* he says, 'By these destillations or reumes hapneth many other greuouse diseases . . . tooth ache, pynne and webe in the eyes, dulnesse of heringe, *quynces*, frettinge of the bowelles with flixes, &c.'—Fo. 79, ed.

1541. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Sqwynacye, sekenesse (sqwynsy) *Squinancia, gutturna.*'—P. 471. Huloet has yet another form: 'Squynche, a disease in the iawes and throte, *Synache, Cynanche.*' The English was no doubt derived immediately from the French *Squinance*, which Cotgrave renders, 'the Squinancy or Squinzie; a disease.' Thus Rabelais says in *Pantagruel*: 'De ce seullement indignez que, sans estre aultrement malades, par le Pantagruelion on leur oppiloyt les conduictz par lesquelz sortent les bons motz et entrent les bons morceaulx, plus villainement que ne feroyt la male angine, et mortelle *squinance.*'—*Œuvres*, p. 197, ed. Pan. Lit. In a comedy called *The Jealous Lovers*, written by Thomas Randolph, of Trin. Coll. Cam., just a century after the publication of *The Governour*, one of the characters says:

> 'Shall not we be suspected for the murder,
> And choke with a hempen *squincy*?
> P. 54, ed. 1634.

In the same year Holland translated: 'Illitum *anginas* et arterias cum melle et oleo vetere sanat' (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xx. cap. 3); 'Being tempered with honey and old oile, and so reduced into a thin ointment or liniment, it cureth the *Squinancie*, and such diseases incident to the windpipes.'—Vol. ii. p. 36, ed. 1634.

Stare, *a starling.*—I. 116. This is a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon word. Palsgrave has, 'Staare, a byrde,—*estourneau x*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 275. Chaucer, in *The Assembly of Foules*, speaks of—

> 'The *stare*, that the counseylle kan bewrye.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iv. p. 63.

Whilst Lydgate says:

> 'It is no wisdam a man to seyn out al,
> Sum bird can synge merily in his cage;
> The *stare* wyl chatre and speak of long usage,
> Though in his speche ther be no greet resoun.'
> *Minor Poems*, p. 150, ed. 1842.

Holland translates 'Habebant et Cæsares juvenes *sturnum*, item luscinias, Græco atque Latino sermone dociles' (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. x. cap. 59); 'The two Cæsars also, the young princes (to wit, Germanicus and Drusus), had one *Stare* and sundry Nightingales, taught to parle Greeke and Latine.'—Vol. i. p. 293, ed. 1635. And in 'Σεληναρχια, or The Government of the World in the Moon,' which is a translation of a comic little book by M. Cyrano Bergerac, it is said: 'Every day the Queen's Bird-keeper had the care of teaching me to whistle, as they doe here your *Stares* or Black-birds.'—Sign. G. 6, ed. 1659.

Stourdie, *sturdy.*—I. 40. In Elyot's own *Dictionary* we find Torvus rendered 'cruel and *sturdy* in loking,' and Torvitas 'sturdynes.' The *Promptorium*, on the other hand, has, 'Sturdy, unbuxom. *Rebellis, contumax, inobediens.* Sturdynesse, *Rebellio, inobediencia, contumacia.*' P. 481. Huloet adopts both the above renderings, for he gives 'Sturdy of loke, *Torvus.*' And also, 'Sturdie wythoute buxomnes or obedience. *Contumax, Pertinax, Pervicax, Præceps animi, Torvus.*' Hence Mr. Todd's suggestion that this word is derived from the Teutonic *stuer*=torvus, trux, horridus, ferox, seems preferable to Dr. Johnson's hypothesis of *estourdi* as the root. Inasmuch as Littré says with regard to the latter, 'Celui qui est étourdi est léger.' It must be admitted notwithstanding that Palsgrave gives some colour to Johnson's theory, for he gives, 'Sturdye or stubborne,—m. *estourdy s*, f. *estourdye s.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 326. This word is used frequently by Chaucer, as in *The Clerkes Tale*:

> 'But now of wommen wold I aske fayn,
> If these assayes mighten not suffice?
> What couthe a *stourdy* housebonde more devyse
> To prove hir wyfhode and her stedefastnesse,
> And he contynuyng ever in *stourdynesse.*'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 300.

Again, in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

> 'Thenk here ayeins, that when the *stordy* ooke,
> On which men hakketh ofte, for the nones,
> Receyved hath the happy fallynge stroke,
> The grete swough doth it come al at ones,
> As don thise rokkes or thise mylne stones;
> For swifter course cometh thynge that is of wyghte,
> When it descendeth, than don thynges lighte.
> *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 209.

And also by Gower:

> 'The kinge declareth him the caas,
> With sterne worde and *stordie* chere,
> To him and saide in this manere.'
>
> *Con. Am.* fo. clxxvi, ed. 1554.

Sir Thomas More says: 'Well ye wote that heresies be false beliefe and faccious wayes full of busynes. And such as geue theim selfe therto be *stourdy* and studiouse about the furtheraunce of their sediciouse secte.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 212, ed. 1557. Fox, in his account of the trial of Cranmer, gives precisely the same definition of the word as Huloet and the still earlier *Promptorium*: 'Furthermore, whereas the sayd archbishop was fast deteined in strayt prison, so that he coulde not appeare (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romishe Court), and therefore had a lawfull and most iust excuse of his absence, by all lawes, both popish and other, yet in the end of the sayd lxxx daies was the worthy Martyr decreed *Contumax*, that is, *sturdilye*, frowardly, and wilfully absent.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1881, ed. 1583.

Suscitate, Sussitate, *to stir up.*—II. 26, 414 and note. From the French *susciter*. Thus in *Le Roman de la Rose* we have:

> 'Après nous les convient giter
> Por nos lignages *susciter*.'
>
> Tom. iii. p. 161.

And Montaigne says: 'Petilius ayant esté *suscité* par Caton pour luy demander compte de l'argent manié en la province d'Antioche, Scipion, estant venu au senat pour cet effect, produisit le livre de raisons . . . et dict que ce livre en contenoit au vray la recepte et la mise.'—*Essais*, tom. ii. p. 143.

Suster, *a sister.*—II. 74, 98, 347. This form is used by early writers; thus Chaucer, in *The Nonne Prest his Tale*, has:

> 'This gentil cok had in his governaunce
> Seven hennes, for to do all his plesaunce,
> Which were his *sustres* and his paramoures.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. iii. p. 230.

So too Gower:

> 'Phedra, hir yonge *suster* eke,
> A lustie maide, a sobre, a meke,
> Fulfilled of all curtosie,
> For susterhode and companie
> Of loue, which was hem betwene,
> To see hir *suster* be made a quene,
> Hir fader lefte.
>
> *Con. Am.* fo. cxiv, ed. 1554.

Sir John Maundevile says: 'And aftre he fell into seknesse, and whan he felte that he scholde dye, he sente aftre his *sustre*, and aftre alle the lordes of his lond.'—*Voiage &c.*, p. 107, ed. 1727.

T.

Table, *a picture.*—I. 76, 78; II. 23, 318, 422, 424. The French *Table*, the lineal descendant of the Latin Tabula. Thus in *Le Rom. de la Rose* the poet says:

> 'Car Art, combien qu'ele se paine
> Par grant estuide et par grant paine,
> De faire choses quiex qu'el soient,
> Quiexque figures qu'elles aient,
> Paingne, taingne, forge, ou entaille
> Chevaliers armés en bataille,
> * * * * *
> Oisiaus privés, bestes domesches,
> Baceleries, dances, tresches
> De beles dames bien parées,
> Bien portretes, bien figurées,
> Soit en metal, en fust, en cire,
> Soit en quelconque autre matire,
> Soit en *tables*, ou en parois,
> Tenans biaus bachelers as dois,
> Bien figurés et bien portrais;
> Jà por figure ne por trais
> Ne les fera par eus aler,
> Vivre, movoir, sentir, parler.'
>
> Tom. iii. pp. 95–97.

M. de Laborde quotes from an Inventory of Chas. V.: 'Unes *tables à pourtraire*, dont les ays sont de cor, à croissans d'or et y a un estuy ouvré de cuir fauve pendant à un las à deux petits boutons de perles et dedans iceluy estuy a un petit greffe d'or tuers.'—*Gloss. Fran.* p. 505, ed. 1872. It is possible, however, that this may mean nothing more than a writing tablet, and it is certain that at least in the sixteenth century the word *tableau* was commonly used in France to denote that which continued to be called a *table* in England down to a still later period. Thus Palsgrave has, '*Table* for an ymage paynted—*tableau x*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 279. And Cotgrave translates *tableau*, 'A picture; a *table* whereon things be painted or written.' Of course the

origin of the expression arose from the fact that 'The earliest paintings in oil were generally executed on panels. The panels were composed of various pieces of wood cemented together with cheese glue, and this glue caused them to adhere so firmly together, that such panels were considered stronger than those which consisted of one piece of wood only.'—Merrifield, *Treatise on Paint.*, vol. i. p. cclxxxi. ed. 1849. Shakespeare, in his *Sonnets*, says:

'Mine eye hath play'd the painter, and hath stell'd
Thy beauty's form in *table* of my heart.'
Works, vol. viii. p. 361, Dyce's ed.

Spenser uses the word in this sense in *The Faerie Queene*:

'To drive him to despaire, and quite to quaile,
Hee shewd him, painted in a *table* plaine,
The damned ghosts that doe in torments waile,
And thousand feends that doe them endlesse paine
With fire and brimstone, which for ever shall remaine.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 13, ed. 1866.

Peacham gives practical directions for 'preparing your *table* for an oyle picture,' and tells us that 'Margaritone was the first that deuised . . . to make a glew for picture *tables* that should neuer decay.'—*The Compleat Gent.*, p. 119, ed. 1622. Knolles, describing the victory of Vladislaus over the Turks in 1440, says, that on his arrival at Buda, 'alighting from his horse, on foot he went, first unto the Cathedrall church of our Ladie, and there giuing most heartie thanks unto Almightie God, hanged up the enemies ensignes and part of the spoile, in perpetuall remembrance of so notable a victorie: which he afterward caused to be most liuely depainted in a faire *table* of most curious worke, and there in the same church to be hanged up.'—*Hist. of the Turks*, p. 283, ed. 1610. Holland translates, 'Hujus est *tabula* in porticu Pompeii, quæ ante Curiam ejus fuerat: in quâ dubitatur ascendentem cum clypeo pinxerit an descendentem' (Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxv. cap. 35); 'Of this Polygnotus workemanship is that picture in a *table* which now standeth in the stately gallery of Pompeius, and hung sometime before the Curia or Hall that beareth his name, in which *table* he painted one upon a scaling ladder with a targuet in his hand; but so artificially it is done, and with such dexterity, that whosoeuer looketh upon him cannot tell whether he is climbing up or comming downe.'—Vol. ii. p. 533, ed. 1634. Bacon in one of his letters uses the verb 'to table' in the sense of to depict. 'I intreat you much, sometimes to meditate upon the extreme effects of superstition in this last Powder Treason; fit to be *tabled* and pictured in the chambers of meditation, as another hell above the ground.'—*Works*, vol. xi. p. 10, ed. 1868.

Table, *tablets, a register.*—I. 241; II. 9, 10, 106. This word has of course the same origin as the preceding. In his own *Dictionary* the author translates Album, 'a *table* openly sette up, wherin eyther the names of officers or some publike decree is wrytten.' We still talk of 'the table' of fares exhibited on a board at railway stations. The word occurs in *Le Rom. de la Rose* in the same sense as it is used by Elyot:

'Crier merci seroit néans,
Jamès n'entreriés léans;
Et s'a eus ne poés aler,
Faites i par aucun parler
Qui soit messagiers convenables,
Par vois, par letres, ou par *tables*.'
Tom. ii. p. 158, ed. 1814.

In *Le Chron. de St. Denis* we read: 'Deux epistres leur enuoya par deux clercs, desquelz lung estoit ne de la cite de Cours. Il prit les lettres quil portoit etales mist en ung parfond *tablel* dune *table* de boys, et puis le couurit de cire par dessus pource quelles ne fussent trouuees qui querre les voulsist.'—*Grands Chron. de France*, tom. i. fo. lix b, ed. 1493. M Laborde says that the ancient tablets inscribed with a stylus upon wax remained in general use down to the fourteenth century, and were even employed in exceptional cases (*exceptionnellement*) as late as the seventeenth. *Ubi supra*, p. 504. Thus in the *Mémoires* of D'Aubigné we read: 'Aubigné et M. de Feugré

estants choisis par cette troupe auditeurs du sieur Gaspard, il leur mit sur *table* les mémoires de toutte la chrestienté, distinguée par provinces, leur monstrant de chascune deux cayers, sur l'un desquels estoit escrit: *Artes pacis*, et sur l'autre *Artes belli*.'—P. 127, ed. Lalanne, 1854. Spenser evidently uses the word in this sense in the following passage:

'Her yvorie forhead, full of bountie brave,
Like a broad *table* did itselfe dispred,
For Love his loftie triumphes to engrave,
And write the battailes of his great godhed.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 94, ed. 1866.

Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, uses almost precisely the same phrase as Elyot:

'Remember thee!
Yea, from the *table* of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there.'

And in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* Julia says:

'Counsel, Lucetta; gentle girl, assist me;
And even in kind love, I do conjure thee,—
Who art the *table* wherein all my thoughts
Are visibly character'd and engrav'd—
To lesson me.'

Tables, *a game answering to our backgammon.*—I. 282 and note, 283. Elyot in his *Dict.* gives as one of the meanings of Tabula, 'a *table* to play on with dise or chessemen.' This game, as we have seen, was exceedingly popular in the middle ages; thus in *Le Roman de la Rose* we find it mentioned with dice and chess:

'Là sunt servi d'envoiseries,
De treches et d'espingueries,
Et de tabors et de vieles,
Et de rostruenges noveles,
De gieuz de dez, d'eschez, de *tables*,
Et d'autres gieuz moult delitables.'
Tom. ii. pp. 279, 280.

In another poem of the same century we read:

'Quant l'anfès ot xv anz et compliz et passez,
Premiers aprist à letres, tant qu'il en sot assez.
Puis aprist-il as *tables* et à eschas joier.'
Li Rom. de Parise la Duchesse, p. 86, ed. 1836.

Chaucer mentions it in the same connexion in *The Frankeleynes Tale*

'They leden hire by ryveres and by welles,
And eek in other places delitables;
They daunce and playe at chesse and at *tables*.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 7, ed. 1866.

Shakespeare mentions the game in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

'This is the ape of form, Monsieur the nice,
That, when he plays at *tables*, chides the dice
In honourable terms.'

Tache, *quality, disposition, habit.*—I. 29, 31. The French *tache*. Richardson explains this as 'A spot, stain, or blemish; a spot or mark of disgrace. Probably a *touch*; a contagious or infectious touch, a stain.' No doubt this is the ordinary meaning of the French word, but it is clearly not the sense in which it is used by Elyot, although Richardson evidently thought it was. The collocation of the words in the text where it is employed in one case as coequal with 'act,' and in the other with 'vice,' shows that a word having a kindred meaning was present to the mind of the author. According to Littré, 'Tache s'est dit pour *qualité bonne ou mauvaise*; c'est un sens depuis longtemps oublié.' M. de Caseneuve says: 'Ce mot a bien changé de sa premiere signification. Il signifie aujourd'hui ce que les Latins appellent *macula*, qui est toute marque qui altére la couleur de quelque corps. Anciennement on s'en servoit pour exprimer les bonnes ou les mauvaises qualités d'un homme ou d'une bête.'—*Les Origines de la lan. Fran.*, p. 95, ed. 1694. M. Raynouard derives it from an Arabic word taca = *tache, souillure*. But this derivation, although plausible, ignores the fact mentioned above that the word was applied to *good* as well as to bad qualities. The following passage, however, in the *Cronique de Flandres* establishes this fact beyond doubt. Speaking of Margaret, Countess of Flanders, the chronicler says: 'En elle auoit quatre *taches*. Premierement elle estoit une des plus grandes Dames de lignage, du Royaume de France. Secondement elle estoit la plus sage, et mieux gouuernant terre, qu'on sceust. Tiercement elle estoit large viuandiere, et tenoit si

large hostel, qu'elle sembloit estre mieux Royne, que Comtesse. Quartement elle estoit tres riche, car elle estoit Comtesse de Flandres et de Hainaut.' —P. 62, ed. 1562. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Tetche or maner of condycyone, (tecche, teche, tetche, maner or condicion), *Mos, condicio.*'—P. 487. Palsgrave has, 'Condicyon, a custome or maner—*tayche s,* f.'—*L'Esclair.* p. 208. Elyot himself, in his *Dictionary*, gives, 'Offritiæ, crafty or deceytfull *taches*,' but there is evidently some confusion and the word is probably a misprint for 'Offuciæ,' mentioned a few lines lower down. From the way in which it is used in *Le Roman de la Rose* it seems clear that the Saxon word *thew* was regarded as the equivalent of the French *tache*. Thus we are told:

'Icele dame ot non Biautés.
Ainsic cum une des cinq fleches,
En li ot maintes bonnes *teches.*'
Tom. i. p. 41.

This is rendered not very literally by Chaucer:

'This lady called was Beauté,
And an arowe, of which I tolde,
Ful wel *thewed* was she holde.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 31.

Again in the same poem we have:

'Après de l'arc et des cinq fleiches
Qui tant sunt plains de bonnes *teiches.*'
Ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 427

In another place it is used with reference to persons:

'Et se pensent tretuit taisant
Qu'or sunt-il preus, bel et plesant,
Et qu'il ont toutes *teches* bonnes,
Quant requis sunt de tex personnes.'
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 162.

The word occurs in the same sense in another work, written in the same century: 'Seneschal, fist il, il ne nous a pas servi, mès nous lavons servi quant nous lavous soufert entour nous, aus mauveses *taches* que il a.'—Joinville, *Hist. de S. Louis*; in Bouquet, *Hist de la France*, tom. xx. p. 289. So Froissart, speaking of the attainder and execution for treason of the Seigneur de Pommiers in 1377, says, 'Et en (*i.e.* de la même trahison) demeura un long-temps en grand danger et en tel *tache* et paroles messire Gaillard Vighier.'—*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 2, ed. P.L. This passage was apparently misapprehended by Lord Berners, for he translates it, 'Thus they endured a longe space in great daunger; and in the same *case* wordes ran agaynst sir Gaylart Vyghier.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 492. Chaucer undoubtedly uses the word in the sense in which it had been employed by the French writers already quoted. Thus in *The Cuckow and the Nightingale:*

'For Love his servant evermore amendeth,
And fro al evele *taches* him defendeth.'
Poet. Works, vol. iv. p. 82.

And in *Troylus and Cryseyde:*

'It semeth hard, for wreches wol nought ler
For veray slouthe, or other wilful *tecches.*'
Ibid. p. 263

Again in *The House of Fame*:

'Fy on yow, quod she, everychoon,
Ye maisty swyne, ye ydel wreches,
Ful of roten slowe *teches.*'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 263

It occurs in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman:*

'Ac I fynde if the fader
Be fals and a sherewe,
That som del the sone
Shal have the sires *tacches.*'
Vol. i. p. 168, ed. 1842.

And obviously both there and in an old miracle play of *The Resurrection*, it is used in the same sense, viz. quality:

'For south this harde I hym saye
That he woulde rise the thirde daye;
Nowe suerlye and he so maye,
He hath a wounderous *tache.*'
The Chester Plays, vol. ii. p. 87, ed. 1847, Shakespeare Soc.

So Occleve in his poem, called *De Regimine Principum:*

'It is to leeve and deeme, yf a kyng shyne
In vertu, that his sone shalle sue
And to his faders maners enclyne,
And wikked *tacches* and vices eschue.'
P. 121, ed. 1860, Rox. Club.

Hormann, under the head of *De Scolasticis*, renders the phrase, 'Mores pueri inter ludendum se simpliciter detegunt;' 'A chyldes *tatches* in playe shewe playnlye what they meane.'—

Vulgaria, sig. S ii. ed. 1530. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in *The Praise of Folie*, says, 'How be it (to saie the trouthe) it is a commen *tatche* naturally geuin to all men as well as priestes to watche well for theyr owne lucre: for none is so unskilfull, that in this poinct can not skanne the lawes to the uttermost.'—Sig. P. iii. b. ed. 1549. Now Erasmus, whose work Sir Thomas professed to translate, wrote 'Verum hoc quidem sacerdotibus est cum prophanis commune, ut ad emolumenti messem vigilent omnes, neque quisquam ibi leges ignoret.'—*Mor. Encom.* p. 274, ed. 1540.

Tedious, *unsavoury, offensive, disagreeable.*—I. 48, 75; II. 49. This application of the epithet appears to be most uncommon. Richardson derives the word from the French *tedieux*, which however is not recognised by Littré, or indeed by any other authority, except Roquefort, who gives no examples of its use.

Temper, *to govern, to regulate.*—II. 54. From the Latin verb 'temperare,' which was constantly used by classical writers in this sense. Thus, in addition to the one from Suetonius quoted in the note, the following passages may be cited: 'Nam mores, et instituta vitæ, resque domesticas ac familiares nos profecto et melius tuemur et lautius: rem vero publicam nostri majores certè melioribus *temperaverunt* et institutis et legibus.'—Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. i. cap. 1. And

> 'Cur neque militaris
> Inter æquales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
> *Temperat* ora frænis?'
>
> Hor. *Carm.* lib. i. 8, 5–7.

Udall uses the word exactly in the same way as Elyot in his translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon Matt. xix: 'But Jesus so dooeth *temper* and order the answere, that he neither hurteth the authoritie of Moses, nor recanteth not hys owne doctrine. And yet by the authoritie of the lawe he stoppeth the mouthes of the Phariseis whiche were skilfull in the lawe.'—Tom. i. fo. lxxv. ed. 1551. Erasmus had written 'At Jesus ita *temperat* responsum, ut nec Mosi lædat autoritatem,' &c. *Paraph.*, tom. i. p. 104, ed. 1541. So, too, at a still earlier period, in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, the poet says:

> 'The seventhe (point) is welle of wisedom,
> And fewe wordes sheweth;
> Therfore lordes alloweth hym litel,
> Or listneth to his reson,
> For he *tempreth* the tonge to trutheward,
> And no tresor coveiteth.
> *Sapientiæ temperatrix.*'
>
> Vol. ii. p. 292, ed. 1842.

And at a later date it is used by Spenser precisely in the same way in *Mother Hubberds Tale:*

> '——— And in his hand
> He tooke Caduceus, his snakie wand,
> With which the damned ghosts he governeth,
> And furies rules, and Tartare *tempereth.*'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. v. p. 37, ed. 1866.

Temper, *to mix.* **Temperaunce**, *a mixture.* — II. 318, 382 and note. This, like the last, is derived from the same Latin verb, which was equally used in this sense by the best writers, as will be seen from the passages quoted in the note. Chaucer uses this word where the French used *destremper.* Thus in *The Romaunt of the Rose*:

> 'The *temprure* of the mortere
> Was maad of lycour wonder dere;
> Of quykke lyme persant and egre,
> The which was *tempred* with vynegre.'
>
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 127.

The original being:

> 'Car l'en *destrempa* le mortier
> De fort vin-aigre et de chaus vive.'
>
> *Le Rom. de la Rose*, tom. i. p. 156.

Again in the English poem we have:

> 'And leieth a plastre dolorous
> Unto her hertis wounded egre,
> Which is not *tempred* with vynegre.'
>
> *Ubi supra*, p. 167.

Where the French poet had written:

> 'Au cuer un dolereux emplastre
> *Destrempé*, non pas de vin aigre.'
>
> *Ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 43.

By Montaigne the verb *temperer* is employed exactly like the English verb: 'Pour vous loger en cette moderation, ny de fuir la vie, ny de refuir à la mort, que ie demande de vous, i'ay *temperé* l'une et l'aultre entre la doul-

ceur et l'aigreur.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 111, ed. 1854. Again he says, 'J'ayme des natures *temperees* et moyennes.'—*Ibid.* p. 294.

Temper oneself, *to restrain oneself*, and hence *to refrain from*, *forbear*, *avoid.*—II. 379 and note.

Testar, *the head-piece of a bed.*—I. 7. The French word *testiere* from which the above is doubtless derived, was applied to a variety of articles. Thus, according to Cotgrave, it 'is generally any kind or fashion of head-piece, but particularly a scull, sallet, or steele cap, also the crown of a hat, also the head-stall of a bridle, also a horse-coller.' It does not appear, however, that it was ever applied by the French themselves to denote any part of a bed, and it is certain that in the thirteenth century it signified the defensive armour of a horse, for in the Assizes of Jerusalem, in the directions to be observed in a wager of battle, it is laid down that 'Le chevau deit estre covert de covertures de fer, et aveir une *testiere* de fer, et enmi la *testiere* une broche tel come celle de l'escu.'—*Hist. des Croisades* (Lois), tom. i. p. 170, ed. Beugnot, 1841. Now it is curious that Mr. Turner, describing the domestic furniture of the same period in England, tells us that 'Of the character of the bed itself not much is known, except that the tester (*testier*) was certainly in use during this century; as the name implies, it was provided with a canopy for the protection of the head.'—*Dom. Arch. in Engl.* vol. i. p. 100, ed. 1851. Yet Chaucer obviously borrowed the French application of the word to *horse*-furniture, when he wrote in *The Knightes Tale*:

> 'And on the morwe whan the day gan sprynge,
> Of hors and hernoys noyse and claterynge
> Ther was in the oostes al aboute;
> And to the paleys rood ther many a route
> Of lordes, upon steede and on palfreys.
> Ther mayst thou see devysyng of herneys
> So uncowth and so riche wrought and wel
> Of goldsmithry, of browdyng, and of steel,
> The scheldes bright, *testers*, and trappures,
> Gold-beten helmes, hauberks, and cote armures.' *Poet. Works*, vol. ii. p. 77.

Even as late as the sixteenth century it was so applied, for Palsgrave has: 'Heedstall of a horse harnesse—*testiere s, f.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 230; whilst D'Aubigné in *Les Aventures du Baron de Fœneste*, written early in the following century, uses it in much the same way: 'Si, le menèrent prissonnier sur sa foi dans un coin de l'estable, lui donnant pour le couvrir un caparasson bleu bandé de blanc et de jaune . . . et l'emmenèrent, tout boiteux, la tête passée dans la *testière* du caparaçon, dont Peroton portoit la queue, parce qu'il étoit trop long.'—P. 119, ed. Mérimée, 1855. When the word was first used as it is by Elyot, to denote a certain part of a bed, it is probably impossible to decide, but it occurs constantly in the fifteenth century. Thus a schedule attached to a writ of 1 Hen. VI. 1423, to the keeper of the royal wardrobe, for the delivery of a complete 'bed of hawkyng' to the Duke of Exeter, gives a minute description of the various pieces which formed the 'bed;' 'it consisted of a selour, a *testor*, a counterpoint, six tapits of arras, with figures of hunting and hawking worked in gold, two curtains, and one traverse of "tartaryn."'—Turner, *Ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 104. From the same source we learn that 'When the ambassador from Charles of Burgundy was entertained by Ed. IV., there were prepared for his reception "iii chambres of Pleasaunce, all hanged with whyte silke and lynnen clothe, and all the floures covered with carpettes. There was ordeined a bedde for hym selue of as good doune as coulde be gotton, the shetes of Raynys, also fyne fustyns, the counterpoynte clothe of golde furred wyth armyn, the *tester* and the celer also shyninge clothe of golde, the curteyns of whyte Sarcenette, as for his hede sute and pillowes were of the Quenes owne ordonnance.' *Ibid*, p. 107. In the *Romance of Sir Degrevant* we have the following description of the bed of a lady, probably in the fifteenth century:

> 'Hur bede was off aszure,
> With *testur* and celure,
> With a bryȝt bordure,
> Compasyd ful clene;

Ther was at hur *testere*
The kyngus owne banere :
Was nevere bede rychere
Of empryce ne qwene.'
Thornton Rom. pp. 238, 239, ed. Camden Soc. 1844.

In the *Promptorium* we find 'Teester or tethtere of a bed. *Capitellum.*'—P. 489. See also *ante* p. 238, note b.

Tiller, *the limit or measure of the strength of a bow.*—I. 297 and note. The exact meaning and derivation of this word present very great difficulty which no modern dictionary has hitherto been able to remove. Mr. Roberts, the author of *The English Bowman*, gives the following definition in his glossary : 'An instrument made of a a straight piece of wood, with a notch at the end and notches on the upper side ; in which a bow is placed and drawn, to see how it bends.'—P. 295, ed. 1801. He quotes, however, no authority for this statement, and no such instrument is mentioned by Ascham in his *Toxophilus*, although he speaks of 'heatings and *tillerings*.' On the other hand it is manifest from the passages quoted in the note that the word was sometimes used to denote a particular kind of bow. And this is confirmed by Higgins, who gives the following definition : 'Arcus, cornu, Virg. τόξον, κέρας, Epigr. *Arc, Arbalestre.* A hand bow. Et sunt qui arcum brachio chalybeo instructum *balistam chalybeam* vocant, ut Nebrissensis *arcubalistam.* A steele bowe or *tiller.*' —*Nomenclat.* p. 277, ed. 1585. In the text, however, it seems to mean rather the limit of strength or capacity of pull exerted by the archer himself; but whether this view be correct or not, the advice given by Elyot remains the same, and exactly corresponds to the rule laid down by the Emperor Leo VI. in his *Tactica*, viz. τοξάρια δὲ ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπαλώτερα.—P. 55, ed. 1612 ; which M. Joly de Maizeroy translates 'un arc plus au-dessous qu'au-dessus de ses forces.' —*Inst. Mil.* tom. i. p. 69, ed. 1771. The same phrase is used by Beaumont, and Fletcher in the play called *Philaster*, published probably in 1608 : 'Use exercise, and keep a sparrow-hawk; you can shoot in a *tiller.*'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 33, ed. 1840.

Tisike, *phthisis, consumption.*—II. 339 and note.

Towker, *a tucker or fuller of cloth.* —I. 139. Skinner suggests with some plausibility that this word is derived from the Teutonic tuch = pannus. But it is also not improbable that it may be connected with the French 'toquer,' or 'toucher,' of which the earlier form, according to Roquefort, was *toucer, touker.* From the same authority we learn that a substantive 'touche' formerly was in use, meaning 'Éperon, ce qui sert à toucher ou à piquer un cheval.' This last was at any rate the original of Shakespeare's tuck = a rapier. Thus M. Lobineau in the proofs of his history, quotes a document of 1386, in which the former word occurs in this sense : 'Premier quant est de ce que ledit M. Robert de B. disoit que ledit M. Pierre avoit défailli en sa choaise et eslite de y mettre et avoir esperons ou *touches* pour mener et conduire le cheval ; de la science et permission de Mons. et du consentement des parties fut dit, non pas par sentence, mais par accord, que ils pourroient avoir et porter à ladite journée esperons ou *touches* ceux qui leur plaira.'—*Hist. de Bretagne*, tom. ii. col. 670, ed. 1707. Now it is possible that the name of an instrument used to prick or goad cattle may have been borrowed and applied to that employed in the process of teasing or carding wool. Higgins defines Pecten as 'instrumentum fullonum è carduis consertum, quo pannos rudes confricant, et in villos attollunt. A cloth worker's wool card : a *tucker's* or fuller's handle made with teazils.'—*Nomenclator*, p. 254, ed. 1585. The same authority gives 'Fullo, *Plauto.* Foulon. A fuller, a *tucker.*'—*Ibid.* p. 507. Amyot, in his translation of Plutarch's *De Herodoti Malignitate*, says : 'Il feit prendre l'un des plus grands amis de son frere, homme noble qui lui auoit esté aduersaire, et le tirant en la boutique d'un foulon, le feit tant

carder à coups de cardes et de peignes de cardeur, qu'il en mourut,'—*Œuvres*, tom. ii. fo. 651. ed. 1572. Holland's version of this passage is, 'He caught one of the nobles, a great friend and companion of his brother Pantaleon, who had before time been his adversary, and within a fuller's mill, all to beclawed and mangled him with *Tuckers* cards and Burling combs, so as he died therewith.'—*Plut. Morals*, p. 1003, ed. 1657. In a poem of about the reign of Ed. IV., this branch of trade is mentioned *inter alia:*

'A ordynaunce wolde be maad for the poore porayle,
That in thyse dayes have but lytyll avayle,
That is to sey for spynners, carders, wevers also,
Ffor *toukers*, dyers, and schermyn thereto.'
Polit. Poems, vol. ii. p. 285, the Rolls ed.

The statute 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 4, after referring to an earlier act of the same reign, recites that: 'Sithens the makyng of whiche Acte a great noumbre of the Kinges subjectes, that is to saye, weauers, *tokers*, spynners, diers and wulpikers, and many others have bene idell and withoute worke to their great impoverisshing which more and more is like dayly to encreace if remedye be not provyded.' In 5 Eliz. cap. 4, sec. 23, the Act of Apprentices, we find a more precise definition, 'Clothe Fuller otherwise called *Tucker* or Walker.' A later statute of the same reign speaks in the preamble of an order of the Privy Council with regard to Devonshire Kersies, 'a commodity heretofore in great request . . . . but of late marvailouslie (and not without occasion) discredited by the invencions and newe devises of the Weavers, *Tuckers*, and Artificers. . . . forbiddinge all other deceipts in weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other deceipts in *Tuckers*.' This statute (35 Eliz. cap. 10) enacts 'that eiche Weavor shall weave his shopmarke of some coloured yarne in thend of everie Kersey . . . . wherbye the deceitfull cuttinge and dymynishinge of suche clothes by *Tuckers* or Fullers heretofore used may hencforthe be prevented.' In *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* we find the cognate verb:

'Clooth that cometh fro the wevyng
Is noght comly to were,
Til it be fulled under foot
Or in fullyng stokkes,
Wasshen wel with water,
And with taseles cracched,
Y-*touked* and y-teynted,
And under taillours hande.'
Vol. ii. p. 322, ed. 1842.

Foxe publishes a report to Bonner by one Stephen Morris on 'the principal teachers of heretical doctrine in London,' in which mention is made of one 'Simon Harlestone, his abyding is alwaye at a place in Essex called Dedham, a iiii myles from Colchester, at one Harries house, a *Tucker*, and he is a greate perswader of the people, and they do mightely buylde upon his doctrine.'—*Actes and Mon.* p. 1606, ed. 1563.

Tracte, *course, length, space, extent, duration.*—I. 242. From the French *traict.* Cotgrave translates the phrase *Par traict de temps.* 'In *tract* of time, at length, in time, one time or another.' Whilst Palsgrave gives 'Successyon of tyme—*traict de temps z*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 278. And in his prefatory 'Epistell to the Kynges Grace' says, 'My sayd synguler good lorde Charles duke of Suffolke, by cause that my poore labours required a longer *tracte* of tyme, hath also in the meane season encouraged Maister Petrus Vallensys . . . to shewe his lernynge and opinion in this behalfe.'—*Ibid.* p. vii. Montaigne uses the same phrase: 'Par là, ie commenceay à reprendre un peu de vie; mais ce feut par les menus, et par un si long *traict* de temps, que mes premiers sentiments estoient beaucoup plus approchants de la mort que de la vie.'—*Essais*, vol. ii. p. 151. So Amyot, in his translation of Plutarch, says: '(Fabius) s'en alla trouuer Hannibal, non point en intention de le combattre, ains en ferme deliberation de luy consumer la uigueur de son armee par long *traict* de temps.'—*Les Vies*, tom. i. fo. 120, ed. 1565, which North renders, '(Fabius) dyd straight set forwards unto Hannibal, not as minded to fight

with him, but fully resolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and *tract* of time.'—P. 194, ed. 1579. Again, the former says of Cato: 'Il se rendit premierement bon plaideur, et eut la parole à commandement, et par *traict* de temps se feit orateur eloquent.' —*Ubi supra*, fo. 234. And the latter: 'In shorte time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in *processe* of time became an excellent orator.'—*Ubi supra*, p. 373. Wolsey constantly uses the phrase; thus, in a letter to the king, dated 10 Aug. 1523, he says: 'I have receyved veray good and joyous newes, howe that after the long *tracte* of tyme, with the manyfolde difficulties which have insurged . . . to the impechment of the treatie betwene thEmperour and the Venecians, the same, at the last . . . hath sorted and taken the desired ende and effecte.'—*State Pap.* vol. i. p. 117. The word continued to be used in this sense to a much later period; thus Bacon says: 'The third (sort) is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than *tract* of years can uphold.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 478, ed. 1858. And Hooker says: 'That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in *tract* of time.'—*Works*, p. 104, ed. 1723.

Traicte, verb, *to treat, to handle, to discourse.*—I. 165; II. 1, 88. The French *traicter*, the old form of *traiter*. Palsgrave gives, 'I trayte, I speake, or comen o ſa mater. *Je traicte*, prim. conj. We have no time to trayte of this mater now: *nous nauons poynt de temps de traycter de ceste matiere asteure.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 760. Montaigne constantly uses this word, as in the following instances: 'A fin que la memoire de l'aucteur n'en soit interessee en l'endroict de ceulx qui n'ont peu cognoistre de prez ses opinions et ses actions, ie les advise que ce subiect feut *traicté* par luy en son enfance par maniere d'exercitation seulement.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 277, ed. 1854. 'Quant à Cicero, les ouvrages qui me peuvent servir chez luy à mon desseing, ce sont ceulx qui *traictent* de la philosophie, specialement morale.'—*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 217.

Trayne, *to drag, to draw.*—I. 276; II. 273. The French *trainer*. Palsgrave has, 'I drawe at a horse tayle, or on a hardell. *Je trayne*, prim. conj. He was drawen upon a hardell at a horse tayle: *il fust trayné sur une herce, a la queue dun cheual.* I drawe about, or trayle a thyng aboute upon the grounde. *Je trayne*, prim. conj. I wyll drawe it after me: *je le trayneray apres moy.*'—*L'Esclair.* p. 526. The word occurs in the former sense in the regulations for the Assize of Bread in the City of London, *temp.* Ed. I. 'Si defaute soit trove en pain de pestour de la cite, a la primere defaute soit *treine* sus une claie de la Gihale (*i.e.* the Guildhall) jesques al hostel meme celi pestour, parmi les plus grauntz rues, ov le faus pain pendaunt entre soun col.'—*Lib. Cust.* p. 284, the Rolls ed. In the latter sense above mentioned it is employed by Montaigne, 'Que nostre disciple soit bien pourveu de choses, les paroles ne suyvront que trop; il les *trainera*, si elles ne veulent suyvre.'—*Essais*, tom. i. p. 235. And again: 'La curiosité, la subtilité, le sçavoir, *trainent* la malice à leur suitte.'—*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 361. Shakespeare evidently uses the word in the same sense in *The Comedy of Errors*:

> 'O *train* me not, sweet mermaid, with thy note,
> To drown me in thy sister's flood of tears.'

And also in *King Hen. IV. Part. I.*:

> 'All his offences lie upon my head
> And on his father's; we did *train* him on.'

Tree, *wood.*—I. 43; II. 306. This Anglo-Saxon word denoted not merely the living tree, but the timber into which it was ultimately converted. Thus in the *Promptorium* we find 'Tre, whyle hyt waxythe. *Arbor.* Tre, hew downe, or not growynge (hewyd downe and not waxynge), *Lignum.*'—P. 500. Sir John Maundevile, speaking of the King of 'Calonack,' tells us that 'in cas that he had ony werre agenst ony other kyng aboute him, thanne he maketh certeyn men of armes

for to gon up in to the castelles of *Tree*, made for the werre, that craftily ben set up on the olifantes bakkes, for to fyghten agen hire enemyes.'—*Voiage*, &c. p. 232, ed. 1727. Chaucer in *The Prologe of the Wyf of Bathe*, uses it in the same way as Elyot, as applied to utensils :

'For wel ye wot, a lord in his household
He nath not every vessel ful of gold :
Som ben of *tre*, and don her lord servise.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 209.

Foxe mentions one James Raueleson, who, 'building a house, set uppon the round of his fourth staire, the 3 crowned diademe of Peter, carued of *tree*.'—*Actes and Mon.* vol. ii. p. 1267, ed. 1583.

Trille, *to roll, to twirl.*—I. 294. This, like the last, is a regular Anglo-Saxon word. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Tryllyn or trollyn. *Volvo*.'—And 'Trollyn *idem quod* Tryllyn.' Whilst Palsgrave has, 'I *tryll* a whirlygyg rounde aboute. *Je pirouette*, prim. conj. I holde the a peny that I wyll *tryll* my whirlygyg longer about than thou shalte do thyne : *je gaige a toy ung denier que je pirouetteray de ma pirouette plus longuement que tu ne feras de la tienne*.'—And also, 'I tryll. *Je jecte*, prim. conj.' — *L'Esclair.* p. 762. Chaucer uses the word both in an active and a neuter sense. Thus in *The Squyeres Tale* we have an example of the former :

'The hors anoon gan for to trippe and daunce,
Whan that the knight leyd hand upon his rayne,
And sayde : "Sir, ther is nomore to sayne,
But whan you lust to ryde any where,
Ye moote *trille* a pyn that stant in his ere,
Which I schal telle you bitwen us two,
Ye moste nempne him to what place also,
Or what countre you luste for to ryde.
And whan ye come ther you lust abyde,
Bid him descende, and *trille* another pynne,
(For therin lith thefect of al the gynne)
And he wol doun descend and do your wille.
* * * * * *
Or if you lust to bid him thennes goon,
Trille this pyn, and he wol vanyssh anoon."
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 364, ed. 1866.

While in *The Sompnoures Tale* the same word is used intransitively :

'But up I roos, and al our covent eeke,
With many a teere *trilling* on my cheeke.'
Ibid. p. 264.

Spenser has followed this latter usage in *The Faerie Queene :*

'And yet, through languour of her late sweet toyle,
Few drops, more cleare than nectar, forth distild,
That like pure Orient perles adowne it *trild* ;
And her faire eyes, sweet smyling in delight,
Moystened their fierie beames, with which she thrild
Fraile harts, yet quenched not.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 235, ed. 1866.

Gascoigne, on the other hand, uses it actively :

'Ne wil I yet affray the doutfull harts
Of such as seeke for welth in warre to fall,
By thundring out the sundry soden smarts,
Which dayly chance as Fortune *trilles* the bal.'
Works, p. 127, ed. 1587.

With regard to the passage in the text, Mr. Julian Marshall, in his elaborate and interesting *Annals of Tennis*, considers it 'valuable as giving once more the word "stoppe" where the ball is said to "tryll fast on the grounde." This would appear to show the continuance of the custom of marking the chase, not at the point of the second bound of the ball, but at that at which it ceased to run, or was "stopped," as has been already observed.'—P. 69, ed. 1878.

Turgion, *the name of a dance.*—I. 230. As was observed in the note, there can be little doubt that by this word the author intended to designate the French *tourdion* or *tordion*. Of this dance the best authority on the subject gives the following explanation: 'Apres la basse-dance et le retour de la basse-dance, vous pourrez commencer la dance du *tordion*, qui est en mesure ternaire, comme est la basse-dance. Mais elle est plus legiere et concitee. *Cap.* Le *tordion* est-il composé des mesmes mouuements de la basse dance et son retour, c'est à dire de simples, doubles, reprises et branles ? *Arb.* C'est une aultre sorte de mouuements, qui consiste de certaines assiettes de pieds et une cadance, ce que ie vous

donneray plus clairement à entendre quant nous parlerons de la gaillarde, car le *tordion* n'est aultre chose qu'une gaillarde par terre . . . . En dançant le *tourdion* on tient tousiours la damoiselle par la main : et qui danceroit ledit *tourdion* trop rudement, on donneroit trop de peines et de sargots à la dicte damoiselle. *Arb.* Auiourd'huy les danceurs n'ont point ces honnestes considerations en ces voltes et aultres semblables dances lasciues et esgarees que l'on a amené en exercice, en dançant lesquelles on faict bondir les damoiselles de telle mode que le plus souuent elles monstrent à nud les genoulx, si elles ne mettent la main à leurs habits pour y obuier.'—Arbeau, *Orchesographie*, fo. 28–45, ed. 1588. The word, which according to Littré, is no longer in use, is derived from the verb *tordre*, to twist, and is translated by Cotgrave, 'A turning or winding about ; also a trick or prank ; also the daunce tearmed a round.' It is used by Scarron in its primitive sense for the wreaths or twists made by a serpent's tail :

'Ce grand serpent long de deux aunes,
Tout parsemé de taches jaunes.
* * * * * *
Il scandalisa par sa mine,
Et par sa face serpentine,
Et par de certains *tordions*,
Qui causoient palpitations
Les plus huppés de l'assemblée.'
Le Virgile travesti, tom. ii. p. 14, ed. 1752.

Turmentes, *warlike engines*.—I. 44. This word, which in this sense appears to be ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in English, is a literal translation of the Latin 'tormenta,' whose primary meaning was that given above. Thus Cicero says, 'Ut enim balistæ lapidum, et reliqua *tormenta* telorum, eo graviores emissiones habent, quo sunt contenta atque adducta vehementius.'—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. ii. cap. 24. And Archimedes is called by Livy, 'inventor ac machinator bellicorum *tormentorum* operumque.'—Lib. xxiv. cap. 34. In his *Dictionary* the author gives precisely the same definition, '*Tourment*, or an engyn to turment men, generally all ordinance pertaynynge to warre.' And since the note was printed the Editor has discovered that the passage in the text is a literal translation from the work of Patrizi : 'Marcus quidem Vitruvius affirmat bellica omnia *tormenta* vel à regibus, ducibus, imperatoribusve inventa extitisse : vel si qua ab aliis accessissent, fecisse ea longe meliora.'—*De Regno et Reg. Inst.* lib. ii. tit. 14.

U.

Ungyued, *unchained, unfettered*.—II. 64. See Giues, *ante*, p. 519.

Unhabill, *unfit, incapable, unable, disabled*.—II. 234. From the Latin 'inhabilis,' which is quite classical, and which the author in 'the Additions' to his *Dictionary* himself renders 'unapt.' It is used by Tacitus : 'Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent : quod et ipsis, vetustate militiæ, exercitatum, et hostibus *inhabile*, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus.'—*Agric.* cap. 36. Q. Curtius, speaking of elephants, says : 'Congregata vero tot millia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare, nec fugere potuerint *inhabiles* vastorum corporum moles.'—*Hist.* lib. ix. cap. 2. Jeremy Taylor, in the following century, uses precisely the same form as Elyot : 'If irregularity be *ipso facto* incurr'd, the offending person is bound in conscience not to accept a benefice or execute an office to which by that censure he is made *unhabile* and unapt.'—*Ductor Dubit.* p. 472, ed. 1676. The French form was also the same. Thus Palsgrave gives, 'Unable—m. et f. *inhabile s* ; m. *insuffisant s*, f. *insuffisante s*.'—*L'Escl.* p. 328.

Unneth, lit. *uneasily*, hence *scarcely, hardly*.—I. 11, 54, 77, 116, 138, 178, 200, 239 ; II. 13, 73, 100, 120, 137, 174, 229, 252, 261, 276, 307, 314, 335, 357, 396, 401. This regular Anglo-Saxon adverb is often used by the early writers. In the author's *Dictionary* we find the Latin 'vix' translated '*unethe*, scantly, hardily,' whilst Palsgrave has 'Unneth, *a payne*, or *a grant*

payne.'—L'Escl. p. 853. Sir John Maundevile, in his chapter headed 'Of the Develes Hede in the Valeye Perilous,' says: "Fro him comethe out smoke and stynk and fuyr, and so moche abhomynacioun, that *unethe* no man may there endure.'—*Voiage, &c.* p. 341, ed. 1727. The word is often used by Chaucer, as in the following instance:

'The Myller that for drunken was al pale,
So that *unnethe* upon his hors he sat,
He would avale nowther hood ne hat.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 96.

And in *The Frankeleynes Tale*:

'For sche was on the fairest under sonne,
And eek therto come of so heih kynrede,
That wel *unnethes* durst this knight for drede
Telle hire his woo, his peyne, and his distresse.'

Ibid. vol. iii. p. 2.

Again in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

'The heighe sobbes of his sorwes smerte
His spech hym refte, *unnethes* myghte he seye,
"O deth, allas! why nyltow do me deye?"'

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 310.

Also by Sir Thomas More, who says: 'Therefore, sithe this ungracious braunche of wrath springeth out of the cursed rote of pryde and settyng muche by our selfe, so secretely lurkyng in our hearte, that *unnethe* we can parceyve it our selfe, lette us pull uppe well the roote, and surely the braunche of wrathe shall soone wither awaye.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 87, ed. 1557. Spenser also employs it several times, as in *The Shepheard's Calender*:

'So faint they woxe, and feeble in the folde,
That now *unnethes* their feete could them uphold.'

Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 15, ed. 1866.

And in *The Faerie Queene*:

'Is then unjust to each his dew to give?
Or let him dye, that loatheth living breath,
Or let him die at ease, that liveth here *uneath*.'

Ibid. vol. ii. p. 10.

It is even used by Shakespeare in *King Hen. VI., Part II.*, who makes Gloster exclaim:

'Ten is the hour that was appointed me
To watch the coming of my punish'd duchess:
Uneath may she endure the flinty streets,
To tread them with her tender-feeling feet.'

Unwetynge, Unwittynge, *unknown, not knowing.*—II. 239, 281. The above are really only different forms of the same word, though treated by Richardson as separate and distinct. It is formed from the negative particle 'un,' and the participle 'weeting,' or 'witting' of the Anglo-Saxon verb 'to weete,' or 'wit,' noticed below. Chaucer, in *The Frankeleynes Tale*, says:

'And schortliche, if the soth telle I schal,
Unwytyng of this Dorigen at al,
This lusty squyer, servaunt to Venus,
Which that y-cleped was Aurelius,
Had loved hire best of eny creature
Two yeer and more, as was his adventure.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 8.

Spenser uses the same form as Elyot:

'From thence a Faery thee *unweeting* reft,
There as thou slept in tender swadling band,
And her base Elfin brood there for thee left.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 31.

Again:

'Her seeming dead he found with feigned feare,
As all *unweeting* of that well she knew;
And paynd himselfe with busie care to reare
Her out of carelesse swowne.'——

Ibid. vol. i. p. 138.

Ure, *operation, action, working, practice.*—II. 326. This word has long been a puzzle to etymologists, and it cannot be said that they have hitherto succeeded in solving the difficulty. Skinner, for example, seems to have thought that it was merely a contracted form of the Latin 'usura,' and, strangely enough, this absurd suggestion has been adopted without comment by Richardson. Mr. Todd, the editor of Johnson's Dictionary, contented himself with saying that the word was 'obsolete,' and declined altogether the task of seeking for its derivation. Dr. Latham, his successor in the same capacity, says *sub voc.* 'Enure,' 'From French *heur*, hap, fortune, chance, was formed English *ure*, fortune, destiny, the experience of good or evil. *Hence*, to *have in ure*, to *put in ure*, or to *enure*, is to experience, to practise, to take effect.' Even if this derivation were correct, it is difficult to follow a train of reason-

ing the logical consequence of which demands that we should regard practise as synonymous with chance. Nares hardly makes matters better by saying that though 'very currently employed for *use*, in Chaucer's time it had a very different meaning, being used for fortune or adventure, like the French *heure*; *ure* being also old French for hour.' It is certainly surprising that none of these authorities should have hit upon the real origin of the word, and that two of the most capable of them have failed altogether to perceive that Chaucer employed concurrently two words totally distinct in meaning, but spelt precisely alike, and each derived from a French source. The word Maynure (*mainœuvre*), already noticed, supplies us, however, with a clue to the true derivation, which is undoubtedly 'eure' or 'ovre,' the old form of the French *œuvre*. Roquefort notices both forms—'*Eure*, *evre*, *ewre*: Travail, œuvre, ouvrage; opus, operis.' And '*Ovre*, œuvre, ouvrage, affaire; *opera*.' And in *Le Roman de la Rose*, we find both employed concurrently. Thus:

'Car puis que pere et mere faillent,
Vuet Nature que les fils saillent
Por recontinuer ceste *ovre*,
Si que par l'ung l'autre recovre.
Por ce i mist Nature délit,
Por ce vuet que l'en s'i délit,
Que cil ovrier ne s'en foissent,
Et que ceste *ovre* ne haïssent.'
Tom. ii. p. 23.

And

'Ainsinc délit enlace et maine
Les cors et la pensée humaine
Par jonesce sa chamberiere,
Qui de mal faire est coustumiere,
Et des gens à délit atraire;
Jà ne querroit autre *ovre* faire.'
Ibid. p. 25.

Whilst, at the same time, we have:

'Bon cuer fait la pensée bonne,
La robe n'i tolt, ne ne donne,
Et la bonne pensée l'*uevre*
Qui la religion descuevre.'
Ibid. p. 331.

The last couplet is thus translated by Chaucer:

'The goode thought and the *worching*,
That makith the religioun flowryng.'
Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 191.

The very phrase *mettre en l'uevre*, of which 'put in ure' is the English equivalent, also occurs in this poem:

'Et quant se seront *mis en l'uevre*,
Chascuns d'eus si sagement *uevre*,
Et si à point que il conviengne
Que li délis ensemble viengne
De l'une et de l'autre partie,
Ains que l'*uevre* soit départie.'
Ubi supra, tom. iii. p. 20.

Now Palsgrave gives: 'I put in ure. *Je mets en experience*, or *je mets en trayn*. It shall be put in ure, or it be aught longe; *je le metteray en experience*, or *je le metteray en trayn auant que soyt long temps*.'—*L'Escl.* p. 673. This phrase was commonly found in our old law books. Thus Coke translates Littleton's sentence, 'Il serra entendue ascun foits estre *mise en ure*': 'It shall be intended that at some time it would have beene *put in ure*.'—*Co. Litt.* 80 b. Chaucer's use of the word in *The Remedie of Loue* is evidently analogous:

'—— in his prouerbes sage Salomon
Telleth a tale which is plainly found
In the fifth chapiter, whider in deed don,
Or meekely feined to our instruction,
Let clerkes determine, but this am I sure,
Much like thing I haue had in *ure*.'
Works, fo. 307, ed. 1602.

In the old play of *Ferrex and Porrex*, written by Thomas Sackville in the reign of Elizabeth, the phrase used by Littleton occurs again:

'Then saw I how he smiled with slaying knife
Wrapped under cloke, then saw I depe deceite
Lurke in his face, and death prepared for me.
Even nature moved me then to holde my life
More deare to me then his, and bad this hand
To shed his bloud, and seeke my safetie so;
And wisdome willed me without protract
In speedy wise to *put* the same *in ure*.'
Dodsley, *Coll. Old Plays*, vol. i. p. 145, ed. 1780.

Bacon, in his *Hist. of Hen. VII.*, shows us that he considered the word synonymous with practice, '(The Archduke) having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against the French King, did always advise the Archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England, was glad upon this occasion to *put in ure and*

practice their precepts.'—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 207, ed. 1858. Again, in his *Advancement of Learning*, commenting on Virgil's lines, 'Ut varias usus,' &c., he says, 'If you observe the words well, it is no other method than that which brute beasts are capable of, and do *put in ure*; which is a perpetual intending or *practising* some one thing, urged and imposed by an absolute necessity of conservation of being."—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 386. Hooker employs it exactly in the same way: 'Was it amiss, that having this way eased the Church, as they thought, of superfluity, they went on till they had plucked up even those things which, to abrogate without constraint of manifest harm thereby arising, had been to alter unnecessarily (in their judgments) the antient received custom of the whole Church, the universal practice of the people of God, and those very decrees of our fathers, which were not only set down by agreement of general councils, but had accordingly been *put in ure*, and so continued in use till that very time present.'—*Works*, p. 111, ed. 1723. Palsgrave gives also, 'I *bring in ure* by longe accustomynge of a thyng or condycion. *Je habitue*, prim. conj. It is displeasaunt unto you for a whyle, but and you were ones *brought in ure* withall it shulde never greve you: *il vous faiche encore pour ung peu, mays si vous estiez une foys habitué, il ne vous feroyt poynt de mal.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 467. The word occurs in the English translation of the Preface to the *Apophthegms* of Erasmus, but the sentence in which it occurs must have been interpolated by Udall, as there is no corresponding sentence in the original: 'This thyng more often cometh in *ure* then that it needeth by examples to bee proued.'—Sig. ** i b, ed. 1564. The following passage from Holinshed shows that it is *not*, as has sometimes been stated, merely equivalent to *use*. Speaking of the Scotch, he says: 'They haue certeine letters proper unto themselues, which were somtime in common use; but among such as reteine the ancient speach, they haue their aspirations, dipthongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in *ure* withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie; and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets.'—*Descript. of Scot.* p. 21, ed. 1585. Ascham, paraphrasing part of the speech of Adrastus (Eur. *Supp.* 911–917?) says:

'What thing a man in tender age hath most in *ure*,
That same to death always to keep he shall be sure.'

Tox. p. 47, ed. 1864.

And in an old play by Heywood, *The Four Prentices of London*, one of the characters exclaims:

'This bickering will but keep our arms in *ure*,
The holy battles better to endure.'

Dodsley, *ubi supra*, vol. vi. p. 493, ed. 1780.

There was also the verb *to ure* = to exercise, formed from the substantive. Thus Chaucer in his *Dream* says:

'And when I hadde thus all aboute
The yle avised throughoute
The state, and how they were arayed,
In my heart I were well payed,
And in my selfe I me assured
That in my body I was well *ured*.'

Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 90.

So Robinson, in his translation of *Utopia*, says: 'Now, how unnecessary a thynge thys is hereby it maye appere: that the ffrenche souldiours, whyche from their youthe haue byne practysed and *urede* in feates of armes, doo not cracke nor auaunce themselfes to haue verye often gotte the upperhande and masterye of your newe made and unpractysed soldiours.'—Sig. C. vi. ed. 1551. The corresponding passage in the original being, 'Quam vero non magnopere necessarium vel hinc elucescit, quod ne Galli quidem milites armis ab unguiculis *exercitatissimi* cum evocatis comparati vestris, admodum sæpe gloriantur superiores sese discessisse.'—P. 41, ed. 1548. In what is styled the second edition of the former work, the word is printed *inured*. This shows that *to ure* and *to inure* were identical, and it seems probable that the latter was adopted as a

simpler or contracted form of the phrase *to put* or *bring in ure*. Spenser very frequently uses this contraction. Thus, in a letter to Gabriel Harvey, dated April 1580, he says: 'I like your late Englishe Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also *enure* my penne sometime in that kinde.'—Haslewood, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 259, ed. 1815. In the following passage of *The Faerie Queene* it seems to be equivalent to 'bring about' or 'effect':

'Ne certes can that friendship long endure,
However gay and goodly be the style,
That doth ill cause or evill end *enure*.'
Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 126, ed. 1866.

In another it is employed in precisely the same sense as in the above letter, *viz.* as = to practise:

'He gan that Ladie strongly to appele
Of many haynous crymes by her *enured*;
And with sharp reasons rang her such a pele,
That those whom she to pitie had allured,
He now t'abhorre and loath her person had procured.'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 61.

Again, in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, it clearly has the same meaning:

'Scarce this right hand the mouth with diet feedeth,
So that it may no painfull work endure,
Ne to strong labour can it selfe *enure*.'

That this is so is proved by the context:

'With that the husbandman gan him avize,
That it for him were fittest *exercise*
Cattel to keep, or grounds to oversee.'
Ibid. vol. v. p. 10.

Utter, *to put out, to export, to expose for sale, to sell.*—II. 446 and note. This word, the meaning of which presents some difficulty, has generally been assumed to be of genuine Anglo-Saxon origin, but it is more probably derived from the French *outrer*. Du Cange and Roquefort both give a substantive, *outrée*, which is explained by the former to mean 'adjudication au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur.' The phrase *outrer un marché* is said to be equivalent to 'contractum emptionis vel venditionis concludere.' And in support of this assertion the following passage is quoted from a French MS., *circa* A.D. 1295: 'Uns bouchiers markeanda un pourchel à un homme. . . . Après che il se départirent d'iluec sans *outrer* le markié. . . . Li markiés fu *outrés* et li deniers Dieu donnés.'—Gloss. *sub voc.* Ottragium. The same form occurs in our statutes. The 9 Hen. VI. cap. 2, passed A.D. 1430, after reciting a previous Act, which ordained that transactions between English and foreign merchants should be carried on for ready-money, or by way of barter only, proceeds, 'Pur cause de quelle ordinaunce les Marchauntez Englois nount mye venduz ne poient vendre ne *outrer* lour draps as marchantz aliens.' Or, according to the English version, 'because of which ordinance the English merchants have not sold nor cannot sell nor *utter* their cloths to merchants aliens.' In a later statute, 'utterance' seems to be used in its primitive sense, and as the equivalent of 'export.' 8 Ed. IV. cap. 1, passed in 1468, recites that it had been formerly customary in certain counties to manufacture cloths of a size prescribed by law: 'Pur qoy les ditz feisours de draps et enhabitantz en les ditz countees graundement prosperoient et avoient graund profit et boon *utterance* de les ditz draps.' It then alleges that in the said counties cloths are now made deficient in size: 'Pur cause des quelles deceites sibien en non droit overaigne come en defaute del longeur laeure et poise, les ditz feisours de draps et enhabitantes deinz les ditz trois countees ne ount pas ne avoir puissent *utterance* ou passage en les parties estraunges.' The English word occurs in this sense in a poem called 'The Libel of English Policy,' written in the fifteenth century:

'Than sone at Venice of them men wol it bye,
Then *utterne* there the chaffare be the payse.'
Pol. Poems, vol. ii. p. 175, the Rolls ed.

In the same collection the same word, but with the meaning of 'to speak,' is spelt *ottre*. In the seventeenth century the word was still applied to the sale of various articles, such as pictures, &c. Thus Peacham, in a notice of John

Cimabue, the artist, says: 'Some of his peeces, for the raritie, were carried out of his house into the new church in Florence . . . . others being *uttered* at great rates ouer all France and Italy.' —*The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 118, ed. 1622. The word, in a sense analogous to that of which examples have been given, still survives in the technical language of our criminal law, which makes it an offence to 'utter' counterfeit coin.

V.

Valour, *value, price.*—II. 205. The French *valeur*, of which, however, the old form was also *valuë*. Thus Palsgrave has 'Valewe—*ualeur s*, f. Value, prise—*ualue s*, f. *L'Esel.* p. 284. In *Le Roman de la Rose* we find—

> 'Car bonté faite par priere
> Est trop malement chier venduë
> A cuers qui sunt de grant *valuë*.'
> Tom. ii. p. 36, ed. 1814.

But Chaucer, in his translation of this passage, employs the above form:

> 'For goode dede done thurgh praiere
> Is sold, and bought to deere iwys,
> To herte that of grete *valour* is.'
> *Poet. Works*, vol. vi. p. 160, ed. 1866.

And so he does in *The Testament of Loue*: 'Truly therein thou lesest the guerdone of vertue, and lesest the greatest *valour* of conscience, and unhap thy renoume euerlastyng.'—Fo. 279 b, ed. 1602. Sir Thomas More also adopted the same form in some verses which he 'wrote in his youth for his pastime,' and which are printed in the folio edition of his collected works:

> 'There spent he fast
> Till all was past,
> And to him came there meny
> To aske theyr det,
> But none could get
> The *valour* of a peny.'

Thomas Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, in a discourse entitled *David's Harp*, written in 1542, says, 'Because no man, be he never so holy, good, and perfect, should think that through his own holiness, goodness, and perfection, he hath deserved that his death should be dear, precious, and of great *valour* in the Lord's sight. . . . . David singeth here how it cometh to pass that the death of saints . . . is so precious in the sight of the Lord.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 291, ed. 1843, Park. Soc. Bacon long afterwards, in his *Advancement of Learning*, used the same form as Elyot. 'So that as it is said of untrue *valours* that some men's *valours* are in the eyes of them that look on, so such men's industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 272, ed. 1857. Knolles in his account of Bajazet II. in 1481, says, 'Zemes, when he had staid three daies at Iconium, caused his treasure, plate, jewels, and other things of great *valour* and light carriage to be trussed up, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children . . . fled into Siria.'—*Hist. of Turks*, p. 439, ed. 1610.

Vaunt, *to vault.*—I. 186; II. 167, This form appears to be extremely uncommon, and no instances are mentioned in the Dictionaries. But Holland uses a somewhat similar form in translating the following passage: 'Illum pavore cæpisse regredi, feram vero *circumvolutari* non dubie blandientem.'—(Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 21); 'The man, for feare, began to retire and go backe againe, but the wild beast kept a tumbling and *vauting* all about him; doubtlesse, and by all apparance after a flattering sort.'—Vol. i. p. 204, ed. 1635. And so does Knolles in his description of the Mamelukes. 'The late Egyptian Sultans . . . had for the strengthening of their kingdome bought an infinit number of slaues, especially of the poore and hardie Circassians . . . of which poore slaues the late Ægyptian Sultans taking their choice, and culling out from the rest such as were like to be of greatest spirit and abilitie of bodie, deliuered them unto most skilfull and expert teachers, by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leape, to *vaut*, to shoot, to ride, with all other feats of actiuitie.'—*Hist. of Turks*, p. 106, ed. 1610.

Vengeable, *revengeful, cruel.*—II. 57. In Huloet's *Dictionary*, published in 1552, we find 'Vengeable, *Proceritus, scelestus, vindex* : properlye, whyche dothe reuenge.' And 'Vengeable or full of cursednes, mischiefe, or ungratiousnes. *Scelestus, scelerosus.*' Baret's *Alvearie*, printed in 1573, gives 'A vengeable tiraunt. *Tyrannus dirus.*' Chaucer in *The Testament of Loue*, says, 'A man *vengeable* in wrath, no gouernance in punishment ought to haue.' *Works*, fo. 290 b, ed. 1602. Occleve, who wrote *temp.* Hen. IV., also uses this word several times as *ex. gr.*:

'Allas! my worthy maister honorable,
This londes verray tresour and richesse,
Dethe by thy dethe hathe harme irreparable,
Unto us done, hir *vengeable* duresse
Dispoilede hathe this londe of swetnesse
Of rethoryk fro us, to Tullius
Was never man so like amonge us.'
De Reg. Prin. p. 75, ed. Rox. Club, 1860.

Ascham, in one of his letters from Germany in 1551, says, 'Madelburgers be *vengeable* fellows; they have almost marred all Duke Maurice's men; and yet they be as strong as ever they were.' —*Works*, vol. i. p. 284, ed. 1865. Bishop Bale, in *The Image of both Churches*, written about 1545, says, 'The wicked fight with errors and lies. . . . . As *vengeable* and as fierce as they are, yet prevail they not, neither is their place found any more in heaven.' —*Works*, p. 412, ed. 1849. Par. Soc. Spenser uses this word twice in the same canto :

'Which when I heard, with horrible affright
And hellish fury all enraged, I sought
Upon myselfe that *vengeable* despight
To punish."

And again :

'With that one of his thrillant darts he threw,
Headed with yre and *vengeable* despight.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. pp. 107, 111, ed. 1866.

Ventilate, part., *discussed, examined.* —I. 265. The Latin verb 'ventilare,' of which the primary meaning was to fan, or winnow, was applied metaphorically to the discussing, or as we still say, threshing out of any subject proposed for discussion. Thus Pierre de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, prints in the appendix to his *History of Spain*, a record of some legal proceedings in A.D. 1027, in which there is the following sentence : 'Cumque diu hæc causa fuisset *ventilata* coram jamdictis omnibus et aliis quampluribus, inventum est verum esse quòd jamdictus condam Stephanus eum dedisset sibi.'—*Marca Hispan.* col. 1042, ed. 1688. Hence it was adopted as a law term in France. And in some letters of Chas. V., with reference to the Church of Chartres, dated July 1367, it is ordered that 'Toutes leurs causes meues et à mouvoir soient *ventillées* et determinées ou temps avenir et en touz cas, en nostre Chambre de Parlement, pardevant les genz qui tiennent et tendront ledit Parlement.'—*Ordonn. des Rois*, tom. v. p. 25, ed. 1736. And the English word is obviously employed in the same sense in a letter from the Ambassadors of Hen. VIII. at the Papal Court to Wolsey: 'Not dowting,' they say, 'but his Majesty, understonding hereof, wold use domestico remedio apud suos, without *ventilating* his cause, where he perceiveth it is handeled, loked on, and herde as thow there were alredy in mennes harts enrooted præjudicata opinio that al things were colored, and nullis nixa radicibus justitiæ et veritatis.'—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* vol. i. part ii. p. 82, ed. 1822.

Visage, verb, *to regard, confront, look in the face of.*—II. 15. From a French verb *visager*, which, however, seems extremely rare, as it is not mentioned by Cotgrave or Littré. Palsgrave gives, 'I *vysage*, I make contenaunce to one. *Je visaige*, prim. conj. This man hath *vysaged* me well sythe I came in a dores : *cest homme icy ma bien visaigé despuis que je suis entré en la mayson.*' —*L'Escl.* p. 765. The analogous phrases *faire visage, remontrer visage*, show how the simple verb may have originated. Thus in the *History of Jean D'Arc* we are told, 'Tout soudain elle tourna contre eux, et tant peu qu'elle eust de gens, elle leur *fit visage*, et marcha contre les Anglois à grands pas, et Estendart desployé.'—Godefroy,

Hist. de Chas. VII. p. 512, ed. 1661. And so Froissart in his account of the wars in Flanders in 1379 says, 'Quand ceux de devant étoient morts ou blessés, les autres qui étoient derrière les tiroient hors, et puis se mettoient devant et *remontroient grand visage*.' — *Chron.* tom. ii. p. 81, ed. Pan. Lit.; which Lord Berners translates, 'shewed hardy visage.' The Editor has been unable to find any other instances of the use of the simple verb in this sense except by Chaucer in *The Marchaundes Tale*:

'Al had a man seyn a thing with bothe his yen,
Yit schul we wymmen *visage* it hardily,
And wepe, and swere, and chide subtilly.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

Voluptie, *carnal pleasure, sensuality.* —I. 85; II. 325. This is simply the French *volupté*, which Cotgrave translates 'Pleasure, voluptuousnesse, sensuality, worldly delight.' Thus Montaigne says, 'Je veux laisser à part les escripts des philosophes qui ont suivy la secte d'Epicurus, protectrice de la *volupté*.'—*Essais*, tom. iii. p. 417. And again: 'Que la *volupté* est qualité brutale, indigne que le sage la gouste. . . . . Ce n'est pas ce que dict Socrates, son precepteur et le nostre; il prise, comme il doibt, la *volupté* corporelle, mais il prefere celle de l'esprit.' —*Ibid.* tom. iv. p. 333, 334. The English form is used by Bishop Fisher in his *Seven Penitentiall Psalms*: 'It is accordynge with ryght and equyte, that the persone whiche hathe folowed his owne sensual pleasure ayenst the wyll of Almighty God redeme and make amendes for his erroure in folowynge the wyll of God, contrarye to his owne *volupty* and worldly pleasure.'—Sig. hh, ii. ed. 1509. And again: 'The synfull creature whiche so greuously hath displeased God his Maker, folowynge his owne sensuall and unlawfull *volupty* ayenst the wyll of our Lord, of very ryght ought to suffre as moche displeasure and payne as he had pleasure before in the sensuall and unryghtwyse appetyt of his body.' — *Ibid.* sig. mm, iv.

Voluptuositie, *evil passion.*—I. 35. This word seems to be formed from the Latin 'voluptuositas,' which, however, is itself apparently so extremely rare, that Du Cange can only cite a single instance of its usage, and that from a theologian of the fourteenth century, Jean de Cardaillac, whose works, according to the authors of *Gallia Christiana* are 'nondum typis mandata.' The English form, however, is used by Gower:

'For loue, whiche is unbesein,
Of all reason, as men sein,
Through sotie, and through nicetee
Of his *voluptuositee*,
He spareth no condicion,
Of kynne, ne yet religion.'
Con. Am. fol. clxxiv b. ed. 1554.

And also by Fabyan, who, speaking of Stigand, Bishop of Winchester (A.D. 1047), says: 'Then was openly spoken, that he was not worthie a bishoprich that could use the brag or pompe of the worlde, the use of *voluptuositie*, of glotonie, and lecherie, the shinyng arraie of clothyng, the countenaunce of knightes, and the gatheryng of horsemen, and thinketh full litle on the profite of soules.'—*Chron.* vol. i. p. 286, ed. 1559.

W.

Weale, *prosperity.*—I. 1, 15, 18; II. 108. This is a regular Anglo-Saxon word as Elyot himself tells us. It is constantly used by Chaucer, as in *The Knightes Tale*:

'For now is Palomon in al his *wele*,
Lyvynge in blisse, richesse, and in hele.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 95, ed. 1866.

And *The Man of Lawes Tale*:

'These marchantz have don fraught here schippes newe,
And whan they have this blisful mayde seyn,
Home to Surrey be they went ayein,
And doon here needes, as they have don yore,
And lyven in *wele*, I can you saye no more.
Ibid. p. 175.

In *The Clerkes Tale* it is used pleonastically:

'And of your newe wif, God of his grace,
So graunte yow *wele* and prosperité.'
Ibid. p. 304.

In *The Marchaundes Tale* it is contrasted with woe:

'For who can be so buxom as a wyf?
Who is so trewe and eek so ententyf
To kepe him, seek and hool, as is his make?
For *wele* or woo sche wol him not forsake.'
Ibid. p. 319.

From a passage in *The Testament of Loue* we see that it was not merely synonymous with wealth: 'While I was glorious in worldly welfulnesse, and had soche goodes in wealth as maken men riche, tho was I draw into compaignies that loos, prise, and name yeuen: tho louteden blasours, tho curseiden glosours, tho welcomeden flatterers, tho worshipped thilke, that now deinen not to looke. Euery wight in soche yearthly *weale* habundaunt is hold noble, precious, benigne, and wise, to doe what he shall, in any degree that menne him set, all be it that the soth be in the contrary of all tho thinges.'—*Works*, fo. 280, ed. 1602. Gower applies the epithet 'woeful' to it in speaking of the victim of Avarice:

'Whom many a nightes drede assaileth,
For though he ligge a bed naked,
His herte is euermore awaked,
And dremeth as he lieth to slepe,
How besy that he is to kepe
His tresour, that no thefe it stele,
Thus hath he but a wofull *wele*.'
Con. Am. fo. lxxxvi, ed. 1554.

Again, speaking of Astrology, he says:

Amonge the mennes nacion,
All is through constellecion,
Wherof that some man hath the *wele*,
And some men haue diseases fele
In loue as well as other thynges.'
Ibid. fol. cxliv b.

Bacon uses the word precisely in the same way in the *New Atlantis*, 'Therefore for God's love, and as we love the *weal* of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 134, ed. 1857. Again, in his *Essays*: 'Certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the *weal* and advancement of the state which they serve.'—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 444.

Weede, *a robe, a garment*, either of a man or woman.—II. 423 and note. The very same expression, 'mourning weed,' is used by Shakespeare in *King Hen. VI., Part III.*, where Queen Margaret says to the messenger,

'Tell him, my *mourning-weeds* are laid aside,
And I am ready to put armour on.'

And in *Titus Andronicus*, Lucius says:

'As for that heinous tiger, Tamora,
No funeral rite, nor man in *mourning weeds*,
No mournful bell shall ring her burial.'

Spenser also shows distinctly that the word was not confined to the dress of women, for in his *View of the State of Ireland*, he says, 'Livery is also called the upper *weede* which a serving man weareth.' And again, 'The quilted leather iack is old English; for it was the proper *weed* of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas's apparell and armour, as hee went to fight against the gyant.'—*Works*, vol. viii. pp. 339, 390, ed. 1805. The word is used in the same way by Hooker, 'For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one *weed*, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments.' He also confirms what has been previously shown, that it was not necessarily of a sombre colour: 'They both (*i.e.* Jerome and Chrysostom) speak of the same persons (namely the Clergy) and of their *weed* at the same time when they administer the blessed sacrament; and of the self-same kind of *weed*, a *white garment*, so far as we have wit to conceive.'—*Works*, pp. 107, 155, ed. 1723.

Weete, *to know, to understand.*—I. 51. This verb, which is frequently spelt Wite, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb, Witan. In the *Promptorium* we find 'Wetyn, or knowyn, *vide infra in*

Wytyn,' and 'Wytyn, or wetyn, or knowyn. *Scio, cognosco, agnosco.*' Pp. 523, 531. Palsgrave has the very phrase used by Elyot in the text: 'I lette one to wyte. *Je sinue*, prim. conj. In whiche sence I fynde *je fais a congnoistre, jay fait a congnoistre, faire a congnoistre.* And *je donne a entendre, jay donné a entendre, donner a entendre*, conjugate in "I do," and "I gyve." I shal let hym to wyte: *je luy insinueray*, or *je luy feray a congnoistre*, or *je luy donneray a entendre.*' Also, 'This is to do you to wete: *cecy est pour vous faire scauoyr*, or *assauoyr.*'—*L'Escl.* pp. 607, 783. Hence the phrase still in use, 'to wit.' Chaucer uses this form in *Troylus and Cryseyde*:

'Now am I nought a fool, that woot wel how
Hire wo for love is of another wight,
And hereupon to gon asaye hire nowe,
I may wel *wete* it nyl not ben my prow.'
Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 33.

Also in *The Boke of the Duchesse*:

'Quod she, to Juno hir goddesse,
"Helpe me out of thys distresse,
And yeve me grace my lord to se
Soone, or *wete* wher so he be,
Or how he fareth, or in what wise."'
Ibid. p. 158.

Again, in the *Testament of Loue*: 'Sithen I haue so few especiall true now in these dayes, wherefore I may well at more leisar come to hem that mee deseruen, and if my comming may in any thing auaile, *wete* wel I wol come often.'—*Works*, fo. 273 b, ed. 1602. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham in 1560, has a phrase which seems to be the correlative of that used by Elyot: 'And because he joins to the next saying, "In the messages of the Lord," it *doth us to weet* the faithfulness of this prophet in his duty, that he speaks nothing but the words of the Lord truly, which sent him.'—*Works*, p. 107, ed. 1842. Par. Soc. So Holland translates: 'Atqui tertium, inquit, ante diem *scitote* decerptam Carthagine' (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xv. cap. 20); 'Lo (quoth he) my masters all, this I *do you to wit*, it is not yet ful three daies past since this fig was gathered at Carthage.'—Vol. i. p. 443, ed. 1635. This verb is very constantly used by Spenser, as the following instances show:

'Uprose, with hasty joy, and feeble speed,
That aged Syre, the Lord of all that land,
And looked forth, to *weet* if true indeed
Those tydinges were, as he did understand.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 47, ed. 1866.

'Sir knight, mote I of you this court'sy read,
To *weet* why on your shield, so goodly scord,
Beare ye the picture of that Ladies head?
Full lively is the semblaunt, though the substance dead.'
Ibid. p. 167.

Again, we find him using Elyot's phrase:

'Faire sir, I *let you weete*, that from the howre
I taken was from nourses tender pap,
I have been trained up in warlike stowre,
To tossen speare and shield.'
Ibid. p. 258.

At this period, too, we find the original form of the modern legal phrase, 'to wit.' Joye says: 'Here shall ye see the iust iugement of god, and what maner an emprour and princes he wyll suffer to raigne when he entendeth to kut of and translate their kyngdoms, that is *to wete*, dronkerds, belly-beastis, voluptuouse tyrants, couetuose oppressours of their comons, &c.'—*Exposicion of Dan.* fo. 63 b, ed. 1545.

Wene, *to think, to suppose.*—I. 87; II. 41, 43. This, like the last, is an Anglo-Saxon word. In the *Promptorium* we find: 'Wenyn, or supposyn. *Estimo, puto, suppono* (*reor, suspicor*).'—P. 522. Whilst Palsgrave has: 'I wene, I thynke. *Je cuyde*, prim. conj. I wene it be nat so: *je cuide quil nest pas aynsi.*'—*L'Escl.* p. 779. Sir John Maundevile, speaking of the trade in counterfeit balm, says: 'Summe destyllen clowes of Gylofre, and of Spykenard of Spayne, and of othere spices that ben wel smellynge; and the lykour that gothe out there of thei clepe it Bawme: and thei *wenen* that thei han Bawme, and thei have non.'—*Voiage, &c.*, p. 62, ed. 1727. It is constantly used by Chaucer; thus in *The Knightes Tale*:

'He festeth hem, and doth so gret labour
To esen hem, and do hem al honour,
That yit men *wene* that no mannes wyt
Of non estat that cowde amenden it.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 68, ed. 1866.

Again, in the *Prologe of the Chanounes Yeman* :

'To moche folk we ben bot illusioun,
And borwe gold, be it a pound or tuo,
Or ten, or twelve, or many sommes mo,
And make hem *wenen* atte leste weye,
That of a pound we conne make tweye.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 49.

Also in the *Testament of Loue* : 'Now precious Margarite, that with thy noble vertue hast drawne mee into loue firste, me *wenyng* thereof to haue blisse, as galle and aloes are so muche sprong, that sauour of sweetnesse may I not atast.'—*Works*, fo. 273, ed. 1602. Sir Thomas More says : 'Like as if he would in like maner and of like entent translate *baptisma* into washing, to make menne *wene* it were no nother maner washing when the priest christeneth a chylde, then when a womanne washeth a bucke of clothes.'—*Workes*, vol. i. p. 428, ed. 1557. It is very frequently used by Spenser, as in the following instance :

'So when he saw his flatt'ring artes to fayle,
And subtile engines bett from batteree ;
With greedy force he gain the fort assayle,
Whereof he *weend* possessed soone to bee,
And win rich spoil of ransackt chastitee.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 179, ed. 1866.

And in the *Epithalamion* :

'Clad all in white, that seems a virgin best,
So well it her beseemes, that ye would *weene*
Some Angell she had beene.'
Ibid vol. v. p. 207.

Woode, adj., *mad, frantic, furious.* —II. 274. An Anglo-Saxon word. The author in his *Dictionary* translates Furibundus 'woode, or very madde' ; Furiosus, 'madde, or wodde, frantyke' ; Proceritus, 'incensed, or prouoked with an yll spiryte, madde or woode,' and Rabidus, 'madde or woode, as a madde dogge.' In the *Promptorium* we find : 'Woode or madde (or oothe), *Amens, furiosus, insanus*, (*demens, vesanus, ferus, furius*).'—P. 531. Palsgrave has : 'Woode or madde—m. *fureux*, f. *fureuse s* ; m. *furieux*, f. *furieuse s.*'—*L'Escl.*, p. 329. Chaucer constantly uses this adjective. Thus in *The Prologue*, describing the Sompnour, he says that :

'Wel loved he garleek, oynouns, and eek leekes,
And for to drinke strong wyn reed as blood,
Thanne wolde he speke, and crye as he were *wood*.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 20, ed. 1866

And in *The Knightes Tale* :

'——And aftirward upsterte
This Palamon, that thoughte thurgh his herte
He felt a cold swerd sodeynliche glyde ;
For ire he quook, he nolde no lenger abyde.
And whan that he hath herd Arcites tale,
As he were *wood*, with face deed and pale,
He sterte him up out of the bussches thikke.'
Ibid. p. 49.

And in *The Prologe of the Pardoner:*

'Owre ost gan swere as he were *wood*;
"Harrow!" quod he, "by nayles and by blood!
This was a cursed thef, a fals justice."
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 85.

Spenser has precisely the same phrase in *The Shepheard's Calender* :

'*P.* My sheepe did leave theyr wonted food,
W. Hey, ho, seely sheepe!
P. And gaz'd on her as they were *wood*.
W. Woode as he that did them keepe.'
Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 58, ed. 1866.

And in *The Faerie Queene* :

'Before the door her yron charet stood,
Already harnessed for journey new,
And cole black steedes yborne of hellish brood,
That on their rusty bits did champ as they were *wood*.'
Ibid. p. 169.

Again :

'Now gan Pyrochles wex as *wood* as hee,
And him affronted with impatient might :
So both together fiers engrasped bee,
Whyles Guyon standing by their uncouth strife does see.'
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 117.

Fabyan, in his account of the battle of Courtrai, in 1302, says : 'Lastlye, the Earle Sainct Paule and Boleyne, wyth Roberte the sonne of this Earle of Cleremont, and other, with the number of two thousande horsemen, seynge the rage and *woodnes* of the Flem-

minges, whiche so cruellye slewe and beate downe the Frenchmen . . . . shamefullye fled out of the fielde. . . . But the Flemminges, like *woode* tygres, were so enraged uppon the Frenchmen, that thei wold neuer leaue them till they by pure force draue them into their tentes, where thei slew of them a great multitude.'—*Chron.*, vol. ii. p. 156, ed. 1559. Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, says: 'No man can write a thing so earnestly, as when it is spoken with gesture, as learned men, you know, do say. How will you think that such furiousness, with *wood* countenance, and brenning eyes, with staring and bragging, with heart ready to leap out of the belly for swelling, can be expressed the tenth part to the uttermost.'—P. 45, ed. 1864.

Wortes, *pot-herbs.*—II. 343. An Anglo-Saxon word. In the *Promptorium* we find, 'Wort, herbe. *Olus, caulis.*'—P. 532. Huloet in his *Abcedarium*, printed in 1552, gives 'Wortes for the potte, which be all kynde of potte herbes. *Lachana. Lachanopolis* is a seller of wortes, or lyke herbes.' Palsgrave has 'Wortes for potage—*potage s*, m; *poree s*, f.' —*L'Escl.* p. 290. Chaucer uses the word in *The Clerkes Tale*:

'And when sche hom-ward com sche wolde brynge
Wortis or other herbis tymes ofte,
The which sche schred and seth for her lyvynge,
And made hir bed ful hard, and nothing softe.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 285, ed. 1866.

Also in *The Nonne Prest his Tale:*

'A colefox, ful of sleight and iniquite,
That in the grove hadde woned yeres thre,
By heigh ymaginacioun forncast,
The same nighte thurghout the hegges brast
Into the yerd, ther Chaunteclere the faire
Was wont, and eek his wyves, to repaire:
And in a bed of *wortes* stille he lay,
Till it was passed undern of the day,
Waytyng his tyme on Chaunteclere to falle.'
Ibid. vol. iii. p. 241.

Y.

Yelde, verb, *to yield, surrender.* **Yolden,** part. *yielded, surrendered.*—II. 166, 219, 220 and note, 315. An Anglo-Saxon word. In the *Promptorium* we find 'ȝeldynge. *Reddicio.* ȝeldon (or qvytyn, *supra*) *Reddo.*'—P. 537. Palsgrave has 'I yelde, I restore or gyve a thynge agayne. *Je rens, nous rendons, &c.* I shall yelde it you tomorowe: *je le vous rendray demayn.*' —*L'Escl.* p. 786. Originally it was spelt with z instead of y. Thus Sir John Maundevile says: 'There made the people of Ebron sacrifice to oure Lord; and ther thei *zolden* up here avowes.' Again: 'Thei graunten also to hem that ben with inne, alle that thei wille asken hem. And aftre that thei ben *zolden*, anon thei sleen hem alle, and kutten of hire eres.'—*Voiage, &c.*, pp. 128, 303, ed. 1727. Chaucer in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale* has—

'And seurté wol I have, er that thou pace,
Thy body for to *yelden* in this place.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 234, ed. 1866.

And in *The Clerkes Tale*—

For I wol gladly *yelden* hir my place,
In which that I was blisful wont to be.'
Ibid. p. 304

In *Troylus and Cryseyde* we have verb and participle in close proximity:

'"Now be ye caught, now is ther but we tweyne,
Now *yeldeth* yow, for other boot is non!"
To that Criseyde answerde thus anon,
"Ne hadde I er now, my swete herte deere,
Ben *yolde* iwis, I were now nought here."'
Ibid. vol. iv. p. 274.

So also in the *Testament of Loue*: 'Many men in battell been discomfited and ouercome in a rightfull quarrell, that is Goddes priuie iudgement in heauen; but yet although the party be *yolden*, hee may with wordes say his quarrell is trewe, and to *yeelde* him in the contrary for dread of death he is compelled, and hee that graunted and no stroke hath feled, he may not creepe away in this wise by none excusacion.' *Works*, fo. 278, ed. 1602.

Yemen, *yeomen.*—I. 280; **Yoman for the mouthe,** *a butler.*—II. 223. The origin of this word has given rise to much discussion, and various derivations have been suggested. Amongst others, Minsheu, Spelman, and Skinner

have inclined to consider it either as a contraction for 'young men,' or from ȝeonȝ=*juvenis*; and Tyrwhitt, in his notes to Chaucer, has adopted this view. Apart from the fact, however, that the word *yeman*, or 'yeoman,' was by no means limited in its application in respect of age, it is not difficult to trace the source of this hypothetical derivation. The error—for such it must be considered—seems to be attributable entirely to a misconception of a passage in what are called the 'Constitutiones de Forestâ' of Canute. These are given by Spelman in his *Glossary*, and Art. 2 runs as follows: 'Sint sub quolibet horum (*i.e.* liberaliorum hominum) quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli *Lespegend* nuncupant, Dani vero *yoong men* vocant) locati, qui curam et onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.'—P. 240. Now Spelman, in another part of his work, in explaining 'yeoman,' gives as the most preferable derivation 'ȝeonȝa,' and goes on to say, 'iidemque sint qui in Canuti Ll. de Foresta *Juniores* appellantur, antiquis *pueri*, Germanis *Ambacti*, Gallis *Valeti*.'—P. 575. These 'Constitutions' were also printed in the 2nd edition of Manwood's *Laws of the Forest*, published after his death (they are not contained in the edition of 1598). And Minsheu, whose *Dictionary* was published in 1617, quotes the above extract from them on the authority of this work. Manwood's editor gives no indication of the source from which he obtained them, and Spelman is equally silent on this point; but they are quoted at length by Harrison in the *Description of England*, prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, which had been published many years before; and on comparing the mode of citation in Manwood with Harrison's text, no reasonable doubt can remain on the mind of the reader that the editor of the former was under an obligation to the latter. Harrison, after setting out the Latin text at length, had said: 'And these are the Constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit, as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.'—*Descript. Eng.* p. 208, ed. 1587. In Manwood we are told: 'These are the Constitutions of Canutus concerning the forest, very barbarously translated *out of the Danish tongue into Latin* by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit, as I find it, so I set it downe without any alteration of my copie in any iote or title.'—*Treatise of the Forest Laws*, fo. 5, ed. 1615. This, it will be seen at once, is a mere plagiarism from Harrison, with the addition of the words in italics, which the editor of the legal text-book thought fit to insert. Now it was on the strength of the interpretation put on Art. 2 of these Constitutions that Minsheu and Spelman, followed by subsequent writers, were induced, as we have seen, to suggest that yeoman = young man. The connection between the two, however, is so slender that it is surprising that an etymology, based as it is upon a misconception, should have held its ground so long, and that the source of error should not have been sooner traced. Lord Coke, indeed, upon the appearance of Manwood's book, threw great doubt on the authenticity of these Constitutions, giving as his reason that there was no ground for supposing that Canute 'ever published any Law for England in the *Danish* tongue, as they affirm he did this.'—4 Inst. 320. But, as we have already noticed, this assertion was a gratuitous one on the part of Manwood's editor, being nowhere so stated by Harrison, whose account is quite consistent with Lord Coke's statement that Canute's laws were published in *Saxon*. Harrison himself had prefaced the Latin version of the Constitutions by saying: 'That I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked up in the embers of obliuion, I will give out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest, whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowlege), and diuerse other notes

gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which, as you may perceiue, is in manie places unperfect, by reason of corruption and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored), I will note another breefe law which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, Canon 32, and beginneth thus *in his owne Saxon tong*, "Ic will that elc one, &c." I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take, either in the plaines or in the woods within his owne fee or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, upon paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by King Edward surnamed the Confessor, and ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine as I find it, word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the unskilfull and unlearned.'—*Descript. Eng.* p. 206. It is to be inferred from this passage that Harrison believed that the original Constitutions—or great charter, as he calls it—were in Saxon, and that the Latin version, of which he gives a transcript, was the work of some Norman scribe very imperfectly acquainted with the language in which the charter was written. The notion that the original law was promulgated 'in the Danish tongue,' must, at any rate, not be fathered upon Harrison, who was clearly of quite the contrary opinion; and the only reason that can be suggested for Manwood's editor making such an assertion is that some words in the charter are explained by the Danish equivalents. It is obvious, however, that Harrison regarded the transcript as an authentic instrument indeed, but exceedingly corrupt and 'barbarously' translated. Its authenticity, in spite of Lord Coke's criticism, seems no longer matter for doubt, and it has been printed by the Record Commissioners with other laws of the same king which have never been disputed; but the most cursory examination of the Constitutions will enable the reader to indorse Harrison's opinion as to the corruptness of the text. The word 'Lespegend' itself, to the alleged Danish equivalent of which the origin of 'yeoman' is said to be traced, is an impossible word, and Spelman, with great plausibility, suggested that the error had arisen through the scribe mistaking the Anglo-Saxon character ƿ (representing *th*) for a *p*, in which case the real reading would be Leƿðegen = Barones Minores.—See *Gloss.* p. 242. Now as the Latin text itself says that the officers in question are to be chosen *ex mediocribus hominibus*, there seems every probability of Spelman's reading being the correct one; but then it is equally probable that the words given as the Danish equivalent are corrupt, and if that is conceded, the very foundation upon which the theory that 'yeoman' = 'young man' has been built up, is at once destroyed. Spelman, it should be remarked, has not attempted to correct the reading 'yoong men,' and, indeed, has acquiesced in it by rendering it 'juniores' in his subsequent definition of 'yeoman.' It is, however, possible that the word which the scribe intended to give as the Danish equivalent was 'ƿinga-menn,' which, in Cleasby's *Icelandic Dict.*, is said to be the name given to the body-guard of King Canute and his successors in England; it was a hired corps of soldiers like the Wærings in Constantinople. Whatever the Danish word may have been, it is obvious from the context that it was intended to imply a class of men designated generally 'mediocres homines,' and not necessarily *young* men. The earliest mention of the word *yeoman* in the statute-book, so far as the Editor has been able to discover, is in a Statute of Apparel,

passed in 1363, 37 Ed. III. cap. 9, which enacts: 'Que gentz de meistere dartifice et de *office appelle Yomen* ne preignent ne usent drap de plus haut pris pour leur vesture ou chaceure que deinz qarant soldz le drap entier, &c.' By another chapter of the same statute it is ordered: 'Que nul garson, *yoman*, ne servaunt des Marchaunz, artificer, ou gentz de meistere ne use altrement en apparaill que nest ordeigne des garsons et *Yomen* des seigneurs paramont.' A quarter of a century afterwards, in a statute passed for the protection of the realm from internal disturbance, it is ordered by 13 Rich. II. stat. 3, passed in 1389, that no duke, earl, baron, &c., shall give livery to knight or esquire: 'Ne a nul vallet appellez *yoman archer* nautre de meindre estat que esquier, sil ne soit ensement familier demeurant en son hostell.' A few years later it is enacted by 16 Rich. II. cap. 4: 'Que null *Yoman* ne null autre de meindre estat que esquier desore en avant ne use ne porte nulle liverie appelle liverie de compaignie dascun seigneur deinz le Roialme sil ne soit meignal et familier continuelment demeurant en lostell de son dit seigneur.' Again, in the same reign, 20 Rich. II. cap. 2, passed with a view to the same object, the suppression of Baronial feuds, provides, 'Que *Vadletz appellez Yomen* ne null autre de meindre estat qesquier' shall use the livery of any lord. In the next century another act of apparel was passed, and amongst other persons excepted from certain of the provisions of 3 Ed. IV. cap. 5, are 'les *menialx servauntz de yomens degree* des seigneurs, Chevaliers, Esquiers, et autres gentilx hommes,' having property of the yearly value of forty pounds. These enactments demonstrate very clearly—1st. That yeomen in the 14th and 15th centuries were persons subordinate in rank to esquires; 2nd. That they performed menial services, and that the corresponding term in French was *vallet*. The latter, indeed, had formerly been applied to princes and the sons of noblemen in attendance upon the king, and who held offices in the royal household. 'Le mot de *valet* anciennement s'adaptoit fort souuent à titre d'honneur près des Rois.'—Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, p. 684, ed. 1621. Thus King Alfred, by his will, appointed persons of this class to distribute his property. 'Et volo quod armigeri mei cum *valectis*, et omnes qui cum ipsis in servitio meo existunt, ista distribuant modo supradicto.'—Camden, *Angl. Script.* p. 24. But afterwards the title seems to have been applied to soldiers of inferior rank, and who attended upon the knights in the field. This military inferiority in the 13th century is apparent from the following clause in the Constitutions of Fred. II., King of Sicily: 'Ut dignitatum gradus ex hominum qualitate in injuriis apertius distinguantur, statuimus Burgensem, seu rusticum, qui militem verberaverit, nisi probabitur quòd se defendendo hoc fecerit, manus detruncatione puniri. Eâdem pœnâ *Vallecto* imminente, qui *militem nobilioris gradus* verberare tentaverit.'—Sarayna, *Const. Siciliæ*, p. 265, ed. 1580. That the idea of *service* as a retainer, or *attendance upon* a superior, was always associated with this word, is shown by the following passage from Walsingham, who speaks of a certain John Schakel, in 1379 a prisoner in the Tower, being restored to liberty on certain conditions, one of them being that he would produce to the king the Count de Denia, whom he had taken captive: 'Jussus autem exhibere captivum, cunctis admirantibus, ministrum suum obtulit, qui ei astiterat et *more valecti servierat* in omni tribulatione suâ, et ante persecutionem quæ sibi illata fuerat in carcere, et extra carcerem; et ita fideliter sibi adhæserat, ut non potuisset agnosci; ita impense ministraverat, ut putari conductitius suus famulus merito potuisset.'—*Hist. Angl.* vol. i. p. 411, the Rolls ed. Chaucer observes the proper military subordination in *The Knightes Tale:*

'Lordes in paramentz on her coursers,
Knightes of retenu, and eek squyers.
* * * * *
Yemen on foote, and knaves many oon.'

And shortly afterwards we read:

'And eke his steede dryven forth with staves,
With footemen, bothe *yemen* and eke knaves.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. pp. 77, 84.

In the same Tale, we have a description of a knight's 'yeman' or attendant, and we are told—

'Wel cowde he dresse his takel *yomanly*,
His arwes drowpud nought with fetheres lowe.'

Here the adverb seems to be equivalent to 'carefully.' We have also the *Tale of the Chanounes 'Yeman,'* who speaks of his master as his lord and sovereign. And in *The Freres Tale*, a 'yeman' meeting a sompnour or ministerial officer of the ecclesiastical courts, hails him as a brother, and says:

'Thou art a bayly, and I am another.'

And then he proceeds to tell him—

'My wages ben ful streyt and eek ful smale;
My lord to me is hard and daungerous,
And myn office is ful laborous.'

Ubi supra, p. 250.

Now in all these passages, the notion that the 'yeman' was an *attendant* upon somebody is that which is most prominent, and it is always employed by early writers in connexion with *service*, generally of a menial description. Thus Elyot himself in his *Dictionary*, describes the Lacedæmonian Helots as 'commune mynysters or seruauntes, as sergeauntes, or suche as in London they do call *yomen*.' He gives also 'Laterani, *yeman* of the garde,' by which he may possibly mean the Laterenses mentioned by Tertullian (*advers. Marcion.* lib. iv. cap. 43), and who are said to have been so called 'quòd latus (presumably of the Emperor or some person of rank) claudunt.' And 'Vestiarius, the *yoman* of the robes, or he that keepeth the warderobe.' Palsgrave gives 'Yeman of the horse—*palfrenier s*, m.' and 'Yeman of the garde—*archier de la garde s*, m.'—*L'Escl.* p. 291. And the phrase still in vogue, 'to do yeoman's service,' assists us to realise the fact that the primary meaning of the word implied the performance of duties as an attendant or custodian. It is obvious that these duties would not necessarily devolve upon *young* men. The portraits of the yeoman, drawn for us by Chaucer, and which were probably taken from life, if they do not preclude the notion of youth, at least do not favour it. Sir Thomas Smyth concurs in this view. 'It cannot be thought that yeomen should be said a young man, for commonlie we doe not call any a yeoman till he be married and haue children, and as it were, haue some authoritie among his neighbours.'—*De Rep. Angl.* p. 32, ed. 1584. Too much importance, however, must not be given to this opinion, because the writer evidently drew his conclusions from observation of the *status* of the class as existing in his own time. Richard Verstegan, an antiquary of German extraction, who studied Saxon literature at a time when, as Chalmers says, such studies were very little prosecuted, suggested that as the letters y and g were frequently interchanged, the word yemen should be written gemen = the German gemein. 'And seeing that Gemen is all one with *common*, a *yeoman* is rightly understood a *commoner*.'—*Restit. of dec. Intell.* p. 331, ed. 1634. It is necessary to allude to this suggestion, because it has been frequently quoted with approval by subsequent writers, such as Lord Coke, Somner, Cowell, and many others. It is obvious, however, that though when Verstegan wrote many commoners might properly be called yeomen, this description would convey a very inadequate idea of what was meant by yeomen some centuries earlier, and leaves out of sight altogether the fact that they were originally attendants. There is no doubt, however, that he was so far in the right track in concluding that the initial letter was really g and not y. The interchange of these letters by the Anglo-Saxons is now universally admitted, and the Editor believes that in the verb Ȝyman = custodire, vigilare, attendere, will be found the real origin of yeman, the primitive form of yeoman. As some confirmation of this view, it may be observed that Chaucer himself uses a verb yeme = to keep, guard, which is obviously only another form of the Anglo-

Saxon verb Leman, or Lyman, both the latter, according to Lye, having precisely the same meaning. In *The Cokes Tale*, Chaucer says:

'Two gentilmen ther were that *yemede* the place.'

Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 148.

There was also a similar verb in the old Scotch language, '*Zeme*, in our auld language, is to observe, and keepe, as quhen in time of singular battell, they quha standes by and behaldes ar commanded to keepe and *zeme* the time of the derenzie (*i.e.*, combat), their weapons fra the handes of the appealer and defendour.'—Skene, *De Verb. Signif.* What may be called the concise or legal definition of yeoman, and which having been sanctioned by so great an authority as Lord Coke, has been generally adopted by the compilers of law dictionaries and text-books, can be traced no higher than the end of the 16th century, when Sir Thomas Smyth said, 'I call him a *yeoman*, whom our lawes do call *legalem hominem*, a worde familiar in writtes and enquestes, which is a freeman borne English, and may dispend of his owne free lande in yerely reuenue to the summe of xls. sterling.'—*De Rep. Angl.* p. 30, ed. 1584. Sir T. Smyth does not give his reasons for this conclusion, but it was probably from a consideration of the following circumstances: 1st by statute 23 Hen. VI. cap. 14, for the election of members of Parliament, it had been laid down that the only persons eligible were 'notable knights of the same counties for the which they shall be chosen, or otherwise such notable esquires, gentlemen of the same counties as shall be able to be knights, *and no man to be such knight which standeth in the degree of a yeoman and under* (et null home destre tiel Chivaler qui estoise en la degree de *vadlet* et desouth).' 2nd by a previous statute, 10 Hen. VI. cap. 2, the qualification of electors had been fixed to be that 'every man shall have freehold to the value of xls. by the year at the least above all charges.' Now reading these two statutes together, a yeoman might fairly enough be described as a forty-shilling freeholder. Moreover, Fortescue writing in the same reign, had said that a jury ought to consist of 'duodecim probos et legales homines de vicineto' (cap. 25), and had added that in England, 'Villula tam parva reperiri non poterit, in quâ non est Miles, Armiger, vel Paterfamilias, qualis ibidem Franklein vulgariter nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessionibus, necnon liberè Tenentes alii, et *Valecti* plurimi, suis patrimoniis, sufficientes ad faciendum Juratam in formâ prænotatâ. Sunt namque *Valecti* diversi in regione illâ, qui plus quam sexcenta scuta per annum expendere possunt; quo Juratæ superius descriptæ sæpissimè in regione illâ fiunt, præsertim in ingentibus causis de Militibus, Armigeris, et *aliis*, quorum possessiones in universo excedunt duo millia scutorum per annum.'—*De Laud. Angl.* cap. 29, ed. 1837. The words in italics are translated *yomen* by Robert Mulcaster in 1567, so that Sir T. Smyth was not without authority for calling a yeoman 'legalem hominem.' That these Valecti owed their origin to the feudal system, and were persons from whom *service* could be exacted by a superior, appears from the way in which they are mentioned in the early law books. Thus in Fleta, *temp.* Ed. I., the commission to the Justices of Assize directs them to inquire, 'De vicecomitibus et Ballivis fines capientibus de *Valectis* feodum Militis tenentibus, vel viginti libras terræ habentibus, *ne* (*i.e.* ut non) *milites fierent* ad mandatum Regis.'—Houard, *Cout. Anglo-Norm.* tom. iii. p. 61, ed. 1776. And Bracton, who also gives these 'Capitula' or articles of inquiry for the Justices itinerant, speaks of the possibility of the valecti escaping military service though of full age. 'De vicecomitibus et ballivis qui ceperunt redemptionem de *valetis* integrum feodum militis tenentibus, vel viginti libratas terræ habentibus, ne milites fierent ad mandatum domini regis, cum vicecomes et alii ballivi domini regis inde præceptum haberent speciale, de *talibus*, *plenæ ætatis existentibus*, milites faciendis.'—*De Legg.* fo. 117, ed.

1569. Valectus, or valettus, is said to be a corruption of vassalettus, a diminutive form of vasallus, and according to M. Littré, all the primitive forms of this word implied the notion of personal service, arising out of the feudal system; and as in the *Promptorium* ȝymanne or ȝomanne is given as the equivalent of Valectus, we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the Anglo-Saxon root-word of yeoman would convey a corresponding idea. Thus the word 'yeomanry,' originating in the nomenclature of the feudal system, is applied most appropriately to denote a *military* body, although the organisation of the force which is now distinguished by that name was created only in the present century. At the same time the terms 'yeoman of signals,' 'yeoman of the hold, &c.,' still, we believe, employed in the Royal Navy to designate seamen charged with special but subordinate duties, may be regarded from an etymological point of view as preserving the historical continuity of feudalism.

Yerde, *a rod, a staff.*—I. 219. This primitive form of the word is constantly used by the early writers. Thus, Sir John Maundevile, also speaking of Aaron's rod, says: 'In that arke weren the Commandementes, and of Arones *zerde*, and of Moyses *zerde*, with the whiche he made the Rede See departen, as it had ben a walle, on the righte syde and on the left syde, whils that the peple of Israel passeden the see drye foot: and with that *zerde* he smoot the roche, and the watre cam out of it: and with that *zerde* he dide manye wondres.'—*Voiage, &c.*, pp. 102, 103, ed. 1727. And Chaucer, in *The Prologue*, says of the prioress—

'Of smale houndes hadde sche, that sche fedde
With rostud fleissh, and mylk, and wastel breed.
But sore wepte sche if oon of hem were deed,
Or if men smot it with a *yerde* smerte.'
Poet. Works, vol. ii. p. 6, ed. 1866.

And in *The Knightes Tale*—

'Him thoughte that how the wenged god Mercurie
Byforn him stood, and bad him to be murye,
His slepy *yerd* in hond he bar upright.'
Ibid. p. 43.

Again in *The Persones Tale*: 'A philosopher, upon a tyme, that wolde have bete his disciple for his grete trespas, for which he was gretly amoeved, and brought a *yerde* to scourge the child; and whan the child saugh the *yerde*, he sayde to his maister, "What thenke ye to do?" "I wolde bete the," quod the maister, "for thi correccioun." "Forsothe," quod the child, "ye oughte first correcte youresilf, that han lest al youre pacience for the gilt of a child." "Forsothe," quod the maister, al wepyng, "thou saist sothe; have thou the *yerde*, my deere sone, and correcte me for myn impacience."'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 322. So also Gower:

'Tho toke this knight a *yerd* on honde,
And goth there as the cofers stonde,
And with thassent of euerichone,
He leid his yarde upon one.'
Conf. Am. fo. xcvi b, ed. 1554.

Yongth, *youth.*—II. 343. This is the Anglo-Saxon form of the word, and is used by Gower:

'The bright sonne by the morowe
Beshineth not the derke night,
The lusty *yongth* of mans might
In age but it stond wele,
Mistorneth all the last whele.'
Conf. Am. fo. clxviii. ed. 1554.

And also by Spenser in *Muiopotmos:*

'The fresh young flie, in whom the kindly fire
Of lustfull *yongth* began to kindle fast,
Did much disdaine to subject his desire
To loathsome sloth, or houres in ease to wast.'
Poet. Works, vol. v. p. 58, ed. 1866.

Yorning, *opening, giving tongue as hounds do.*—I. 194. The derivation of this word has given rise to some confusion. The editor of the *Promptorium* apparently considers it to represent the Anglo-Saxon word Uɒnan or Yɒnan, meaning to run, and says: 'The verb to erne or yerne, signifying to hasten or run as an animal, (Ang.-Sax. ɣrnan, *currere*), has not been sufficiently distinguished from the verb to yearn (Ang.-Sax. ȝeornian, desiderare), expressive of anxious longing or deep affection.'—P. 142. It is true that in one or two passages the meaning of 'to run' might not be altogether inconsistent with the context. But in this, as in many similar cases that might be

mentioned, a mistake has arisen from not considering the *history* of the word and its appropriate connection. Now the word is obviously a hunting term, and in order to rightly understand it we must consult our oldest authority, Turbervile, on the subject. He tells us 'When Foxes and Badgerds haue yong cubbes, take all your olde Terryers and put them into the grounde : and when they beginne to baye (whiche in the earth is called *yearnyng*) you muste holde your yong Terryers euery one of them at a sundrie hole of some angle or mouth of the earth, that they may herken and heare theyr fellowes *yearne*.' Again he says : 'As touching foxes, I account small pastime in hunting of them, especially within the grounde. For as soone as they perceyue the Terryers, if they *yearne* harde and lye neare unto them, they will bolte and come out streight wayes.'—*The Booke of Hunting*, pp. 181, 186, ed. 1575. And in his description of 'The sundrie noyses of houndes, and the termes proper for the same,' he says : 'When they are earnest eyther in the chace or in the earth, we say *they yearne*.'—*Ibid.* p. 240. In a letter written by one Robert Laneham, describing Queen Elizabeth's hunting at Kenilworth in 1575, he speaks of 'the *earning* of the hoounds in continuauns of their crie, the swiftness of the deer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horses, the blasting of horns, the halloing and hewing of the huntsmen.'—P. 17, ed. 1575. In a poem entitled *The Hunttyng of the Hare*, we find precisely the same form as that used by Elyot :

'When thei wer all in ther aray,
From all the dogges she went away,
Withouttyn ony torne.
The dogges wer nothyng to blame,
Thei knew not wele of that game,
Thei had seyn non full *yorne*.'

Weber's *Met. Rom.* vol. iii. p. 284, ed. 1810.

Now these passages, and particularly that from Turbervile, show conclusively that the word was applied to the *cry* of hounds ; and if this were all, we might be tempted to think that it represented the Anglo-Saxon word Ɛeonung, which Somner explains to mean 'Barritus, ruditus, garrulitas, a braying, a roaring, a prating, pratling or chattering.' But inasmuch as they seem also to point to the *action* of the hounds, accompanied by their cry, there is apparently no reason why we should not refer the origin of the word to the Anglo-Saxon Ɛeornian, which the authority above mentioned interprets, 'studere, desiderare, petere, earnestly to seek, desire or labour for.' This view is to some extent confirmed by the following passage in Chaucer's *Prologe of the Pardoner*, where the latter says :

'Than peyne I me to strecche forth my necke,
And est and west upon the poeple I bekke,
As doth a dowfe syttyng on a berne ;
Myn hondes and my tonge goon so yerne,
That it is joye to se my busynessse.'

Poet. Works, vol. iii. p. 88, ed. 1866.

So, too, in *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, we read—

'Othere werkmen ther were
That wroghten ful *yerne*.'

Vol. i. p. 123, ed. 1842.

Yoten, *melted, fused.* — I. 48. From the Anglo-Saxon verb, Ɛeotan, which Somner explains : 'Fundere, effundere, stillare, to poure out, to shed, to drop. Hinc infimæ Latinitatis *guttare*, eodem plane sensu.' He also gives Ɛeoterɛe, 'Fusor, flator, a melter.' In the *Promptorium* we find 'ȝetyn, metall, ȝetyn or ȝete metel. *Fundo*,' and 'ȝetynge, of metelle, as bellys, pannys, potys, and other lyke. *Fusio*.'—P. 538. In Elyot's own *Dictionary* we find Fundo, Fundere, translated 'to *yette*, or cast mettall, to powre out, to sheede, &c.,' and Statuaria, 'the crafte of caruynge, or *yetting* of ymages' ; Statuarius, 'he that carueth or *yetteth* images.' Chaucer uses the word in the sense of 'poured' simply, in *The Romaunt of the Rose* :

'For soth it is, whom it displese,
Ther may no marchaunt lyve at ese,
His herte in sich a were is sett,
That it brenneth quyke to gete,
Ne never shal, though he hath geten,
Though he have gold in gerners *yeten*,
For to be nedy he dredith sore,
Wherfore to geten more and more
He sette his herte and his desire."

Poet. Works, vol. vi. p. 174, ed. 1866.

In the old romance of *Richard Coer de Lion*, written probably *temp.* Ed. I., according to Mr. Ellis, we find the very same form as is used by Elyot :

> Hastely, without wordes mo,
> Hys mase he toke in hys honde tho,
> That was made of *yoten* bras,
> He wondryd who that it was.'
>
> Weber's *Met. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 18.

And so, also, in that called *Amis and Amiloun* :

> 'The lazar tok forth his coupe of gold,
> Bothe were *yoten* in o mold,
> Right as that selue it ware.
> Therein he pourd that win so riche,
> Than were thai bothe ful yliche
> And noither lesse no mare.'
>
> *Ibid.* p. 453.

According to the editor of the *Promptorium*, Billiter Lane is a corruption of Belleȝeter, or Belleȝtare, meaning a bell-founder, because foundries of that description were formerly situated in that locality.

Z.

Zelatour, *a zealous friend.*—II. 426 and note.—The French *zelateur*, meaning, literally, one who is zealous about anything. Thus in the *Mémoires* of Martin du Bellay, we find this word used in much the same sense as the English form is by Elyot : 'Que combien qu'ils creussent fermement que les propos scandaleux semez à l'encontre d'eux n'eussent lieu ne foy parmy les gens de bien, et qu'ils fussent tenus à tels qu'ils deuoient estre, c'est à sçauoir bons *zelateurs* du bien et augmentation de la Chrestienté, dequoy pouuoient assez faire foy les offres souuent par eux faictes pour resister contre le Turc.' —Fo. 99 b, ed. 1569. The English form is used by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, in a letter to Cromwell from Brussels, in 1539, and is evidently merely the translation of the French word, as the passage in which it occurs is part of the report of a speech which was obviously in that language : '"I assure you," quod she, "thoughe I say it to your self, I like you as wel as any man that ever I knewe, in any suche credite with his maister, estimation, and place, as you be in ; and I knowe that you have been ever a *zelatour* of this old amytie ; wherfor I require and pray you not to say me naye in this request."'—*State Pap.*, vol. viii. p. 185.

APPENDIX A.

TABLE OF OBSOLETE WORDS FORMED FROM THE LATIN.

Abhor (from a thing)	*Abhorreo*
Abiecte	*Abjectus*
Adminiculation	*Adminiculatio*
Adolescencie	*Adolescentia*
Aggregate	*Aggregatus*
Allect	*Allecto*
Allectyue	*Allectivus*
Amoue	*Amoveo*
Annect	*Annecto*
Applicate	*Applicatus*
Assentation	*Assentatio*
Assentatour	*Assentator*
Circumscription	*Circumscriptio*
Coarcted	*Coarctatus*
Compacte (= composed)	*Compactus*
Comprobate	*Comprobatus*
Concinnitie	*Concinnitas*
Condisciple	*Condiscipulus*
Confins	*Confinis*
Conglutinate	*Conglutinatus*
Cruciate	*Cruciatus*
Decerpt	*Decerptus*
Demulced	*Demulsus*
Deprehende	*Deprehendo*
Dispergement	*Disparagamentum*
Dissimule	*Dissimulo*
Domestical	*Domesticus*
Enforme	*Informo*
Entrelude	*Interludium*
Erogate	*Erogatus*
Erogation	*Erogatio*
Excerpe	*Excerpo*
Excogitate	*Excogitatus*
Exhibition (= stipend)	*Exhibitio*
Expende	*Expendo*
Exquisite (= recondite)	*Exquisitus*
Extincte	*Extinctus*
Fastidious	*Fastidium*
Fatigate	*Fatigatus*
Fecis	*Fæces*
Fucate	*Fucatus*
Humecte	*Humecto*
Illecebrous	*Illecebrosus*
Illect	*Illecto*
Importable	*Importabilis*
Incende	*Incendo*
Infame	*Infamo*
Infarced	*Infercio*
Infude	*Infundo*
Ingenerate	*Ingeneratus*
Ingourgitation	*Ingurgitatio*

Inquiet	*Inquieto*
Instinction	*Instinctus*
Laude	*Laus*
Leuigate	*Lævigatus*
Maculate	*Maculatus*
Obfuscate	*Obfuscatus*
Obsessed	*Obsessus*
Odible	*Odibilis*
Ordinately	*Ordinatim*
Ornate	*Ornatus*
Ostent	*Ostento*
Pale	*Palus*
Prevent (=anticipate)	*Prævenire*
Prouecte	*Provectus*
Radycate	*Radicatus*
Reboyle	*Rebullio*
Repugn	*Repugno*
Respect	*Respectus*
Simulachre	*Simulachrum*
Turment	*Tormentum*
Unhabill	*Inhabilis*
Ventilate	*Ventilatus*
Voluptuositie	*Voluptuositas*

APPENDIX B.

TABLE OF OBSOLETE WORDS FORMED FROM THE FRENCH.

Admonest	*Admonester*
Aduaunt	*Vanter*
Agreue(=to aggravate)	*Aggreuer*
Aigre	*Aigre*
Alay	*Allayer*
Appayse	*Appaiser*
Approper	*Approprier*
Asprely	*Asprement*
Attemptate	*Attentat*
Auoutry	*Avulterie*
Auoyd	*Voider*
Baratour	*Barateur*
Bargenette	*Bergerette*
Batable	*Batable*
Bayne	*Bain*
Bordell	*Bordel*
Burgen	*Bourgeonner*
Buten	*Butin*
Cautele	*Cautelle*
Cesse	*Cesser*
Compromit	*Compromettre*
Congrue	*Congru*
Conjuration	*Conjuration*
Couche	*Coucher*
Couenable	*Convenable*
Counterfaict	*Contrefaict*
Counterpoint	*Contrepoint*
Defalcate	*Defalquer*
Defende (=forbid)	*Défendre*
Deinzin	*Deinz*
Deliver (=agile)	*Délivré*
Departe (=divide)	*Départir*
Despeche	*Despecher*
Digne	*Digne*
Discourage	*Décourage*
Discrepance	*Discrepance*
Dissease (=to annoy)	*Desaisir*
Doulce	*Doulce*
Edifie	*Edifier*
Eye, at the,	*à l'œil*
Endomage	*Endommager*
Enforce	*Efforcer*
Engine	*Engin*
Enseignement	*Enseignement*
Entrelase	*Entrelasser*
Esbaied	*Esbahi*
Esbatement	*Esbatement*
Espial	*Espion*
Exploite	*Exploicter*
Expulse	*Expulser*
Faict	*Faict*
Fardelle	*Fardel*
Featly	*Faitement*
Fraunches	*Franchise*
Galyarde	*Gaillard*
Garded	*Garder*
Gesseron	*Jaseran*
Gestes	*Gestes*
Giues	*Giez*
Grutch	*Gruger*
Habile	*Habile*
Habilitie	*Habileté*

Hache	*Hache*
Harborow	*Herberger*
Harnes	*Harnois*
Haulte	*Hault*
Haunte	*Hanter*
Hauour	*Avoir*
Haye	*Haie*
Ieopardie	*Jeu parti*
Imbataile	*Embatailler*
Impechement	*Empeschement*
Inpreignable	*Imprennable*
Insolubles	*Insolubles*
Irous	*Ireux*
Irrecuperable	*Irrecuperable*
Layser	*Loisir*
Maistrie	*Maistrie*
Maynure	*Main ovre*
Meigre	*Maigre*
Missprision	*Mesprison*
Mountenaunce	*Montance*
Norisery	*Nourricerie*
Numbles	*Nombles*
Operatrice	*Opératrice*
Parsonage (= body)	*Personage*
Pauion	*Pavane*
Paynym	*Paienime*
Perler	*Parloir*
Perse	*Percer*
Petites	*Petites*
Popiniay	*Papegai*
Possede	*Possèder*
Pounced	*Poinçonner*
Poyse	*Pois*
Prease	*Presse*
Prepense	*Pourpenser*
Propise	*Propice*
Puissaunce	*Puissance*
Purpose	*Proposer*
Pye	*Pie*
Rebecque	*Rebec*
Recomfort	*Réconforter*
Redoub	*Radouber*
Relent	*Ralentir*
Remorde	*Remordre*
Renome	*Renom*
Reprinse	*Reprise*
Resplendish	*Resplendir*
Rode	*Rade*
Route	*Route*
Saulf	*Sauf*
Seele	*Siller*
Semblable	*Semblable*
Semblaunte	*Semblant*
Sengles	*Sengles*
Sophisme	*Sophisme*
Sophisticate	*Sophistiqué*
Sourded	*Sourdre*
Spice	*Espèce*
Spousaylles	*Espousailles*
Squynce	*Squinance*
Suscitate	*Susciter*
Table (= picture)	*Table*
Tache	*Tache*
Testar	*Testière*
Tracte (of time)	*Traict*
Traicte = treat of)	*Traicter*
Trayne	*Trainer*
Turgion	*Tordion*
Ure	*Uevre*
Utter (=to sell)	*Outrer*
Valour (=value)	*Valeur*
Visage (=to confront)	*Visager*
Voluptie	*Volupte*
Zelatour	*Zelateur*

APPENDIX C.

NOTE, page 61.

IN ORDER to ascertain as far as possible whether any formal record of Prince Henry's committal to prison existed in the Archives of the Public Record Office, the Editor requested an experienced Record-Agent to search the Controlment Rolls for the whole of the reign of Henry IV. After a most careful and thorough investigation Mr. John Mc Donagh reported to the Editor in November, 1876, as follows : 'I have completed an inspection of the Controlment Rolls of the Queen's Bench for any notice of the committal of Prince Henry, but without result.' So far the Editor's anticipations were realised, but even still stronger corroboration of the opinion he had ventured to express was soon forthcoming. The Editor was not aware, until long after the note was printed, that any previous explorer had travelled over the same dry and arid tract on a similar mission. By a strange coincidence, however, just as the last sheets of *The Governour* were passing through the press, he learned that Mr. F. Solly Flood, ex-Attorney General for Gibraltar, had many years previously and with a totally different object, undertaken precisely the same inquiry. That gentleman, having occasion to investigate the law of *habeas corpus*, desired to consult the earliest precedents of committal for contempt, and for that purpose examined with the greatest possible care and minuteness these same Controlment Rolls of Hen. IV. Mr. Flood informs the Editor that he was unable to discover any trace whatever of any entry on the Rolls, of the Prince having been committed to prison, and adds that it was impossible that any such entry, if it existed, could have escaped his notice. As the result of his researches Mr. Flood had arrived at the conclusion that the story, as applied to Hen. V. when Prince of Wales, was devoid of foundation, and was really an anachronism originating in the misapplication of the entry on the Rolls of 33 and 34 Ed. I. referred to in the note. That two persons, working quite independently of each other, and investigating the subject from two totally different points of view, should arrive at precisely the same conclusion, was, to say the least, a remarkable fact, and the Editor was glad to find the opinion he had all along entertained, supported by such an eminent legal authority.

Mr. Flood moreover called his attention to a circumstance well deserving of comment, but which has not hitherto been noticed by any pre-

vious writer. Elyot's widow, as we have seen, married Dyer, the illustrious Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and author of 'Dyer's Reports.' 'So very learned a man is not likely,' says Mr. Flood in a letter to the Editor, 'to have been unacquainted with the writings of his wife's first husband, with whom he probably had been personally acquainted. Now Dyer is the earliest known writer who has dealt with the law of contempt, and it is inconceivable that he should have omitted all notice of Henry's committal by Gascoigne if he had believed the story to which Elyot had given currency. But, not only is he silent, but in his famous charge to the Grand Jury in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth, he labours to show that contempt of court should be punished according to the course of the common law. He says, "Your third point is *de contemptibus*. We read of a contempt done to this Court in the two and twentieth year of the reign of King Henry VI., when a squier belonging unto the king's court did beat here at Westminster an attorney, for being against him, and earnest in his client's cause. He was indicted here in this place for it, found guilty, and paid 40*l.* fine." I have found numerous instances of flagrant contempts *in facie Curiæ* dealt with according to the course of the common law by impannelling a jury *instanter*, and on examination of these cases, and the Year Books and other old books and records, have come to the conclusion that the punishment by summary process of contempt committed by a stranger *in facie Curiæ* was not resorted to till long after the death of Henry IV. The earlier committals for contempt committed *in facie Curiæ* are *ad respondendum*. If Henry of Monmouth had been so committed the entry would appear more than once, namely on the Coram Rege and Controlment Rolls. If committed *in pœnam* the fact must also have been entered on the Coram Rege and Controlment Rolls. It is on neither.'

APPENDIX D.

NOTE d., page 179.

THE quotation which Sir T. Elyot himself attributed to Plutarch should apparently have been referred to a much more modern authority, Erasmus. The latter, in the course of some remarks upon flatterers, in the book from which Elyot has frequently quoted, says : 'Quâ quidem in re magnopere conducet si qui deprehensus fuerit hoc agere, ut alloquiis et obsequiis illiberalibus Principis animum ad ea sollicitet quæ parum digna sunt principe, is in aliorum exemplum publicè det pœnas, etiam capitis, si delicti modus hoc postularit. . . . . Si in pœnis mali dati rationem convenit expendere, plus lædit rempublicam pestilens adulator qui primam illam principis ætatem tyrannicis opinionibus corrumpit et inficit, quàm qui publicum ærarium expilarit. Qui principis monetam adulterarit, in hunc exquisitis suppliciis animadvertitur : et propemodum præmium est iis qui principis animum corruperint.'—*Institutio Principis Christiani*, p. 76, ed. 1519.

APPENDIX E.

NOTE a., page 243.

As the works of Pontanus are not always accessible, the passage referred to, which occurs in the treatise *De Magnanimitate*, is given in the original Latin, in order that the reader may compare it with the account of the same incident given by Valla, and form his own opinion as to the probable source from which Sir Thomas Elyot derived his knowledge of the story:

'Ferdinandus idem qui aliquot post annos regnavit in Hispaniâ Citeriore, quæ nunc pars in Aragoniâ est et Cataloniâ divisa, mortuo Rege, superstite in incunabulis filio, qui de more gentis Regno succedebat, quique propter infantiam Regni principibus ac populis despectui jam esset, cum ipse ob egregias animi dotes in sui admirationem proceres ulterioris Hispaniæ ac populos traxisset omnes, sollicitatus à plerisque quod regnum sibi assumeret. Itaque ut erat non minus prudens quàm justus, cupiditatumque humanarum victor, multorum animos nunc spe nunc blanditiis ut quemque affectum noverat honeste moderanterque aliquantum cum protraxisset, ubi tandem opportunum visum est, convocatis de more proceribus ac populorum procuratoribus, in publico ulterioris fere totius Hispaniæ conspectu, expectantibus fermè cunctis Regem ut seipsum declararet, prodiit in medium, editoque à suggestu infantulum regio ornatum cultu, atque impositum humero altèque sublatum ab omnibus conspici ut posset ostentans, En Regem, inquit, O Hispaniæ principes liberarumque urbium oratores ac delecti viri. Noster hic Rex est, hunc veneremur, hunc colamus, huic fidem servemus, qui mos Hispanorum est gentis adversum Reges. Atque his dictis collocatum regio in solio infantulum, ipse primus, ut moris est, ad pedes ejus procumbens et veneratus est illum, et in verba ejus juravit, utque idem cuncti facerent exemplo suo adegit.'—*Opera*, tom. i. fo. 260, ed. 1518.

APPENDIX F.

NOTE c., page 326.

THE following passage from Aristotle should be substituted for the one printed in the note : '*Ο μὲν γὰρ ἄγεται προαιρούμενος, νομίζων ἀεὶ δεῖν τὸ παρὸν ἡδὺ διώκειν· ὁ δ' οὐκ οἴεται μέν, διώκει δέ.*- Arist. *Eth. Nic.* lib. vii. cap. 3, (4).

INDEX

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

ABETTOR, derivation of the word, 419, *note* b
Abbreviate, derivation of the word, 393, *note* a
Abstinence, definition of, 305
Adherent, derivation of the word, 407, *note* b
Adolescency, definition of the word, 26
Æmilius, Paulus, derived no pecuniary benefit from his victory over Perseus, 311
Æsop, the Fables of, full of instruction, 400
Affability, the virtue of, 39; the visible effects of, 45
Affection, remarks on the word, 433, *note* a
Affranius, verses of, translated by Elyot, 367
Agasicles, apophthegm of, 108, *note* b
Agesilaus, (qu. Agasicles?) the benevolence of, 108; apophthegms of, 208, 260; his offer to lead an army into Asia, 291
Aggregate, to, used as an active verb, 360, *note* d
Ailly, Pierre d', author of a treatise on *Conceptus et Insolubilia*, 230, *note* b
Alexander, the Great, his want of affability, 47; his uncontrollable anger, 57; rebuked by Philip, 111; his generosity, 113; mimicked by his servants, 177; his courage evinced by his fighting bareheaded, 292; and the wife of Darius, 313; his confidence in his physician, 322; rebuked by Androcides, 348; and Apelles, story of, 403
Alexander of Pheræ, his unjust suspicion, 110
— Severus, see *Severus*
Ambition, disastrous, of certain Roman generals, 298; why it is so injurious to the state, 301
Ambitus, Lex, of the Romans, 297
Ambrose, Saint, on patience, 278
America, apparently not reckoned a continent by Elyot, 329, *note* d
Anarchy, the evils of, demonstrated, 211
Androcides, his letter to Alexander the Great, 348
Androclus, and the lion, story of, 169
Anger, characteristics of, described, 55
Animals, good qualities of, praised, regardless of their stock, 37; surpass men in gratitude, 167; exhibit proofs of instinctive habits of obedience, 210; order preserved amongst, referred to by ancient writers, 210, *note* a; certain qualities innate in, 364
Antigonus, King of Macedonia, courageous answer of, 291
Antiochus, King of Asia, his self-restraint, 314; his moderation, 329
Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, the Emperor, (qu. Alexander Severus?) permitted liberty of speech, 45; his affability, 53; his tolerance of criticism

ANT

165; his curiosity to know the public opinion of himself, 184; his treatment of the children of Cassius, 281; why called the Philosopher, 380

Antoninus Pius, how he received a rebuke from his host, 54; benevolence of, 107; his character for liberality, 114

Antonius, Marcus, insult offered to, after death, by Marius, 58

Apocrypha, the term, when first applied to the uncanonical books of the Bible, 389, *note* c

Apparel, majesty displayed in suitable, 17; Act to regulate, 19 *note* a; when permitted to be sumptuous, 22

Apprentice, of the law, a barrister called, in the 16th century, 19

Approbate, an obsolete word, 397, *note* a

Architas, and his bailiff, story of, 332

Aristotle, his definition of a liberal man, 91; of liberality, 112; of friendship, 122; of justice, 186; (qu. Cicero?) opinion of, as to rulers setting the example, 207; his division of courage into five kinds, 271, *note* c; of a valiant man, 272; of magnanimity, 289; of continence, 305; of temperance, 325; how he distinguishes between incontinence and intemperance, 326; of memory, 368; his *De Animalibus Historiæ*, 388, *note* a

Arras, cloth of, so called from the town in France, 23, *note* a; made for Henry VIII. by John Mustyan, 23, *note* a

Arrogance, of men in authority, its effects upon bystanders, 40

Articles, seven, to be committed to memory by persons in authority, 2

Ashmole, Windsor Herald *temp.* Chas. II., quoted, 200, *note*

Asia, accounted the third part of the globe, 329

Athens, prosperity of, as long as liberty of speech was permitted, 108; the thirty tyrants of, 109

Attaints, the legal process of, Elyot's intention to treat of, in another work, 249; described, 249, *note* a

Audacity, definition of, 263

Augustus, Octavius, the Emperor, his piercing eye, 16; seldom spoke without notes, 16; the innate majesty of, 16; anecdote of, illustrating his unvindictive nature, 54; his magnanimity to Cinna, 74; his tolerance of liberty of speech, 282; sumptuous banquet given by, 336; his frugal habits, 337; profited by his studies at Athens, 380

Authentic, derivation of the word, 394, *note* c

Authority, involves loss of liberty, 209; men in, learning despised by, in the sixteenth century, 302

BABYLON, the greatness of, 241

Baldasine, Belinger, story of, 439

Bardaxinus, Berengarius, probably the real name of Belinger Baldasine, 439, *note* c

Bargains, fraud practised in, 221

Bartolus, divided nobility into three kinds, 29, *note* b

Beneficence, definition of, 90

Benefit, vulgarly called a good turn, 90

Benevolence, definition of, 89; the divine, 93; consists in justice, 96

Benignitas, explanation of the term, 27

Beroaldo, Philip, his version of Boccaccio, 132, *note* c

Bible, the, historical books of, 389

Blood, nobility compared to, 30; corrupted, consequences of, 30

Boccaccio, *Decameron* of, story of *Titus and Gisippus* taken from, 132 *note* c

Bracciolini, Poggio, on the fall of the Roman Empire, 357, *note* c

Bribery, why good men are averse from, 309; of a governor, Burke's remarks on, 310, *note* a

Brutus, and Cassius, the fate of, 245

Bullinger, the Reformer, on the necessity of observing oaths, 234, *note* b

CÆSAR, Julius, his arrogance, 47; cause of the conspiracy against, 49; reputed father of Brutus, 49; character of, 51; his merciful disposition, 60, 73, 282; his industry as a pleader, 275; his ambition, the cause of his death, 299

Calchas, the diviner, 441
Carneades, the philosopher, his remarks on flattery, 181
Cassius, the children of, how treated by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 281
— Dion, a Latin translation of, published in 1526, 292, *note* b
Catiline, not to be reckoned among valiant men, 269
Cato, the Censor, apophthegm of, 286
— of Utica, his conduct on his rejection for the consulship, 285; his steadfastness, 324; anecdote attributed to him probably by mistake for the Emperor Claudius, 379, *note* a
Charity, definition of, 89
Cheke, Sir John, *A Remedy for Sedition* erroneously attributed to, 40, *note* a
Children, accustomed to swear in the 16th century, 253, *note* b
Chilo, author of the maxim *Nosce te ipsum*, 203
Chrysostom, Saint, on the inconstancy of friends, 321, *note* b; the *Opus Imperfectum* attributed to, 321, *note* b; his work *De reparatione lapsi*, 370
Churches, ought to be adorned, in honour of God, 194
Cicero, a passage in, wrongly attributed to Aristotle by Elyot, and to Plato by Patrizi, 207, *note* a; his remarks on fraud, 214, 215, 222; his story of Labeo, the deceitful arbitrator, 218
Cincinnatus, Quintius, the Dictator, 34
Cinnamus, king of Parthia, story of, 241
Claudian, Elyot's translation of, 9; quoted by King James I., 9, *note* a; not translated until 1817, 11, *note* b
Claudius, Emperor of Rome, his hasty temper, 59
Cleopatra, Queen, her wager, 348
Clicthove, a Flemish theologian, his treatise *De vera Nobilitate*, 26, *note* a; his definition of nobility, 29, *note* c
Cocles, Horatius, an example of valour, 265
Codrus, king of Athens, his patriotism, 102
Coinage, English, debased in the 16th century, 36, *note* d
Commodus, Emperor of Rome, his devilish impatience, 282
Commons, House of, held only morning sittings in the 16th century, 341, *note* b
Compendious, derivation of the word, 399, *note* a
Concoction, the word, used for digestion, 340, *note* c
Condign, derivation of the word, 413, *note* a
Congregation, derivation of the word, 398, *note* a
Constancy, or stability, commended, 320; of women in the 16th century, 320
Consultation, the definition of, 427; what is requisite for, 436
Context, derivation of the word, 392, *note* a
Continence, the definition of, 305, 312
Contract, ceremony observed by Turks in ratifying, 247; breach of, inadequate punishment for, in England, in the 16th century, 248
Conversant, to be, remarks on the phrase, 417, *note* a
Coriolanus, Marcius, his self-denial, 305
Cormorant, etymology of the word, 345, *note* d
Coronation, of kings, why ordained to take place in public, 197
Costume, for lawyers, what would be held ridiculous in the 16th century, 18; indicative of the wearer's character, 20
Counsel, the definition of, 427; the three requisites of, 430
Counsellors, the various qualities and dispositions of, 437
Courteously, derivation of the word, 411, *note* a
Courts of Law, used to sit only in the forenoon, in the 16th century, 341
Covenants, should be distinguished by simplicity, 220
Credence, the definition of, 226
Cruelty, the most odious of vices, 73
Curius, Marcus, his self-denial, 306
Curtius, Marcus, his patriotism, 103
Cyrus, king of Persia, anecdote of, illustrating his benevolent disposition, 104

DANEAU, Lambert, author of a treatise *De l'estat honneste des*

Chrestiens en leur accoustrement, 21, *note* g
Darius, king of Persia, apophthegm of, 303
David, his loyalty to Saul, 237; the warlike character of his reign, 352
Decii, the, although plebeians by birth, ought to be called noble for their valour, 36
Decoration, of a nobleman's house, should be in harmony with the rank of the owner, 22
Default, derivation of the word, 413, *note* c
Defence of good women, The, Elyot's book, 79, *note* b
Derision, derivation of the word, 422, *note* a
Desperation, what it is, 271
Despite, derivation of the word, 380, *note* d
Detraction, the vice of, described, 418; derivation of the word, 418, *note* b; how represented by Apelles, 422
Devil, malice of the, Patristic view of, 93, *note* b
Diocletian, his persecution of the Christians, 7; his abdication of the Empire, 300
Dionysius, king of Sicily, reduced to teach in a school, 43; his mistrust of his own daughters, 110; the servants of, mimicked Plato's peculiarities, 177
— of Halicarnassus, confounded with Diodorus Siculus, 356, *note* a
Distemperature, derivation of the word, 405, *note* a
Doctrine, the word employed by Sir T. Elyot to denote learning, 377
Dogs, the faithfulness of, 168
Doric order, traces of the, in Sicily, 102, *note* a
Dress, extravagance in, denounced by the clergy in the 16th century, 21, *note* g
Dugdale, his *Origines*, similarity between, and *The Governour*, 18, *note* a

ECCLESIASTICUS, book of, erroneously said by Elyot to have been written by Solomon for his son Rehoboam, 354, *note* f

Edgar, King, his challenge to the king of Scotland, 293
Edmonds, Clement, a writer of the 16th century, 51, *note* a
Egyptians, their method of punishment for perjury, 251
Elijah, called Helias, 98
Elyot, Sir Thomas, erroneously called Sir *John*, 24, *note* b; an instance of his tact, 107, *note* a; his intention to write another volume, 189, 249
Emperors, Roman, who encouraged learning, 8; who were distinguished for moderation in dress, 21; who were not really liberal, 115
Encumbrance, derivation of the word, 429, *note* b
England, condition of, in the 16th century, described, 81
Entertain, etymology of the word, 411, *note* b
Enunciative, derivation of the word, 390, *note* b
Epaminondas, king of Thebes, his self-denial, 307
Epistles, the Pauline, &c. form an epitome of history, 393
Epitome, the word, remarks on, 394, *note* b
Equality, of all men, in certain respects, 206
Erasmus, recommends the reading of history, 9, *note*; his hints to preachers to adapt their discourse to their hearers, 17, *note* a; his description of nobility, 26, *note* b; his remarks on slavery, 206, *note* a; his *Institution of a Christian Prince*, commended by Elyot, 280
Εὐγένεια, signification of, 29
Eustathius, quoted by Elyot, probably from a MS. copy, 360, *note* b; his work not printed till 1542, 360, *note* b
Experience, the definition of, 383
Examiner, the word not used prior to the 16th century, 410, *note* b

FABIUS, Maximus, the dictator, the character of, 273; the moderation of, 328
Faith, definition of, 226; neglect of, in the 16th century, 227; as an oath,

antiquity of, 252, *note* e ; the foundation of justice, 258 ; how necessary to a Governor, 259
Fantasy, derivation of the word, 384, *note* e
Ferdinand I., king of Aragon, an example of fidelity, 242
Ferne, a writer of the 16th century, his definition of a gentleman, 27, *note* c ; of nobility, 29, *note* d ; probably acquainted with *The Governour*, 31, *note* a
Fides, various meanings of, 225
Filastre, Guillaume, author of *la Toison d'Or*, 288, *note* a
Flatterers, various kinds of, described, 176 ; ought to be put to torture, 179 ; compared to crows, 181 ; description of some subtle, 183
Flower-beds, shape of, in the 16th century, 443, *note* a
Fortitude, definition of, 263 : the principal properties of, 272
Fortune, mutability of, examples of, 43
Fraud, the insidious character of, 215 ; most repugnant in the sight of God, 216 ; definition of, 217 ; perpetrated by Q. Fabius Labeo, 218 ; on the Gibeonites, 219 ; pious, 221, *note* c
Friend, a, styled the other I, 130
Friends, noblemen ought to take care in choosing, 175
Friendship, uncommon in the world, owing to covetousness and ambition, 120 ; as defined by Aristotle, 122 ; by Cicero, 122 ; by Elyot, 125 ; between whom it seldom subsists, 125 ; between whom it most commonly subsists, 127 ; cannot be evil, logically demonstrated, 163 ; the inconstancy of, Ovid on, 164 ; how affected by good or evil fortune, 172
Froude, Mr., his exaggerated view of the prosperity of England in the 16th century, 81, *note* d
Frugality, the word, originally used in a more extended sense, 336, *note* a
Furtherance, an Anglo-Saxon word, 412, *note* a

GADDY, the country of En-gedi called, 236, *note* b
Galen, his advice to physicians to note the diet of patients, 405
Gardens, of the 16th century, 443
Garrison, derivation of the word, 353, *note* a
Gentilis, Albericus, distinguished nobility from dignity, 38, *note* a
Gentleman, origin of the term, 27; etymology of the word, as given by Selden, 27, *note* b ; definition of, given by Ferne, 27 *note* c ; a, story of the shoemaker who wished to be taken for, 255, *note* b
Gentleness, origin of the term in English, 27
Geson, meaning of the word, 22, *note* b
Gluttony, attributed to the Normans, by Harrison, 335, *note* b ; prevalence of, in the 16th century, 338, *note* a
Gorgon, as described by poets, explanation of, 56
Gospel, etymology of the word, 391, *note* b
Gospeller, the word, used ironically, 212, *note* b
Governors, the duty of, 207 ; the duty of, to set a good example, 208 ; the office of, resembles that of a physician, 404 ; practical suggestions for, 407
Gun, antiquity of the word, 254, *note* a

HABIT, *i.e.* dress, derivation of the word, 418, *note* a
Hadrian, the Emperor, the moderation of, 331
Hannibal, the conduct of, towards the Saguntines, cannot be accounted prowess, 269 ; his stratagem to escape from the Romans, 274
Heliogabalus, the Emperor, the gluttony of, 345
Helots, why made drunk by Lacedæmonians, 340
Henry V., story of his committal to prison when Prince of Wales, 61
Henry VII., and the Earl of Oxford, story of, 193, *note* a
Henry VIII., his royal residences, 24, *note* a, 25, *note*, 192, *note* b
Hentzner, Paul, his description of England in the 16th century, 24, *note* a, 25 *note* a, 120 *note* c

Higden, the author of *Polychronicon*, 53 *note*
History, the reading of, recommended by King James I. and Erasmus, 8, *note* g; called by Cicero, the life of Memory, 384; etymology of the word, 385; the functions of, 386; Greek and Roman, not fictitious as some suppose, 394; referred to by the Fathers of the Church, 395; not rejected by General Councils of the Church, 398
Homer, Od. xi. 362–366, Elyot's metrical translation of, 14; his use of the number nine, 361, *note* c
Honour, proof that God desires outward and visible signs of, 195; what it is, 198; the term how abused by ambitious men, 303
Horse, gratitude of the, 167
Humanity defined, 88; origin of the term as applied to studies at the University, 88, *note* c
Humbert, a writer of the 13th century, 52, *note* b
Hutcheson, the philosopher, views of, anticipated by Elyot, 94, *note* a

IMAGE of Governance, The, written by Elyot, reference to, 179, *note* d, 184, *note* e
Images, the word, probably implied stained glass, 24, *note* a
Imbosed, the word, meaning of, 56, *note* a
Impalement, the method of, practised in Turkey, 248
Inconstancy, characteristic of women, 320
Ingratitude, described by Seneca, 166
Inns of Court, their regulations as to dress, 18, *note* b; students of, used silver plate in the 16th century, 25, *note* a
Instinct of animals, 210
Instruments, legal, difficulty of devising efficacious, in England, 261
Intelligence, meaning of the word in the 16th century, 373
Intemperance, evil consequences of, 339
Interludes, 270
Intimation, derivation of the word, 410, *note* c
Isai, Jesse, the father of David, called, 3, *note* b

JAMES I., King, recommends the reading of history, 9 *note*; recommends suitable company, 175, *note* a
Jews, how influenced by religious ceremonies, 196
John, of Salisbury, quotes Claudian in his *Polycraticus*, 9, *note* a; also Virgil, 210, *note* a
Joshua, good faith observed by, in dealing with the Canaanites, 231
Jupiter, the attributes of, 362
Jurats, the word, used as synonymous with jurors, 256, *note* a
Juries, miscarriage of justice by, in the 16th century, 256, *note* d
Jury, panel, corruption of, in the 16th century, 248, *note* b
Justice, defined by Aristotle, 186; by the Civilians, 187; commutative, 187; distributive, 187; principally consists in honour to God, 189; how regarded in popular estimation, 213; principal of all virtues, 214

KNIGHTS, chains, the ornaments of, 199; their origin explained by Segar, 199, *note* b
Know thyself, the maxim, 212
Knowledge, derived from Sapience, 358

LACTANTIUS, the works of, Sir Thos. Elyot acquainted with, 7, *note* e
Ladies, a book for, Elyot's expressed intention to write, 79
Lælius, his non-election as consul, 286
Lampridius, wrongly quoted for Capitolinus, 54, *note* b
Language, what style of, appropriate to men in authority, 16
Lap, to lay in the, a common expression, 33
Latini, Brunetto, his *Livre du Trésor*, probably known to Elyot, 371, *note* a
Laws, sumptuary, disregarded in England, in the 16th century, 86
Lawyers, ridiculous costume for, what would be, in the 16th century, 18, 19

LEA

Leagues and truces, good faith ought to be observed in, 232
Learning, little regard for, among men in authority, in the 16th century, 302; encyclopædic, 433
Leasing, what it is, 217
Lewicke, Edward, his *Titus and Gisippus*, a plagiarism from *The Governour*, 132, *note* c
Liberality defined, 90; Aristotle's definition of, 112, 113; must be displayed for a good purpose, 114; ought to be displayed in advancing men of virtue, 118
Liberty of conscience, Elyot's claim for, 204; of will, the birthright of all, 205
Livia, the Empress, her good advice to her husband Octavius, 78
Lodgings, the term applied in the 16th century to the Royal residence, 192, *note* b
Loyalty, derivation of the word, 227, *note* a; derived from faith, origin of the expression unknown, 259, *note* d
Lucian, his remarks on detraction, 425
Lycurgus, the benevolence of, 101; his stratagem for the continuation of his laws, 101

MAC COLL, Mr., his letter to the *Times*, on impalement, in Turkey, 247, *note* c
Macrobius, his definition of the centre, 433, *note* b
Magistrates, county, in the 16th century, 85, *note* b
Magnanimity, definition of, 288; compared to a garment, 290
Maintainer, derivation of the word, 410, *note* a
Majesty, definition of, 12
Major, John, a writer of the 16th century, 230, *note* b
Man, his claim to liberty of body and soul, 204
Mansion, derivation of the word, 434, *note* b
Marius, C., and the executioner, story of, 15; the horrible cruelty of, 58
Martyr, Christian, patience of, 279; marvellous continence of a, 315;
Mass, the, swearing by, in the 16th century, 254

NUM

Maxentius, the Emperor, his persecution of the Christians, 7
Maximian, the Emperor, 7
May-Games, 270
Means, deceitful, are not justified by good end, 221
Medicine, Greek professors of, divided into three sects, 404, *note* b
Mercy, commendation of, 73; definition of, 80
Metellus, Numidicus, his stoical disposition, 329
Milan, bonnets, 19
Moderation defined, 327
Moles, destructive to gardens, in the 16th century, 444
Molest, the word, derived from the French, 352, *note* d
More, Sir Thomas, his affable disposition, 39, *note* a; his love of church decoration, 194, *note* b; his abstemiousness, 343, *note* b; a water-drinker, *ibid.*
Moses, his sense of justice in the matter of Dathan and Abiron, 98; his benevolence to the Children of Israel, 99; his intercession for them, 100
Mumpsimus, a cant expression, explanation of, 289
Muse, definition of the word, 360

NINE, a favourite number, with old writers, 361
Nobility, true, consists in honorable manners, 11; true, to be implanted early in those who are to be Governors, 26; meaning of the term, 29; where most conspicuous, 29; conferred by military service, 35, *note* b; privileges of, how lost in the middle ages, 35, *note* a; distinction drawn by the Civilians between, and dignity, 34, *note* b, 38 *note* a; true, consists in virtue, 378
Noble, English coin called, 36; when first coined, 36, *note* c; value of, *temp.* Henry VIII., 36, *note* d
Nobleman, the responsibility devolving upon, by inheritance, 31
Numa Pompilius, why elected king by Romans, 33; how he increased the religious ceremonies of the Romans, 191; the Temple of Faith, erected by, 252

OAT

OATHS, on the Gospels, held in little esteem, 250; corporal, definition of, 250, *note* a; the virtue of, among the ancients, 251; repulsive, in use in the 16th century, 252, *note* f; horrible, in vogue in the 16th century, 252; administered in legal proceedings, how observed, 256
Obedience, perfect, how procured, 12; due to governors, 209
Obstinacy, defined, 295; origin of the word discussed, 295, *note* b
Occleve, his poem a translation of a work by Egidio Colonna, 260, *note*
Officials, zealous, discouraged by promotion of others, who are inefficient, 416
Omitted, passages, in subsequent editions of *The Governour*, 173, 184, 259, 343, 349
Operatrice, derivation of the word, 358, *note* b
Orestes and Pilades, the story of, 130
Orpheus, his account of the Muses, 359; the poems of, published in A.D. 1500, 359, *note* e; explained by Elyot, 362
Osorius, his treatise *De Nobilitate Civili*, 38, *note* b
Ovid, *Ars Am.* (iii. 501–504), metrical translation of by Elyot, 56

PAINTING, metaphor taken from, 318
Parsimony, undue, reprehensible in a nobleman, 344
Patience, what it is, 277; how it is to be obtained, 279
Patrizi, the *De Regno et Regis Institutione* of, *the Governour* modelled on, 1, *note* a; held that man is superior to the brutes in touch and taste, 371, *note* b
Pavilion, derivation of the word, 236, *note* c
Peacham, Henry, a writer of the 17th century, his *Compleat Gentleman*, quoted, 22, *note* a
Penna, Lucas de, an Italian lawyer, 35, *note* a, *note* b, 38, *note* b
Perjury, prevalent in England in the 16th century, 228, *note* a, 257; how punished by the Egyptians, 251; by the Scythians, *ibid.*

PRE

Perugia, the Italian state, military service conferred nobility in, 35, *note* b
Perseus, king of Macedon, the fate of, 43
Pertinax, Ælius, the niggardliness of, 344
Peruse, the word, derivation of, a puzzle to etymologists, 406, *note* a
Petilia, the people of, loyalty of, 234
Philip, king of Macedon, and the soldier, story of, 51; appeal from the decision of, story of, 52; his insobriety, a monastic perversion, 52, *note* b; his benevolence, 108; his rebuke of Alexander, 111
Philo Judæus, reputed author of Book of Wisdom, 359
Philosopher, a term of reproach, 380
Phocion, the abstinence of, 308
Physicians, unskilful, 445
Pity, vain, definition of, 81
Placability, definition of, 55
Plate, engraved, advantage of, 26
Plato, the philosopher, the scholars of, mimicked their master, 178; his opinion that the world is the temple of God, 194; his courageous answer to king Dionysius, 294; his conduct to his servant, 332; the *Timæus* of, 363; the *Theætetus* confounded with the *Theages*, 366; the doctrines of, are consistent with the Catholic faith, 366
Pliny, the *Natural History* of, 389
Plotinus, his definition of temperance, 326
Plutarch, his correction of his servant, 332
Policy, the word, meaning of, 215
Polybius, his 6th book unknown to Elyot, 298, *note* a
Polychronicon, Higden the author of, 52, *note* b
Pompey, the fate of, 299; his behaviour to the concubines of Mithridates, 314
Ponder, to, derivation of the word, 446, *note* b
Pontanus, mentioned by Erasmus, 262, *note* b; the works of, alluded to, 287
Pontius, Caius, the Samnite, saying of, 310
Practise, or experience, defined, 402
Predestination, origin of the word, 100, *note* d

PRE

Prepense, the word, derivation of, 374, *note*
Pride, the most horrible of all vices, 26
Proclamations, Royal, equivalent to Acts of Parliament, 85, *note* a
Promotion, of good men, the advantages ensuing from, 284
Propertius, metrical translation of some verses of, by Elyot, 349
Prudence, compared to the captain of a host, 376
Punishment, the object of, 97; as described by Bentham, 97, *note* a; by Blackstone, *ibid.*; by Dr. Whewell, *ibid.*
Puritans, Lord Macaulay's description of, compared with Elyot's of flatterers, 183, *note* b
Puttenham, George, on propriety of speech, 16; his advice to courtiers, 177; his account of Henry VII., 193, *note* a
Pyrrhus, king, his placable temper, 59; his valour, 265
Pythagoras, a vegetarian, 342; metrical translation of some verses of, by Elyot, 363
Pythias, and Damon, story of, 131

QUOTATIONS FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS.

Ambrose, Saint, *De Officiis* (i. 6), 278
Aristotle, *De Animâ*, 373
— *Eth. Nicom.* (ii. 6) 112, (ii. 7) 325, (iii. 7) 272, (iv. 1) 91, 113, (iv. 2) 112, (iv. 3) 289, (v. 1) 186, (v. 2) 187, (vii. 1) 305, (vii. 3) 326, App. (vii. 9) 327, (viii. 1) 122, (viii. 3) 163, (viii. 10) 427.
— *Polit.*, (v. 7) 258.
Augustan History, 46, 54, 184, 282, 331, 344, 346
Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* (i. 26) 333, (v. 14) 171, (xiii. 8) 367.
Aurelius Victor, *Epitome* (15), 107, (39) 301
2 Chron. (i. 10), 351
Chrysostom, Saint, 321, 370
Cicero, *De Amicitia* (5), 122, 165, (6) 122, (7) 123, (8) 122, (13) 123, (17) 165, (18) 123
De Legibus (iii. 14), 207,
De Nat. Deor. (ii. 12), 294

PAT

Cicero, *De Officiis* (i. 7) 95, 229, 258, 259, (i. 8) 126, (i. 10) 219, (i. 13) 214, 215, (i. 14) 92, (i. 17) 121, (i. 19) 295, 302, (i. 20) 290, 300, (i. 22) 432, (i. 23) 269, (i. 25) 55, 97, 334, 445, (i. 26) 329, (ii. 7) 106, 111, (ii. 9) 106, 287, (ii. 11) 187, (ii. 12) 186, (ii. 15) 111, 117, (ii. 16) 118, (ii. 20) 92, 213, (ii. 21) 311, (ii. 22) 311, 312, (ii. 24) 258, (iii. 5) 304, (iii. 11) 225, (iii. 13) 222, (iii. 17) 222.
— *De Oratore*, (ii. 9) 384, 385.
— *Epist. ad Div.* (vii. 12), 252.
— *Tusc. Disp.* (ii. 18), 272, (iv. 10) 280, (iv. 13) 280, (iv. 23) 272, (iv. 26) 351, (v. 13) 370, (v. 20) 110
Claudian *De quarto Consul.* (257–302), 10
Curtius, Q. (v. 9), 272
Diod. Sic. (i. 77) 251
Dion. Hal. (i. 75) 356, (ii. 18) 190
Ecclesiastes, (x. 17), 349
Ecclesiasticus, (viii. 17–19), 432, (xxiii. 11) 257, (xxxii. 19) 432
Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani*, 4, 5, 179 App., 281
Eustathius, *Comment., ad Homer.* 360
Eutropius, (viii. 5), 46
Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*, 338
Herodian, (i. 2), 53
Herodotus, (iv. 68) 251
Hieronymus, *Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ*, 316
Homer, *Iliad* (i. 69), 441
— *Odyss.* (xi. 362–366), 14
John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, 108
Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* (xx. 3), 242
Joshua (ix. 1–27), 231
Justin, *Historia* (i. 10), 240, (ii. 6) 103, (iii. 3) 102
Justinian, *Instit.* (i. 1), 187
1 Kings, (x. 27), 354
Lactantius, (iii. 5), 401
Livy, *Hist.* (xxv. 11), 432
Lucian, *De Calumniâ*, 423
Macrobius, *Sat.* (iii. 17), 348
Matthew (xxii. 35–40), 203
Nepos, Cornelius, *Epam.* (4), 307
Ovid, *Ars Amat.* (iii. 501), 56
— *Tristia* (i. 9), 164
Patrizi, *De Regno et Reg. Ins.* (iv. 9), 303, (iv. 11) 313, (iv. 20) 298,

(vi. 18) 326, (vi. 24) 328, (vi. 26) 340, (viii. 6) 37, (viii. 19) 46
Plato, *Crat.* (8), 227, (34) 227
— *De Rep.* (ii. 4), 215, (ii. 13) 343
— *in Epist. Græ.*, 284
— *Laches* (10), 445
— *Theætetus* (7), 364, 366
— *Timæus*, (41, C.), 364
Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* (vii. 34) 286, (viii. 61), 169, (xiv. 7) 349, (xxxv. 36) 404
— Junior, *Paneg.* (49), 106
Plutarch, *Agesilaus* (23), 208
— *Alexander* (21), 313, (39) 113
— *Apophth. Lacon.*, 55, 108, 260
— *Reg. et Imp.*, 52. 241, 314
— *Cato Major* (19), 286
— — *Minor* (33) 324, (49), 285
— *De Adulat. et Am.* (1), 175, (2) 176, (4) 176, (7) 177, (16) 181
— *De Educ. Puer.* (8), 208
— *Dio.* (20), 294
— *Fabius* (6), 274
— *Lycurgus* (11), 101
— *Numa* (16), 252
— *Pelopidas* (2), 292
— *Phocion* (18), 308
— *Pompeius* (36), 314
— *Poplicola* (17), 267
— *Pyrrhus* (22), 266
Pontanus, *Opera*, 243, and App. 265, 269, 270, 282, 440
Propertius, (ii. 33), 349
Proverbs, (i. 5) 378, (viii. 15–19), 354, (xi. 14) 297, (xiii. 10) 296
Psalms, (iv. 4), 97
Quintilian, 401
Sallust, *Catil.* (1) 370, (51) 437
1 Sam. (xvii. 34–37) 352, (xxiv.) 236
Seneca, *De Benef.* (iii 1) 166, (iii. 15) 260, (iv. 19) 161, (iv. 21) 162
— *De Clement.* (i. 9) 78, (i. 12) 80, (i. 19) 107,
— *Epistol.*, (88) 378
Stobæus, *Eclog.*, 363
— *Florileg.*, 52
Suetonius, *Julius*, (43) 276, (50) 49, (70) 337, (73) 282, (75) 74, (81) 50
— *Octav.* (35) 380, (68) 54, (74) 337, (79) 16, (84) 16
Tacitus, *Hist.* (ii. 74), 299

Valerius Maximus, (ii. 10) 15, (iii. 3) 279, (iii. 8) 322, (iv. 1) 328, 329, 330, 332, (iv. 3) 306, 307, 314, (iv. 7) 132, (v. 1) 60, (vi. 2) 60, (vi. 5) 224, (vi. 6) 233, 234 (ix. 2) 58
Wisdom, (vi.) 3, (ix. 4, 10) 359
Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* (viii. 2), 105

RABINES, theological controversialists, so styled by Elyot, 395
Recompense, derivation of the word, 412, *note* b
Regalia, the, formerly kept at Westminster, 197, *note* b
Rehoboam, character of, 354
Remedy for Sedition, A, wrongly attributed to Sir John Cheke, 40, *note* a
Repentance, the enemy of prudence, 51; the folly of, 325
Repletion, evil consequences of, 338
Reprehension, derivation of the word, 413, *note* b
Richard III., King, probable allusion to, 244, *note* a
Rightwise, an old Saxon word, 430, *note* b
Romans, form of oath used by, 252
Rome, duration of the power of, 88; history of, limited by Elyot to a period of 800 years, 88, *note* a; an example to other countries, 355; decline and fall of, 357
Romulus, the honour he paid to the gods, 190; how he chose the Senate, 438; always consulted them, 356
Rushes, white, used instead of carpets in the 16th century, 120
Rusticity, meaning of the word, 309, *note* b

SAGUNTUM, the people of, loyalty of, 233
Sapience, the authority of, declared by Solomon, 354
Saul, his disobedience, 2; his deposition, 3
Scævola, Mutius, the fortitude of, 266; the constancy of, 322
Scipio Africanus and the thieves, story

SCI

of, 14; derived no pecuniary benefit from capture of Carthage, 311; his behaviour to Indibilis, 314; his modesty, 328; an example of virtue, 378
Scipio, of Nasica, his rejection for the consulship, 286
Sculpture, at the Royal Palace of Nonesuch, in Oxon, in the 16th century, 24, *note* a
Scythians, their punishment of the crime of perjury, 251
Seals, why affixed to legal documents, 228, *note* b
Segar, Norroy King at Arms *temp.* Elizabeth, quoted, 35, *note* b, 38, *note* c, 199, *note* b
Selden, divides nobility into three kinds, 29, *note* b; his etymology of the word Gentleman, 27, *note* b
Senate, Roman, removed to Constantinople, 356
Seneca, on friendship, 161
Septuagint, its influence on English orthography, 98, *note* b
Serenus, Ælius, the original authority for the story of the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, 52 *note* b
Severus, Alexander, the Emperor, story of, attributed to Antoninus Pius, 46, *note* a; his liberality, 114; confounded with Septimius Severus, 114, *note* c; his obedience to the law, 207; story of, cannot be verified, 208, *note* a; his industry, 276; his modesty, 330
Similarity, of tastes, promotes friendship, 128
Simplicity, in covenants, is justice, 220
Sirach, Jesus, quoted, 6
Slavery, in England, in the 16th century, 204, *note* e
Smollett, his description of Alexander's statue, 177, *note* c
Sobriety, advantage of, 340
Socrates, a saying of, 208; diet prescribed by, 343; compared himself to a midwife, 364
Solomon, his prayer for wisdom, 351; called *Rex pacificus*, 354
Soul, the, pre-eminence of, over body, 370; divided into three parts, 371
Sourness, derivation of the word, 420, *note* a

TUB

Spenser, the poet, his *Ruins of Rome* compared with *The Governour*, 355, *note*
Star-Chamber, Court of, at what hour it sat in the 16th century, 341, *note* b
Starting holes, a phrase used also by Wilson, 100, *note* c
Statutes of the realm, disregarded in the 16th century, 85
Stoics, saying of, with regard to covetousness, 303
Stubbes, his *Anatomy of Abuses*, quoted, 21, 22, 91, 338, 344, 346
Subjects, duty of, towards their rulers, 209
Sumptuary laws, the nobility exempted from, 350, *note* a
Superstition, of Greeks and Romans, 197
Sylla, his cruelty, 58; horrible results of his ambition, 298

TABLE, pleasures of the, excessive indulgence in, in the 16th century, 335; the delicacies of, in the 16th century, 346, *note* c
Tapestry, use of, as decoration for houses in the 16th century, 23, 25, *note*, 192, 238; Venetian, said to have been bought for Whitehall by Henry VIII, 238, *note* a
Tarquinius, Superbus, his exile, 44
Temperance, what it is, 95
Themistocles, his advice to the Athenians, 224; and Aristides, story of, Hume's view of, 224 *note* a
Theophrastus, his *History of Plants*, 388
Theopompus, king of Sparta, an apophthegm of, 55
Timochares, story of, 223
Timorosity, definition of, 264
Titus, the Emperor, called the delight of the world, 380
— and Gysippus, story of, 132
Training, effect of, on animals, 365
Trajan, the Emperor, his condescension, 46; his industry, 276
Travel, derivation of the word, 412, *note* c
Treason, seldom escapes punishment, 244
Trust, definition of, 226; the word, first used in a legal sense, 226, *note* c
Tubero, the continence of, 306

TUR

Turks, described by writers of the 16th century 246, *note* a; their punishment of impalement, 247; their observance of faith, 246, 260; except in their dealings with Christians, 261, *note* a

ULYSSES, an example of majesty, 13
Understanding, is the principal part of the soul, 369; called in Latin *Intellectus*, 373; the functions of, explained, 374
Uses, the statute of, why passed, 261, *note* b

VALIANT, who may rightly be called, 269
Vegetative, the word, derivation of, 371, *note*
Victor Aurelius, *Epitome* of, first printed in A.D. 1505, 300, *note* b
Vives, Ludovicus, his *Instruction to a Christian Woman*, 78, *note* a

WATER-DRINKERS, in England in the 16th century, 343; the followers of Pythagoras said to be, 343 *note*
Wilson, his remarks on incongruity of language, 17, *note* b; his *Art of Rhetoric*, probably alludes to *The Governour*, 441, *note* b
Wisdom, the Book of, 3
Witnesses, to deeds and charters, formerly very numerous, 229, *note* b
Wolsey, Cardinal, his arrogance, 40, *note* a; probable allusion to, 193, *note* a; contrasted with Sir T. More, 193, *note* b; his avarice, 303, *note* b; received bribes, 309 *note* c; nicknamed *Le Cardinall Pacifick*, 354, *note* a
Women, advised not to meddle with politics, 79, *note* a

XERXES, story attributed to, by mistake for Darius Hystaspes, 239, *note* a

ZENO, the philosopher, story of, 278
Zopirus, the story of, 239

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